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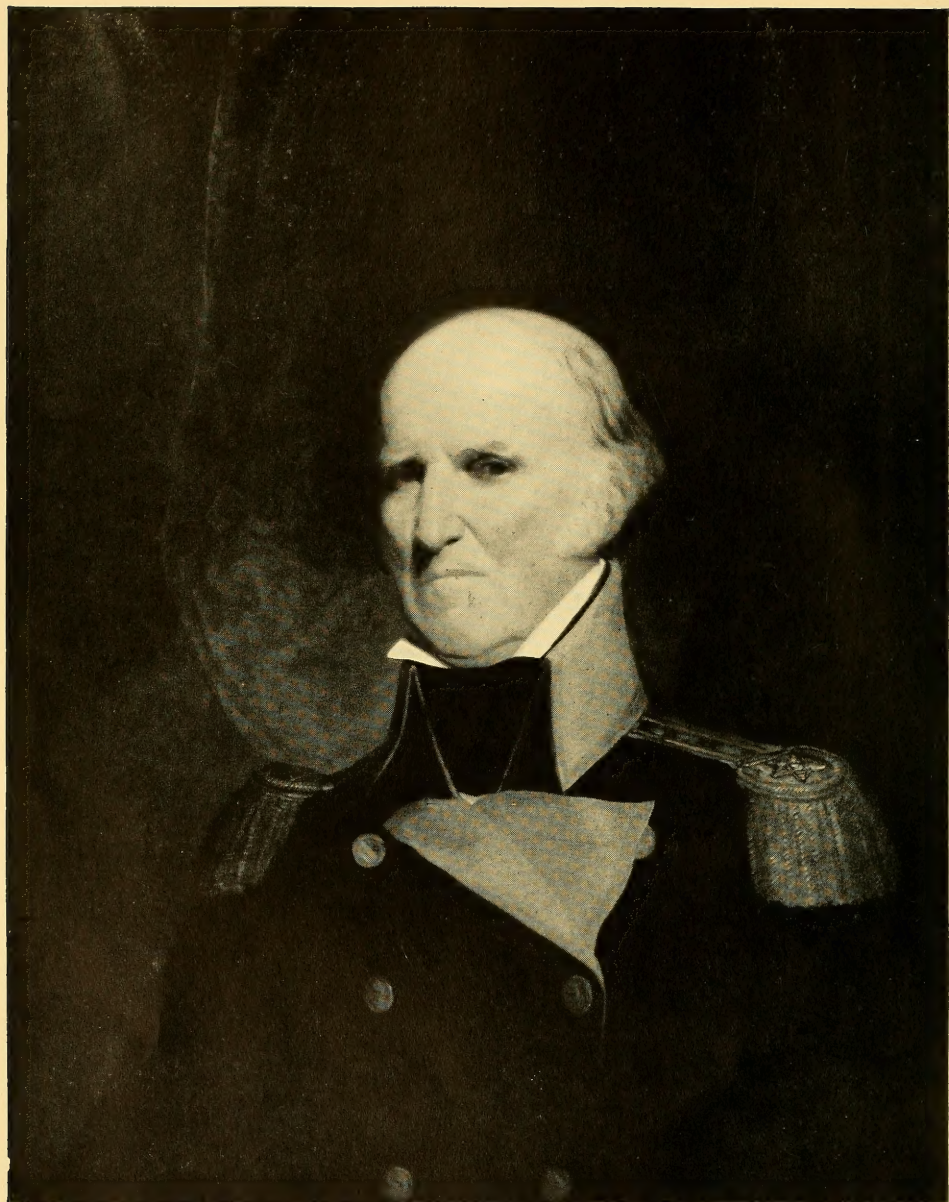












GEN. JOHN STARK, by Samuel F. B. Morse, 1816  
Courtesy of Macbeth Galleries, New York



**A Life of**  
**General JOHN STARK**  
*of*  
**New Hampshire**

*by*

**HOWARD PARKER MOORE**

Member New Hampshire Historical Society  
N. Y. Genealogical and Biographical Society.

*author of*

DESCENDANTS OF ENSIGN JOHN MOOR (1918)  
THE LANG FAMILY (1935)  
PATTEN FAMILIES (1939)

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To

My father and mother

GEORGE ("FRANK") MOORE

HARRIET LOUISE PARKER

Long since departed.

In gratitude for all that  
they gave me, with the  
regret that whatever of  
merit may be found in  
this work of their son,  
the enviable pride and  
pleasure of parents  
could not have been  
theirs.









MOLLY STARK, by John Singleton Copley  
Courtesy of the late Herbert Lee Pratt, of New York  
and Glen Cove, and of his daughter, Mrs. Howard Maxwell, Jr.



## Preface

John Stark was not a great man but he was permitted, under Providence, to do at least two things, great in their time and place, each energizing with lasting effect the patriot cause in the American Revolution.

He held the line at Bunker Hill. That line withstood, at the rail fence, without flinching, the charges of British Regulars and gave ample proof of American valor. The stamina of that brief action aroused the latent determination of the people from Maine to Georgia. At Bennington, in the face of an invasion calculated to split the Colonies, he won a decisive victory that raised hopes and rallied troops to make possible Saratoga.

These afford glory enough but in addition Stark was not unimportant, though he was less conspicuous, at Trenton, at Springfield, in Westchester and when twice in command of the Northern Department.

His military career is without the blemish of a single failure. Few generals of the war have this distinction. The man's courage and skill had shown themselves repeatedly during the French and Indian War as senior Captain of Rogers Rangers. Fifteen years later when the news of Concord and Lexington reached Stark he shut down the gates of his saw mill, mounted his horse, to take part in the first movements to shut up the British in Boston. In spite of periods of impaired health he remained in the long contest to the very end.

John Stark had that rare quality, made use of too seldom in the larger actions, the ability to think clearly under fire and in emergencies, without which soldiers are not generals. This was in addition to perfect bravery an attribute he shared with countless others.

Lack of education, his early days being spent in a primitive environment, placed him at a disadvantage in the higher circles of political life. This inferiority was a handicap of which he was always keenly conscious. His sound sense, however, delivered him from a prominence he could not have sustained. He knew his own place and like others of his kind he saw only too plainly the foibles, weaknesses and mistakes of some brilliant leaders. The country suffered and the war,

it is not presumptuous to say, may have been somewhat lengthened by his exclusion from the company of Washington's Major Generals.

He had none of the vices of his time, for a moderate and steady consumption of rum cannot be counted among them. His private life was stainless. He had all the acquisitiveness and tenacity of his Scotch ancestry and considered them laudable. He was democratic, approachable and frank. Free from pretence he lacked the enjoyment of display. He had the defects of his qualities and was quick spoken to the point of error and was at time cantankerous. A man of unswerving principles he retired to private life when the independence of his country had been won and became the only true Cincinnatus of them all.

John Stark's name will be among the brightest in that assembly of heroes. Differences of temperament and education, of wealth and poverty, were fused in that flame of patriotism, an alembic that animated and purified them all, save one or two. His name rests securely in that great tradition, as one of the steadfast leaders who laid the enduring foundations of the Republic.

The preparation of this history of the man in relation to his times has involved many difficulties. Previous biographies have been found to be mere sketches, brief narratives of salient points, not too well authenticated and sometimes erroneous; from Caleb Stark's 1831, Edward Everett's 1834, to the same Caleb Stark's 1860. There have been many minor accounts; repetitive, and appreciative addresses. General John Stark left no personal correspondence, not a letter to any member of his family and one only from a son to himself. Many military letters of importance have been printed and some will now appear for the first time. A halting step-by-step process was entailed, a piecing together from many sources, items and episodes, of the interesting and sometimes memorable story. Personages of consequence appear, at times in new lights. It was necessary to examine original sources concerning every battle in which John Stark was engaged. Accounts, especially as to Stark, were not dependable.

In these days of glamorous biographies, too often commercially conceived, an author presenting a complete life, nothing with-held, must almost apologize for dry and tedious results. But the valiant man who did so much for his country is entitled to at least one full account. If it shall encourage brilliant interpretations and make him, who was **SUI GENERIS**, better known to future generations in a land that can never outgrow its sturdy founders, Moore's *Life of Stark*, will be justified.

During the years required for the examination of materials the author has found himself under lasting obligations to institutions and to individuals. Thanks are now tendered for facilities and help, particularly to those in the New Hampshire Historical Society (in which the author has had membership) to the State Library at Concord, the Manchester Historic Association, the Maine Historical Society, the Ver-



mont Historical Society, the Boston Athanaeum, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, the State Library at Albany, the New York Public Library, the Converse Library at Amherst, the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, the W. L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor and the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress.

Acknowledgments to individuals must be headed by the name of Hall Park McCullough, Esq. of New York and North Bennington, keen and generous collector of Stark memorabilia. Others are Mr. John Spargo, President and Director of the Bennington Museum, to Ex. Gov. Lloyd C. Stark of Missouri for help on Scottish Starks, to Col. S. H. P. Pell of the Ticonderoga Museum, to the late Herbert Lee Pratt of New York and Glen Cove for permission to use the portrait of "Molly Stark", to the Macbeth Galleries, New York, and through them the owner (who prefers to remain anonymous even to the author) for use of the Stark portrait by Morse, to John M. Stark, Esq. of Concord for the use of the "A. Ritchie" daguerrotype and other helps, to Donald G. Matson of Concord for early and sustained interest and assistance, to Mr. Elmer M. Hunt, Director of the New Hampshire Historical Society. To one recently passed on, Allen French, for valuable advice, when this work was young, "do you take your time!" on learning that other writers (3) were then engaged on Stark material. Other friends have been gratefully made aware of the author's appreciation of courtesies too numerous for this recital.

*Howard Baker Moore*





## CHAPTERS

## Stark families in Great Britain.

15

15th century Scots--a King's life saved--gratitude of James IV--  
Muirhead becomes Stark--German origin discredited--Kelvin--  
Glasgow Univ.--Killermont--flight of John Stark--prosecution of  
Covenanters--Archibald Stark's education--coat of arms--Starks  
in Ulster--Archibald marries Eleanor Nichols--Scotch-Irish  
emigration--Starks delayed crossing--disastrous voyage--loss  
of children.

## Starks in Londonderry colony-removal to Derryfield.

27

1720-1736--log homestead--birth of John Stark, 1728--birthplace  
tablet--Archibald makes turpentine--home burns--land bought--  
600 acres Derryfield.

## Starks at Amoskeag Falls, Derryfield.

35

Archibald erects new house, circa 1736, now Manchester's most  
precious possession--Molly Stark Chapter House--the joiner's  
handiwork--fishing at Amoskeag--Indian troubles--Starkstown  
(Dunbarton)--money difficulties--a serious affair--John Stark  
captured by Indians, 1752--incidents at St. Francis--ransom--  
Albany--John Stark's military life begins--Border troubles--  
Stark the Scout on the frontier--1754 Albany Conference--Stark  
affidavits--law-suits--death of Archibald.

## French and Indian War.

51

Ranger service--Stark enlists--Robert Rogers' Co.--his charac-  
ter--smuggling--counterfeiting--Gov. Shirley's plans--William  
Johnson's army--Rangers first duties--Albany--Aug. 1755,  
Rogers' Journals start--Ft. Lyman (Ft. Edward) Lage George--  
Johnson stops Baron Dieskau--campaign ends..Squire Patten af-  
ter counterfeiter--Washington at Boston--campaign 1756--  
Rangers organized--Stark, 2nd Lt.--scouting--illness--caution  
saves--deLery's account vs. Rogers'--Abercrombie--Albany--  
scouts--Stark, 1st Lt.--Montcalm takes Oswego--Rangers winter  
Ft. Wm. Henry--Scouts--Jan. '57, disastrous battle--Rogers in-  
jured--Stark saves the day--his amazing fortitude and journey--  
Loudon's Louisburg project--Rogers' small pox--slow recovery  
--Stark saves Ft. Wm. Henry--Rigaud's attack--Rangers to New  
York--Stark stricken by small pox--dastardly arrest--confine-  
ment by Brewer--Montcalm's invasion--Ft. Wm. Henry falls  
to 8000 men--defenders surrendering massacred--Lord Howe  
appears--Ranger companies augmented--campaign of 1758--  
scouts in deep snow--Stark's account book--Rogers meets his

worst defeat--relief--is Major--Abercrombie's army of 16,000 attacks Ticonderoga, via Lake George--Stark consulted--Lord Howe's last supper--the scene--Howe killed--Stark's reconnaissance with Engineer Clerk--French repel bloody attack--slaughter--withdrawal--Stark's furlough--father's funeral--affairs--marries Elizabeth Page--he makes the campaign of 1759--Amherst invests Ft. Ticonderoga--takes it, also Crown Point--slow motions--Stark building a road--Rogers destroys St. Francis--Wolfe captures Quebec and dies--1759-60 campaign--Amherst drops the Starks--John's increasing aloofness--lessons of the war.

#### Fifteen years of civilian life, 1760-1775

117

Capt. Stark's saw mills--resumes farming--1765 builds his fine house--the family--privations--Rogers--growing tension with Britain--assumes local leadership--preparations cut short..

#### Revolutionary War opens.

128

Stark's popularity--journey to Cambridge--Medford--is elected Colonel by N.H. volunteers--Arnold-Allen-Ticonderoga taken--Royall mansion headquarters--the family--is ousted--ranking generals share it--letter of May 18, 1775--Folsom given top position--Gen. Ward gives Stark a task--Noddle Island skirmish--Putnam's promotion--Stark summoned to Exeter--maintains his rights.

#### Bunker Hill.

145

Synopsis--Putnam's dare--Prescott's assignment--his plight--Stark's coolness crossing the Neck--leads Stark-Reed regiments to rail fence--Charlestown--the scene--British formations--Stark's tide-water wall--G.W.P. Custis--Stark's stick in ground--the "gap"--Knowlton-Chester--bloody British defeat at wall--two more at rail-fence--shifting attack--redoubt falls--Prescott overwhelmed--his bravery--scramble--Stark's orderly retreat--Prescott confronts Putnam--casualties--American forces--New Hampshire's predominance.

#### Notes on Bunker Hill.

181

Stark's regiment--companies in battle--Wyman's strange course--Reed's regiment--his absence--Caleb Stark--N.H. men in Prescott's Reg.--Massachusetts in the battle--Connecticut--conduct of Putnam--controversies--Warren--McClary--Maps.

#### After Bunker Hill.

205

Medford--Stark's camp--under Folsom--tries to oust Stark--they make up--Sullivan succeeds Folsom--Washington's arrival--opinion of soldiers--Arnold expedition--Connecticut's defection--Rogers' suspicious course--dramatic attempt to corrupt Stark--

the Hobart affair--its unfortunate effect--William Stark--  
Washington--Dorchester Heights compel Boston's evacuation--  
notable walk by Stark-Reed and Wilkinson--Sullivan inveighs  
against Folsom.

1776 -Canada campaign, Trenton, Princeton.

225

Stark to New York--to Canada--Sorel--decimated regiments--  
small pox--counsels against proceeding--Sullivan's folly--Three  
Rivers--distressing failure--hazardous retreat--St. Johns--  
Nut Island--pestilence and despair--Crown Point given up--  
field officers overruled--Washington's surprise--Sullivan with-  
drawn--Stark's resentment--unfortunate petition--a fetid camp  
--Reed, St. Clair, Arnold, Poor--Gates asks Stark's advice--N.H.  
regiments move south--Stark's visit home--Lee's capture--  
Washington's desperate stroke--Stark summoned to council of  
war--given leadership advance guard of right wing--the scene--  
Trenton taken--side lights--effect of Stark's timely pledge--  
Princeton--reputation enhanced.

A silver lined cloud.

250

Poor promoted over Stark--Congress and the Generals--Stark  
resigns his command--Exeter appeals to but honors him--  
three months at home--shameful abandonment of Ticonderoga--  
Burgoyne's invasion--captures fortress--ballistics--emergency  
--Cogan's letter--dismay spreads--Speaker John Langdon pledg-  
es fortune--N.H. acts--dramatic revival of courage--Congress  
not advised--Stark made Brigadier General--sent for--accepts  
independent command of militia--brigade of 3 regiments en-  
listed in 5 days--rapid marching across Vermont.

In Vermont-Stark faces Gen. Lincoln---

276

An unfortunate letter--Schuyler--Warner-the Council--cross  
purposes ironed out--"for the good of my country"--Gates su-  
percedes Schuyler--Burgoyne's Bennington foray--Starks mo-  
mentous decision--Lincoln's delay.

Bennington

291

Synopsis--Burgoyne's plan--its weakness--Stark in camp and  
council--his numerical strength--scouting--rain--Herrick and  
Nichols--perfect battle plan--timing--Baum's hill intrench-  
ments carried--Field's relation--bridge carried--Tories slaugh-  
tered--prisoners herded to town--Breyman's advance--girding  
for second battle--a timely arrival--success--a great blow is  
struck for liberty.



## Notes on Bennington.

327

Stark's appeal to troops--historical presentment, "Molly Stark sleeps a widow"--Official Reports--Flag of Green Mountain boys--1776 flag--Durnford's map--Seth Warner--Herrick's route--battle figures tested--Mass. and Vt.--cannon--Parson Allen--Stark's horse stolen--San Coick mill--Gletch-Gleig hocus-pocus--field staffs--Stark's losses--prisoners and material--whose voice?--rum.

## Bennington to Surrender of Burgoyne.

362

Importance of battle--consequences--N.H. committee-Stark's reduced force--his illness-Gates, Lincoln, Stark dispatches--Stark sends force to Gates--he sidetracks Stark--his ambitious scheme using Lincoln--time of N.H. men nearly up--fresh N.H. levies called--veterans leave for home--Stark to Exeter--gets only 542 officers and men--first and second bloody battles with Burgoyne--closing in--Fort Edward--Stark crosses Hudson--his "knob" fills the gap--Burgoyne surrounded--capitulates--surrender day--Whipple and Burgoyne, Schuyler--Langdon returns home--his great service--Franklin in Paris gets the news, "Gen. Burgoyne and his whole army are prisoners".

## John Stark a Continental General.

391

The nation's low morale--retreat of Congress--subordination--acclaim of Stark--his victory in Congress--his commission--John Hancock--"the signal victory you obtained."

## Gates, LaFayette and Stark.

395

French Canada--three plans--Congress at York--entrusts secret enterprise to Stark--ambition of Gates--Bedel--the cabal--Duane's journey--meets Stark at Albany--revelations in "Gates Papers"--LaFayette's journey to Albany--heads enterprise to win French Canada--lack of planning--his letter from Stark--his disillusionment--collapse of entire effort--withdrawal.

## 1778, Albany, the Northern Department.

415

Gates" Board of War selects Stark--journey of father and son--routine life--Tory troubles--civil and military vexations--Washington tries to move Stark--fails--Bedel--secret plans of Gates--Morgan Lewis embroilment--its effects--the Grants--Gov. Clinton--border raids--Gates and Stark transferred--brother William's doings.

## Rhode Island campaign-1778-9.

432

"Stark commands on the Western shore"--Sullivan's retreat--  
 Stark's worst letter--vigilant watching--British and French  
 fleets--enemy leaves Newport--Stark occupies it--Gates and  
 Stark to the Hudson--Sullivan retires from army--to Washing-  
 ton, "a certain party".

## Morristown, Springfield, Poor, Andre.

438

A forest yields a camp in the snows--Stark's brigade--Dr.  
 Thatcher--the affair with Col. Jackson--Stark at Morristown--  
 "the very verge of famine"--British ice-bound in New York--  
 Washington's danger, indecision and perplexity--battle of Spring-  
 field--Stark supports Greene--Stark and Cilley ride home--their  
 mission--depreciation of currency, wages unpaid--Poor's death  
 and burial, a duel?--Washington reprimands Stark judiciously--  
 Andre's treason--Stark one of Arnold's judges--the scene--his  
 execution--Gates' failure in South--Greene sent--Stark's foray  
 into Westchester--its success--Chastellux's picture of the Chief  
 --winter in Peekskill Hollow--correspondence with Washington  
 --is allowed the furlough.

## 1781, a troublesome and complicated campaign.

458

Stark's long illness--defections near home--Washington ap-  
 points him to command Northern Dept.--the post's difficulties--  
 Vermont's contacts with the British in Canada--a queer intrigue  
 --Haldimand, Allen, the Fays--Stark's execution of Loveless--  
 relations with Schuyler family--Caleb and Madam Hamilton--  
 stage set for Stirling--his journey--he takes over from Stark--  
 a sinister burial--Chittendon's evasion--Washington's mastery  
 --Ross dispersed near Johnstown--serious involvements in the  
 Grants--brilliant victory in the South--Stirling departs--Geo.  
 Reid succeeds Stark at Albany.

## Closing of long War, 1782-3.

488

1782 passed by Stark at home--rheumatic illness due to long  
 exposures--N.H.'s State Constitution--Washington's vacation  
 trip to Albany--long silence--the Newburgh letters--1783 ces-  
 sation of hostilities--death of William Stark--Stephen Holland's  
 wife--Society of the Cincinnati--Fraunce's Tavern, many ab-  
 sent generals.

## The Later Years.

494

Forty years of minor and personal events--Stark's estate--his  
 family--hard times--state politics--1783-1786 Stark a Major-  
 General, by Brevet--State Constitution--journey of Jefferson  
 and Madison--canals and bridges--saw mills-- Ohio Grants--

Caleb, merchant and manufacturer--cotton spinning--France--  
 Rev. Wm. Bentley's friendship--President Jefferson's glowing  
 tribute to Stark, "I salute you, venerable patriot and general"--  
 serious illness, 1806--his religion--his responses to Bennington  
 invitations--"Live free or die; Death is not the worst of evils"--  
 Madison-Stark correspondence--political vituperation--second  
 war with England--death of "Molly Stark" June 29, 1814, his  
 wife of 56 years--Stark's pension--senility--the last year--  
 Mrs. Robie's recollections--a paralytic stroke--slow starva-  
 tion--death May 8th, 1822 in his 94th year--the funeral--  
 Stark Park.

#### Likenesses of General Stark and Molly.

525

Three series--no absolutely dependable portrait--1810 "aide  
 memoire" red chalk sketch--1831 "a painting by A. Ritchie"--  
 1816 a Stark portrait by Samuel F. B. Morse--1873 Tenney  
 after Trumbull, 1834, worthless--long and complicated story--  
 discovery of the daguerrotype at Dunbarton, the Ritchie repro-  
 duction, circa 1840-50?--Portrait of Molly by John Singleton  
 Copley, previous to 1774--transmission of characteristics.





## THE STARK FAMILIES IN GREAT BRITAIN

General John Stark's Christian name was a heritage of many generations. In the middle of the 15th century his ancestor, John Muirhead had a son, John, who became the ancestor of the Starks of Scotland. Along the river Kelvin, close to where it empties into the Clyde, where the present city of Glasgow is, a number of Stark families lived from very early times. Possibly some ancient and obscure records might add to our facts, of which a condensed account is presented.

### THE NAME STARK, CIRCA 1488.

Sometime before the close of the 15th century, a member of the Muirhead family bearing the name John was given high sanction in assuming the name Stark, and it became his patronymic. In the writings of Sir George MacKenzie (1636-1691) the legend, then nearly 200 years old, received semi-historical warrant;-

"STARK, beareth azur, a chevron, argent, between three acorns in chief, Or, and bull's head erased of ye 2nd in base. Those of ye name are descended of one John Muirhead, 2nd son of ye Lord of Lachop, who at hunting in ye forest of Cumberlaud, one day seeing King James ye 4th in hazard of his life by a bull hotly pursued by ye hounds stept in between ye King and ye bull, and gripping ye bull by ye horns and by his great strength almost tore ye head from him, for which he was called STARK and his posteritie after him and bears ye rugged bull's head in their armes. Ye old sword of ye family has on it "Stark, alias Muirhead."

To have been "Lord of Lachop" meant little beyond indicating something better than a doubtful feudal tenure, the head of a minor clan, though it was something in local standing, a sort of lowland

chief. John Muirhead, as the second son, would, under the laws of primogeniture, inherit none of the wild acres.

The mere perpetuation of the tale for so long a period, coupled with the use of the arms described in connection with it, enhances the soundness of the legend. Sir George probably knew the Muirhead-Starks and had seen the old sword. As James III of Scotland died in 1488, ending a reign beginning in 1460, the saving of the life of James IV was after 1488, some eight years at least and followed the end of the war between the Scots and English.

The Muirhead family apparently had its origin as a branch of the Bothwells, mention being found as early as 1100, A.D. A more definite clue is in 1347 when the title "Laird of Lachop" was conferred on a Muirhead, for loyalty to the Bruce cause, after the King had been driven away. The location of Lachop is given as the "estate of Cumbernauld by Dunbarton on Clyde". But the latter is erroneous for on the first detail map of Scotland (by a Dutch surveyor in 1654 confirmed by an English map of 1777) Lachop (Lachob) is a place-name of a tiny hamlet or manor house on a small river emptying into the Clyde near Bothwell, about five miles from old Bothwell castle, and over twelve miles East of Glasgow. It is in a retired and hilly section, though coal pits have now changed the landscape. In this location for some half a dozen generations the Laird Muirhead and his family eked out a precarious existence until the event circa 1488, described by Mackenzie.

A less probable origin of the name "Stark" in Scotland was advanced by George Stark of Nashua, N. H. (1823-1892) who, in 1887, may not have known of Mackenzie's recounting of the story two centuries earlier. The German surname, meaning "strong, stiff, rugged" lent itself to a quite unauthenticated origin, put in print and accepted somewhat generally during the past two generations;

"Tradition accounts for the migration of the Stark name from Germany to Scotland in 1495 when the Dutchess of Burgundy, widow of Charles the Bold, sent a large body of German soldiers under General Martin Swart to join the invasion of England in support of the claim of one of the Pretenders to the throne of Henry VII. The invaders were defeated on the plain of Stoke and those who survived fled to Scotland and were protected by the Scottish King."

The battle, of course, was in 1487, not 1495, and the scene was in the middle of England, a long way from the Scottish border. The Pretender then was Lambert Simnel who later had plenty of leisure to reflect upon his claims while being made to serve as a scullion in the kitchen of the English King. The story is not found before George Stark's day in any of the previous biographies, 1831, 1856 or 1860. A variant of the story is

found in AMERICANA (Vol. 19, 1925) the Pretender being Perkin Warbeck, a Flemish Jew, who from 1488 till his execution in 1499, was with James IV a part of the time. This account ends "among the refugees there were some it is supposed who bore the name of Stark", hardly a basis to support a theory at variance with a reliable genealogical source of the 17th century. Stark, in Germany is at the present time not an uncommon name and many descendants are to be found in the United States, especially in the larger cities.

About 150 years after John Muirhead began to be called "John Stark" documentary evidence of the name begins in the Kelvin neighborhood, north and west of Lachop and the Cumbernauld section. In the four or five generations of "Starks" there would be many descendants and the name would be spread by normal moving about. By 1628 John Stark of Killermont bore the arms having the three acorns (from the oak trees of the forest of Cumbernauld) and the bull's heads, surely a good token of straight descent. In 1854 four volumes of the early records of the University of Glasgow were published beginning in the 15th century as a school for youths. In 1600 is the first Stark mention, "William Stark, his kill", in connection with school revenues. In 1604 and 1605 students were required to take the oath of loyalty to the established religion. John Stark is one name, home not indicated. In 1632 John Stark of Auchinvole, is one name. He subscribed 40 pounds, sterling, for the building of a library at the institution and furnishing it with books, the list being headed by King Charles I (at £200), and next was James, Marquis of Hamilton, with 1000 marks, Scottish. Auchinvole was in the Lachop section and the family of Stark apparently had numerous tenancies. The Starks of this vicinity were evidently people of substance.

By 1673 the rolls of pupils of the University show Starks. In the 4th form or class, one comprising 67 names, is found John Stark, probably the same who in the following year is described as eldest son of John of Auchinvole ("filius natu maximus") there being only two pupils in his class ("Nomina discipulorum quae inscripta sunt anno 1674") In the 4th class of that year was one James Stark, (Jacobeus Starkeus) with 43 other names. Alexander Stark was in the 3rd class, ("tertiæ") with James Weir and 32 others. On the 1654 maps Auchinvole appears as a large house in a park, near a church, "Kirk of Monybrach", and the present town, Kilsyth, is a mile to the north of it.

In recent years Gov. Lloyd C. Stark of Missouri, descended from the Virginia Starks and their emigrant ancestor, James Stark, found in the archives of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, evidence that John Stark bought the estate of Killermont of one John Cunningham in 1628, paying the considerable price of 12,000 marks. About 2 miles above the mouth of the Kelvin, on the north side of it, Killermont is shown on the Dutch map of 1654, as an estate with a mill hard by, Glasgow being then a small town. Killermont is now the well known property of the Glasgow Golf Club. In 1747 Lawrence Colquhoun owned



the property, which his descendant Capt. A.J. Campbell Colquhoun, sold to the club, a beautiful estate of fields, woods and lawns sloping to the river. A photograph shows the original stone residence as a wing of the more imposing mansion erected in the early eighteen-hundreds. In 1634 John Stark of Killermont is mentioned in a register of Testament, Commisariat of Glasgow, and again, in the same archive, John Stark is called of Killermont, Parish of Easter Kilpatrick (now called New Kilpatrick) which adjoins Dumbarton, all being in the county, Dumbartonshire. The same archives mention Richard Stark, Sept. 1652, and Nov. 1653, Burgess of Glasgow, by occupation a merchant. In the Parish of York, York County, Virginia, the estate of Richard Stark was inventoried on March 24, 1704. Tradition in that family called him, or his father, "merchant and physician of Glasgow" and "Surgeon of a Scottish regiment". The parish registers of East (New) Kilpatrick are in existence and may disclose Stark genealogy.

Not from the famous castle stronghold on the Clyde, Dumbarton, but from the County, possibly the Parish, was the town Dunbarton, N. H. named when the proprietors voted to re-name what had been called for the first eight years, "Starkstown". On some old maps it was spelt "Dunbarton" or DunBrittan" and hills to the east, bleak and fearsome summits, in 1654 was "Dumbrettan Moore".

In 1654 the University records, dealing with revenues from land, show 12 bolls from "the Landis of Killiarmon, John Starke, hereto." In the fourth class of 1664, one of 46, the name of John Stark occurs, probably he who in 1667 was, with 18 others, crowned with laurels ("Joannes Starkus 4 nonas quintilus, Laureati"). He was probably John Stark "The Younger" (to distinguish him from his father) and who as "John Stark of Killermont" was married by Mr. Alexander Ramsay to Isabel Weir (Edinburgh marriage register, Scot. Rec. Soc. 1596-1700, p 651). The date, July 27, 1675, was some 18 years before the birth of Archibald Stark in 1693, who, according to an apochryphal list was the first of eight children. This presents a difficulty, but the uncommon name, Isabel, lends probability to a family connection between John (and Isabel) and Archibald as Archibald, the emigrant to America, gave that name to his second daughter. A genealogist's suggestion would be that John (who had wife Isabel) had a brother, William, for reasons stated further on. Was it Isabel Weir's nephew, Robert Wear, or a more distant relative, who was buried in the cemetery at East Derry, one of the first Nutfield settlers. Robert secured a grant of 60 acres in August 1719 and had been one of the intending emigrants, those who asked in 1718, Gov. Shute for a grant of land.

## THE PROSECUTION OF THE COVENANTERS

In 1638 Presbyterians of Scotland drew up, adopted and signed, the first Covenant, a declaration and agreement in resistance of the attempt of Charles I (1625-1649) to force Episcopacy upon them and the

compulsory use of the "Servicebook". A few months later the churches declared themselves independent of the state but the Royal (Catholic) party in England fomented the contentions, the Scots raised an army, war resulted, civil war in England followed. In 1649 King Charles lost his head. It is probable that from the very first the Starks were ranged with their countrymen, the covenanters. At Edinburgh, in the 36th year of his reign Charles signed his "Proclamation with a list of fugitives" (of which one name was John Stark) it being No. XCIV, the date, May 5, 1684, and in it decreed "condign punishment" of the persons on the "exact roll of the said persons so denounced". After the Protectorate (the Interregnum) and during most of the reign of Charles II (1660-1685) and into the reign of James I (1685-1688) prosecutions had been frequent, sometimes cruel and revengeful.

In 1677 Sir George Mackenzie was King's Advocate (public prosecutor) and earned the epithet "Bloody Mackenzie". He boasted that he had never lost a case. He had an overmastering temper and told one unwilling witness that he "would tear out his tongue with a pair of pincers". Macauley paid his respects to him in no uncertain terms. Yet Dryden admired his literary style as the first "to write the English language purely" among the Scots, and, attesting Mackenzie's better qualities, called him "that noble wit of Scotland".

This was the man who drove John Stark from Killermont, "John Stark the Younger" the zealous Covenanter. Family tradition has it that he sold his property (whether he was the sole owner of Killermont is not known) to one James Hunter of Muirhouse, a year before he fled, in advance of the Proclamation, when his liberty and perhaps his life, was at stake.

To what neighborhood or country did Stark flee? Hiding in the mountains would have been possible but if he had sold his property he was able to subsist in comfort, for a time at least, in the north of Ireland, a haven to which many of his countrymen had resorted. It was not long after that "last battle in England", Segemoor, on July 5, 1685, that a great change came over Britain, for complete freedom of conscience was ordained in April, 1687. Four years after John Stark left Killermont and three years after the Proclamation which included him, he could have returned to Scotland in safety. He probably did so, bringing back any children he took with him and any born in the meantime.

## THE STARKS OF AUCHINVOLE

As there is so little documenting the Starks of New Hampshire and Virginia with Killermont, those of Auchinvole, a dozen miles up the Kelvin, should not be overlooked. In 1629 a paper shows "Jacob Stark heir of Thomas Stark, son of John Stark of Auchinvole, his brother." Again "Jacob Stark, heir of John Stark, eldest son of John Stark of Auchinvole, his brother." In 1683 John Stark, grandson of Jacob (of 1629) was in possession of some of the lands. John Stark was called

a "full brother" of William Stark (indicating some half brothers) of Auchintarrie, an estate on the Kelvin, still in 1849 so named, a Campbell heritage. Query - was this William Stark an uncle of Archibald, emigrant to America? Archibald named his first son William, not usually a matter of caprice. James Stark of Virginia used the name, William, as did Dr. Richard of Virginia. It is genealogically intriguing.

Anyway it is interesting to realize that these Starks on the north side of the Kelvin spent their lives tilling the soil, grazing their shaggy cattle, protecting their hard won properties from occasional raids by the Highlanders. For long years their kindred in the North of Ireland induced the short trip across, but eventually it was the newer land beyond the sea.

### ANCESTRY OF ARCHIBALD STARK

It seems that the parents of Archibald may remain conjectural. The New Hampshire Starks transmit no information. Not even traditions speak of John Stark's grandfather and grandmother. The "Year Book" for 1921, a vehicle of the descendants of the Aaron Stark line, one appearing in America 75 years before the New Hampshire, and of which Admiral Harold R. Stark is a descendant, printed a list, without any indication of its origin or proof of its authenticity. Were these births or baptisms? Why exactly two years apart? Why no exact dates?

"Children of John Stark (given name not determined)  
of Dumbarton and Glasgow, Scotland, and later of  
Londonderry, Ireland;

1. Archibald	b 1693	6. Daniel	b 1703
2. James	b 1695	7. Samuel	b 1705
3. John	b 1697	8. Susannah	b 1707
4. Richard	b 1699	9. Silas	b 1709
5. Louise	b 1701		

If James of Virginia and Archibald of New Hampshire were brothers why did Archibald never use the name James for any of his children, or any of the children use it? Similarly, why did James of Virginia never use the name Archibald? As to Archibald the same applies to Richard, Louise, Daniel, Susanna and Silas, for he used only John and Samuel. The first generation of Starks (leaving out of comparison the earlier Aaron Stark line) do, however, show the first four names of the mysterious list; Archibald, James, John, Richard, so that, without having even a hint of its source, it appraises rather highly. The remaining five do not show up in the records in America. Did they remain in Scotland or the north of Ireland?



## ARCHIBALD STARK'S EDUCATION

Twelve years before the General's death in 1822, the son-in-law, Benjamin F. Stickney, printed a brief sketch of John Stark in the New Hampshire PATRIOT, of Concord. It was re-printed contemporaneously in the Essex (Salem) REGISTER.

"His father was a native of Dumbarton in Scotland and was educated at Edinburgh University, who married a wife in northern Ireland and came immediately to America. Although he had received a liberal education himself (and had always been a good liver) he was not in a situation to give the same advantage to his children."

"Edinburgh University" was plain carelessness and "a good liver" probably meant, in comfortable circumstances. Caleb Stark (1831) made no reference to the education of Archibald Stark and probably did not know of the Stickney article, but Potter (1856) in his Manchester (p181) evidently did, but wrote;

"Archibald Stark was born at Glasgow in Scotland in 1693. Soon after graduating at the University he moved to Londonderry in the North of Ireland, becoming what is usually denoted a "Scotch-Irishman"..... An educated man Stark must have had a strong desire that his children should enjoy the advantages of an education, but in a wilderness surrounded by savages, and upon a soil not the most inviting, the sustenance and protection of his family demanded his attention rather more than their education. His children, however, were instructed at the fireside, in the rudiments of an English education and such principles were instilled into them, as accompanied with energy, courage and decision of character, made them fit actors in the stirring events of that period."

Potter had even less to go on and jumped from having an education at "the University" (presumably Glasgow) to graduation. As it turns out the fireside instruction was rudimentary and no more. On Page 581, Potter, evidently overlooking what he printed on page 181, said on the subject;

"His father" (Archibald)" was a man of education and imparted to his children such instruction, and such principles, at the fireside, as few others upon

the frontier, were able to confer upon their children".

The plain facts are that Archibald Stark had little education and neither he nor his wife, Eleanor Nichols, imparted more than the bare necessities, to the children.

The records of Glasgow University, then probably more of a day school for boys than an institution for advanced grades, show these facts (III,173 et seq.); Feb. 27, 1702, 62 members of the third class or form ("tertia") as "entering the academy under master John Tran" included "Archibaldus Stark, also William Rankin and James Cochran, of families which became prominent in Londonderry, N. H. in Archibald Stark's time. There were 25 in the first class of that year under John Law, master, and four in the second class under Gershom Carmichael, master. In the fourth class 43 pupils were under John London, master. Included were names of John Cochran, Ninian Anderson and Robert Gilchrist, all names of Londonderry settlers. The University records do not make it possible to follow a continuity of attendance, year by year. There is no other reference to Archibald Stark. If born in 1693 he was a pupil of but 11 years of age. If born in 1697 (the grave stone's reputed date) he was but five years of age, a sufficient reason for questioning that date. But if born as early as 1687 (bible record, possessed by descendants of eldest son, William) Archibald would have been 17, a likely age to have been found at the University. The family resources and the nature of the times might have prevented keeping Archibald at Glasgow to finish his education. His signature does not show much training. He left no other writing; his will not being in his hand.

### THE STARK COAT OF ARMS



The character of John Stark of New Hampshire was such that he would have been mildly and indifferently interested in the subject, if at all. Yet the coat of arms of the Starks in Scotland had an origin second to none. It was granted in royal gratitude by a King for the saving of his life. The arms remain just as they were first emblazoned on a shield, to be worn on the left arm for protection and defence in battle, and to indicate the family or clan of the wearer. The family did not become a noble one and none of the descendants of John (Muir-

head) Stark acquired a title. They remained plain people, but with a symbol of which any family might be proud. They did not even marry into noble families, whereby through "quarterings" the Stark arms would include them.

## THE STARKS OF ENGLAND

Among the coats of arms there is one entirely different from the John Stark (Muirhead). It is described as:

"Argent, a chevron between three lions heads, erased, or.  
The crest; out of a ducal coronet, or, a stag's head, guard.  
gules, armed, or."

Aaron Stark (1608-1685) was in Suffield and Windsor, Connecticut, before he appeared in Norwich and New London in 1637. The biblical name, Aaron, was never used by the New Hampshire Starks. The Stark Association has been unable to trace the origin of Aaron Stark or even to suggest which part of England, he came from.

## THOMAS STARK OF SUFFOLK AND LONDON

As "merchant, of London" Thomas Stark made his will, Jan. 13, 1705-6, in Hanover County, Virginia, naming wife, Sarah, son, John, daughters, Mary (Sherman), Sarah, Martha, Francis (sic) and Elizabeth. To the son, probably the only son, John, he left "all my estate in Virginia". He left property in the county of Suffolk in England.

## THE STARKS IN ULSTER

No evidence has been discovered as to the date when Archibald Stark left Scotland or whether he went alone or with other members of the Stark family. At about the probably date of his marriage to Eleanor Nichols (1714) he was from 21 to 27 years of age, according to which of three dates of birth is taken. Migrations were going on from various parts of Scotland in addition to those from Ayrshire, just across the strait. An exodus having a bearing on the settlement of "Nutfield" in New Hampshire, took place from the valley of Glencoe. There was a massacre there on the night of Feb. 13, 1692. English soldiery quartered on a hospitable clan for the purpose, nearly accomplished the complete extermination of the inhabitants.

In 1707 the Kingdom of Great Britain was formed during the reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714), Scotland united with England, one country, one flag. In 1713 the Peace of Utrecht affected America as well as Europe, interest in settlements being heightened. In 1715-16 Jacobite uprisings agitated Scotland.

By 1714 James Stark, perhaps brother of Archibald, and said to have been born in 1695 (unverified list which had Archibald's birth as 1693) had gone to Virginia. Certainly before the large "Scotch-Irish" emigration to Nutfield, James Stark had married, probably in Virginia, Elizabeth Thornton. Their first son, James, was born in Stafford County, Virginia, in the next year.



In Ulster the young Scotchman, Archibald Stark, learned his trade, that of a joiner, or carpenter, rather than in or around the old seat of the Stark family, in the river Kelvin neighborhood. From about 1714 to about 1719 he and Eleanor Nichols were having their first brood of children. The Nichols, the Walkers and the Starks probably lived near one another. As early as 1707, Jean (or Jane) Nichols married Andrew Walker, for it is clear that in the next year Robert, their first child was born. According to a tradition in the family, James, the second child, was "two or three years old when the family came to America", making the Walker crossing in 1713 or 1714. The Walkers were, therefore, the pioneers of this three-family group. Their selection of Tewksbury and Billerica, Mass. influenced only temporarily the settlement of father-in-law James Nichols and brother-in-law Archibald Stark. Jean's son, Robert, stayed in Ireland for some reason. In a court paper, Robert Walker was with his grandfather, James Nichols, and had "lived with him from a child." This threw the boy and his "Uncle Stark" together and, in a measure, accounts for the latter's future association with Robert Walker in America.

#### THE HOME OF THE NICHOLS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

The family tradition is meager; "Londonderry", meaning the old Irish county Derry, rather than the Scotch-Irish city. The easterly boundary of that shire is the small river Bann, which flows northerly. Many of the "Nutfield" immigrants lived in this valley, some on the other side in county Antrim. In the neighborhood of the Starks and Nichols in Londonderry, N. H. a farming area was given the local name "Kilrea", from a hamlet near the Bann. The Bann drains the lake, Lough Neagh, and empties into the sea near Port Rush, where more than one party took ship for their emigration to America. We can judge of the family of James Nichols only from American records. Being well past middle life when they sailed from Ireland it is probable that James and Margaret left one or more married children. Their oldest known child, Jean Walker, had been in America some years. But for some reason daughter, Eleanor and her husband, Archibald Stark, did not choose or were not able to come with the Nichols. James and Margaret brought only their sons, Alexander (about 28) and William (younger, but age unknown). In Billerica or Tewksbury the Walkers had found a home but during their lives in those Massachusetts towns they do not seem to have accumulated property. No real estate was owned until James Nichols left son-in-law Walker his "right in the second division" and Walker secured a right in the future town of Bedford. A short sojourn with the Walkers would account for the omission of the name of James Nichols from the list of the first 20 settlers of "Nutfield".

## THE SCOTCH-IRISH EMIGRATION

In Ulster the large parties of would-be settlers, headed by the Rev. James McGregor, were able to make their final dispositions and secure passages in the three (some say five) ships, which would, necessarily, be small ones. It is certain that to pay the relatively heavy expenses of transportation there would be but little money left available for the other side. So many sellers at about the same time created a poor market, both for real-estate and other non-transportables. The full information of the Pilgrim enterprise of 1620 induces wonder why so little remains of the movements across the sea of so many Scots a hundred years later. But that race was not much given to extended accounts of themselves.

Community arrangements may not have been necessary. Individual families probably made their terms separately with various ship owners. There is no tradition of inclusive chartering and no lists of passengers have been preserved. The families could bring with them but little bulky furniture. Chests of clothing, some kitchen utensils, a few precious tools, spinning wheels for flax and wool; such were necessities. The people were all poor. It is not of record that there was a single well-to-do family among them. The names of the ships and the events of the voyage are gone.

But it is known that the ships reached Boston harbor safely on Aug. 4, 1719. The colonists had understood for a year that their needs for land would be met somehow. A tentative list of those willing to emigrate from Ulster, including many names, but not all, of those who actually came in 1719 may be found, as of 1718, in Parker's History of Londonderry, N. H. In default of definite grants awaiting them at Boston it was decided to cruise down the coast toward the Maine settlements. In Casco Bay at Falmouth (now Portland) some twenty families tarried. The bulk of the passengers came back and disposed themselves in small groups, some remaining for the time in Boston, some going to Haverhill, some to other places. A large grant of land in New Hampshire was obtained and called "Nutfield". The name of James Nichols follows immediately after that of the Rev. James McGregor, showing the standing of Mr. Nichols.

## ARCHIBALD STARK'S DELAYED CROSSING

Was the waiting precautionary or was it caused by more compelling reasons? In any event it was a little longer than the delay another coming child would make. Hardly more than enough time elapsed to allow of word coming back to Ireland, of how the large party fared, before Archibald Stark and Eleanor made up their minds to follow. Tradition in their line has it that the vessel on which they engaged passage arrived in Boston "late in the Autumn" of 1720. For many it was an unlucky voyage. So much small-pox-infected the ship that the Colonial

and town authorities would allow no one to land. Again, tradition in the Stark family is brief; "all of their children died on the voyage". The number has never been definite, nor the names of the little ones who succumbed; burial followed burial over the side of the ship, into the waste of waters. As 1714 was the probable date of the Stark marriage, more than four children would have been unlikely. "All" signifying more than two, leaves three as the probable number. At the big village at the head of the harbor Archibald and Eleanor Stark looked in vain and with hearts heavy and tried. No refuge on any of the numerous islands in Boston Harbor was available. The immigrants were too numerous for ordinary pest house provisions. So the ship had to move on.

The Captain took his stricken cargo of disappointed ones down the same northern coast that the previous seekers for new lands went, a year or so previously. At last a haven was found for the passengers at Sheepscot, a small settlement, now Wiscasset, Maine. There, bereft of their little ones, Archibald and Eleanor Stark endured the bitter pangs of blasted hopes and felt the full measure of "outrageous fortune". Among strangers, at the edge of the forest, where savages and wild beasts prowled, they underwent a test of their fortitude. A long winter passed before they were able, with others, to get back to Massachusetts Bay. There is no way of learning how they got there, at what place they landed, where they went or how long they stayed, before Londonderry records give evidence of their settling in that community.



Glasgow Golf Club House  
Left Portion Home of John Stark of Killermont



## THE STARKS IN LONDONDERRY (N.H.) AND AND REMOVAL TO DERRYFIELD

The young childless couple on the threshold of their life in America found themselves on their arrival in Nutfield colony, already called Londonderry, amidst the bustle of hundreds of adventurous settlers who were making hasty but far reaching adjustments in a new community. There was no reason why wife, Eleanor, should not be with him, especially as the Nichols home would be open to them while securing a bit of land and the erecting of a rough housing. The young carpenter, or "joiner", Archibald Stark, might have been in great demand for his trained services. With axe and adze alone men could hew down and square logs for the first houses, and without much previous training. The massive and straight white pines lent themselves readily for this purpose, leaving the hard wood timber, much of it enormous and tall chestnuts, for the framing of permanent homes, the solid and well-built houses of the future.

When Archibald and Eleanor arrived cannot be ascertained, but his name is not found on a long list in 1721, some 130 names, the signers of a petition for the establishment of a church. The first child, Anna (sometimes Ann, sometimes Nancy) was born June 20, 1722, probably in the home of James Nichols. Not till half a year later was Archibald Stark able to secure a suitable lot of land. For £24 he bought of Jonathan Tyler of Bradford, Mass. (Chase's Haverhill, 1861) one half of Tyler's granted lot. It adjoined the large holdings of James McKeen, one of the colony's leaders. It also adjoined, which was probably the reason why Archibald wanted to get it, the lots of his father-in-law, James Nichols, and of his son, Alexander Nichols, the brother of Eleanor. After some 13 months we find the first evidence of thriftiness, whereby Archibald Stark set himself in advance of the crowd. He and Eleanor sold off 3 of their 30 acres "excepting Stark's homestead that he lives upon" on March 23, 1733-34, (O.S.) The price, to Daniel Kezar, the purchaser from Stratham, was £28, or £4 more than was paid for the whole lot. It is evident that Archibald had erected some kind of a habitation. Perhaps for the first time on a legal document, for she could not write, Eleanor made "her mark."

The record gives the name as "Hellen", a form she appears to have used more than Eleanor. The attestation gives the name as "Tlline" indicating that, to the one administering the oath, the name sounded like "Tll-in-ie", with the accent on the first syllable. It represents the prevailing ignorance of scrivenors, town clerks and the like, but in addition it may have indicated that Archibald spoke of his wife as Helen.

Archibald Stark's land lay on both sides of the "direct road to Kilrea", some two miles south of the meeting house (now East Derry) where some 350 of the pious community worshipped. In the grave yard in the rear the burials began in 1719 and continue to this day.

In James Nichols, the father, the vigor of youth had long departed. He found himself depending on his sons, Alexander and William, and on son-in-law, Archibald Stark. In 1722 the three Nichols were grantees under the final Charter and at the next town meeting, March 5, 1723-4 James Nichols was signally honored by being elected Moderator, always esteemed to be high recognition of position and standing in the community. He also acted on a committee as to wages of Selectmen, on the salary of Constables and as to distributing meadow lots, duties suitable to his capacity and experience in life. Brother William Nichols early proved his capacity as a farmer, at 22 being granted a lot (No. 148, originally a grant to Gov. Benning Wentworth) in the S. E. part of town near Leverett Brook. At 24 he married into the Cochrans, one of Londonderry's leading families.

The winter of 1725-6 brought the life of James Nichols to a close. On the 16th of March he called in his neighbors, James Adams and Robert Wilson, and his son-in-law, Archibald Stark, and asked them to witness his act in making "his mark" to his Will; to the scribe he was "James Nikill" (again a phonetic rendering). He was "weak in body but sound of judgment". He commended his soul to God and directed that his body be buried in the Londonderry burying place (they put up no stone for him and the exact spot is unknown) son Alexander to defray the charges and was to have "1/2 of my lot" (his farm), son William getting only "my Bodyly Cloathing" while son-in-law Walker got "my lot in the second division". To Walker's son "my grandson" (Robert Walker) "I bequeath the other half of my lot with it equal rights". This favoring of his grandson resulted in some stress and family strain as will be seen. To his wife James Nichols left two cows and a heifer (a frequent custom to provide sustenance) "and all household stuff" and "the services of Grandson, Robert Walker, until he be 20 years of age" he to be "at her disposing". Robert was then a strong lad of 18. More than seven years were to elapse before the will could be probated (on Sept. 11, 1733) notwithstanding that nearly a year before (Oct. 28, 1732) Margaret, the widow, in the presence of Archibald Stark and John Barnet (perhaps father of Rebecca Barnet whom Robert was later to marry) petitioned the Judge of Probate at Portsmouth to allow Robert Walker to administer the estate so that the heirs could "quietly enjoy and possess avoiding feweds and further debates". It was not until one of

the leading men of Londonderry intervened that a journey to Portsmouth resulted in Archibald Stark and James Adams accompanying Robert Walker, who presented a letter from John McMurphy to the Court. The very next day the appointment of Robert (25) was made. The McMurphy letter (now in the estate envelope with the will and other papers in the archive vault of the New Hampshire Historical Society, as custodian) gives interesting side-lights; that Robert "had lived with him" (James Nichols) "from a child;" that the "widow and oldest son not being in this part of the country" the eldest son had given him (McMurphy) a letter "as I negotiate for Him"; that "another son he has living here has given him "(Robert)" a deed of all that he could claim of his father's estate so that Mr. Walker is next of kin and falls in successively to have the right of administration. "(Deeds 19-301; William, son of James Nichols to Robert Walker of "Bilrica," land laid out to James Nichols). A bond was made out that day in Portsmouth in the court with amount left blank but signed by Robert Walker as principal and by Archibald Stark and James Adams as sureties. As under English (and American) law the administrator had the right to handle personal property only, the record seems to have been necessary to give evidence of Court recognition of the end of what must have been an unfortunate family controversy. No further legal papers are on file. Thus for nearly eight years Archibald Stark was found behind the boy, Robert Walker. For some reason Alexander Nichols, a successful and busy man of affairs in Londonderry decided to remove to Sheepscot, the locality where his sister, Eleanor, had passed such an anxious winter on her arrival with Archibald Stark in America. He did not leave immediately, in 1728 serving on a committee to "find the nearest route to Boston immediately" and in 1730 serving on another committee, to give bonds to secure a minister. By 1732 the estate petition shows that he was "not in this part of the country". His mother, Margaret, went to Maine with him but whether she returned to die in Londonderry cannot be determined from the records. A stone in the old cemetery, "Margaret Nichols" bore an inscription long ago effaced by the weather. Alexander became very prominent in his new location, dying in 1758 while in command of the fort there. No others of the related families followed his trek to Maine.

Archibald Stark was a Grantee in 1726 (the year of Mr. Nichols' death) under the charter of a new town called "Coulrain" (not to be confused with the town in Massachusetts, Colerain, also largely settled by the Scotch-Irish) to be located in a section 12 miles along Salmon River. The grant was by Gov. Wentworth and the Council, to several hundred men (N. H. Deeds, 186-190) and included Hugh Adams, John Stirling, several of the name Hogg and other Londonderry men. As two years of delinquency would forfeit all rights, it was probably just another enterprise that lapsed for want of actual settlers. Archibald Stark's interest was probably, like most of the rest, purely speculative.



One thing favoring Londonderry colony was that the Indians had not been, from the very first, at all disturbing. Even after 1725, when Lovewell's fight occurred and later the French were dislodged at Norridgewock, and until the outbreak of the French and Indian war, almost no trouble was experienced locally.

April 1, 1724 Archibald and Eleanor had the second of their New Hampshire children. They named him William. If the English custom was followed, which did not, however, prevail among the Scotch generally, we should have an indication that Archibald's father was William Stark. There is some likelihood that William was named for an Uncle, such a William being, as we have seen, probably a brother of John Stark in Scotland. Isabel, who came next into the young family, received an uncommon name, derived probably from that Isabel Weir who married John Stark "the younger" of Killermont, in 1675.

At this period Archibald Stark was laboring hard clearing the forest and giving the fresh, rich soil the first opportunities to show abundant increases. We may be sure that the family had plenty to eat, as well as the wherewithal to wear, from the patch of flax for linens and from the backs of sheep for wool clothing. Of game and fur-bearing animals the surrounding country furnished an abundance. The exotic potato, which the settlers had brought with them from their homes in Northern Ireland grew especially well among the stumps of the pines and other forest trees. Archibald's skill with tools was necessarily exercised in making farming implements as well as household articles. He had little help for the children were small. For about 14 years he developed his estate. He seems to have realized, as others may have done but did not act upon the conviction, that the land was inferior and that in a generation or so it would become exhausted, even with crop rotation and the addition of such meager quantities of fertilizer as were available.

### THE BIRTH OF JOHN STARK

On August 28, 1728, a midsummer day, in a rude dwelling facing south, end to the road, one of the early log houses, Eleanor Nichols Stark gave birth to a son. They called him John. He was to live for nearly a century and was to achieve enduring fame. Then it was just another mouth to feed, for John was the fifth child. The family numbered seven; the parents and Anna, William, Isabel, Samuel and John. The latter remained the "baby" for about two years when Archibald came. Some four years ensued and the last child was born, Jean, date not known.

In the lives of Archibald and Eleanor the days must have been those of almost perfect happiness, even though unrecognized at the time. The seasons came and passed imperceptively. There were unnumberable difficulties but there was joy. Around a similar door-yard and humble hearth Burns in his time was inspired to write;

"To make a happy fireside clime for weans and wife,  
That's the true pathos and sublime, of human life."

### THE BIRTH-PLACE

In 1897 a tablet was dedicated, reading "Birth-place of General John Stark, 1728, the Hero of Bennington, 1777, erected by the Molly Reid Chapter, D.A.R." To be more easily read from the now unfrequented, road, the stone showing the inscription was placed on the bank wall, the house itself having been about 20 feet behind it. Alexis Proctor later of Franklin, related that in 1840 he was one of a party going in carriages from Haverhill to Concord on a political journey. They stopped at the site and some of the company took bricks as souvenirs. The D.A.R. (Mrs. Annie B. Shepard, Regent) in 1897 obtained a deed to land six feet square, for the marker. In 1841 she wrote the author that Mr. Proctor, born in that neighborhood, had told her many years before that he remembered the cellar hole and that he "gave us a stone taken from the old hearth."

Proctor told her also that the hearth and chimney were made of stones. The house erected soon after the destruction by fire in 1736, had a chimney partly of stone, partly of brick. There is a brick in the DAR headquarters in the Manchester house of Archibald Stark from the original chimney in Londonderry. In front of the house was a "large rock". Mr. Herrick made a color sketch of the first home of the Stark's, produced in Willey's Book of Nutfield (1897). "Stones taken from the cellar wall are now in the bank wall in front of where the house stood. So, some of the work of Archibald Stark, his family and friends, will remain to be seen despite fire and storm.

Archibald Stark never sought or accepted public office. He did, however, his full share of work for the town, probably much more than the records show. In 1728, the year of John's birth, he had his first encounter in court, for he was sued by one Thomas Mc Clanathan for five pounds odd. The jury found against Stark; Michael Whidden, Foreman. In 1734-5 another case against him Thomas Steel and James Morrison, jointly, caused them to be summoned for "incumbrances on the highway", an action because of a fence the three men, property owners, would not, for some reason remove. No outcome is recorded.

Archibald Stark bought a pew in the meeting house. The strength of his religious convictions would have been, from his ancestral background, unimpaired. The location was "on the north side of the west dore next to said dore". The number was 57, and it later went with the farm deed to the purchaser, Samuel Mitchell. For the period of 14 years, from their arrival till their departure, Archibald Stark and Eleanor Nichols and their brood made on the Sabbath their way northerly to the big meeting house. In the warm weather little John Stark must have gazed wistfully out of that "west dore" by his side, during the long sermons. The Starks shared the pew with another family,

that of Thomas Clerk (Clark). Thomas Clark, and George Clark were called servants of Captain Cargill. It meant that they owed the wealthier man for their passage money, and would be beholden to him until they had liquidated their debts. The Clarks each had half of a proprietary right and later acquired land, some of it near Archibald Stark's and near Ezekial pond.

### ARCHIBALD STARK MAKES TURPENTINE

Archibald Stark's backing of his nephew, Robert Walker, included taking Robert (25) and his brother, James, (about the same age, but younger) into a new venture. At this time, 1733, Robert is found, not in possession of his inheritance in Londonderry, but with his father, Andrew, at Billerica, Massachusetts. Archibald Stark, not content to do a minor job as a farmer, or to work at his trade as a joiner, undertook to extract from the many acres of pitch-pine trees growing at large on the thin sandy soil of the area lying north and west of the Scotch-Irish settlements, spirits of turpentine. It was evidently an article in demand and not easily obtainable and probably the yield was not as great as from similar pines in the South. This variety of the species still characterizes many square miles on the east side of the Merrimack. One process involves the destructive distillation of the wood but the method and equipment used by Archibald Stark must have been very simple and home made. The location selected was half way between Manchester and Goff's Falls, the next hamlet some four miles south. It is a tradition in the Walker family of Bedford that the Walker boys helped their "Uncle Stark" for three years in the making of turpentine and that they then "crossed the river" and in the fall of the year 1737 built a log structure on lots later to be known as in the town of Bedford. Following the winter of 1737-8 the boys welcomed two young men from Dunstable, Samuel and Matthew Patten (see "Patten Families," a genealogy by the author, 1939) the younger of whom became notable for his "Diary" and who did the legal work in the settlement of the estate of Archibald Stark. At first the Pattens worked with the Walkers and then, having obtained land they built their own first houses. It is hardly likely that Archibald and his nephews made more than a bare living from the making of turpentine.

### STARK HOME DESTROYED BY FIRE, 1736

The short and simple family tradition is that in 1736 the habitation of Archibald Stark in Londonderry was destroyed by fire. The early biographers, without details, give this as a reason why the family moved to Amoskeag falls. Even in the time of Caleb Stark's 1831 book the event was a hundred years old. It could be wished that his father might have related something to him of his own grandfather's loss, which occurred when young John, his own father, was but 8 years old. It is



doubtful if anything now in existence was saved except a small wooden box that is said to have come across the sea, preserved for the future in a glass case in the Manchester Historic Association. The time of year is not indicated though we are justified in assuming that it was before June 14, 1736. The chief lightning season not having begun and no casualties being recorded, the fire may be assessed against that arch enemy, sparks from a foul chimney on a dry wooden roof, or some other common happening. The fearful spectacle must have remained indelibly in the minds of the five young children, two younger than John who was nearly eight.

To the existence of deeds and other legal instruments we are indebted almost solely for a reconstruction of what took place after the disaster. Archibald's progress was set back by his loss, without the availability, in those times, of insurance. Had the dwelling stood intact he could have sold his holding for more money. The first deed evidencing a change was dated on June 14th when he sold for £16 "part of Leverett's meadow laid out to Abraham Blair and Archibald Stark." The paper was not recorded for 3 months (25.236) it being a "quit-claim" deed. The next day, however, there was a very important transaction, one that doubtless had required much negotiation, visits to Boston, etc.

On June 15, 1736 Archibald Stark, a poor farmer who had lost his home, bought of three prominent Massachusetts men, a large tract of vacant land near Amoskeag Falls. He was described as "yeoman, alias joiner", meaning his present occupation was farming, his trade that of a carpenter. The deed (42.73) was not filed at once though acknowledged the next day. The land was what had been held in May, 1735, by "William Tyng and Company", the sellers, who had acquired it in the meantime being John Turner of Salem, Samuel Thaxter of Hingham and William Dudley of Roxbury, all men of substance and prominent in their respective communities. It was not until September 6, 1736, some eleven weeks later, that Archibald Stark was able to execute the deed of sale of his home place in Londonderry. It went to Samuel Mitchell of Marblehead. The 30 acres, included buildings, but probably out-buildings only, brought £350. An unspecified part of the consideration was for "pew No. 57 in the meeting house." No less than four witnesses saw Archibald and "Hellener" sign. The deed was promptly recorded, liber 22, page 206, Rockingham County.

So, 14 years of hard work in cultivating the soil, improving the farm with necessary buildings, enabled Archibald Stark to secure a good return, considering the absence of a house. In the possession of his 600 acres at Amoskeag Falls he was never disturbed nor was his title disputed, although he may, as many did, have made some settlement to quiet the claims of the prominent men in Portsmouth who had bought the vague and disputed "rights" under the Mason title.

Archibald Stark was able to pay debts and buy some very necessary farm equipment and household utensils. His far-seeing enter-

prise in seeking to secure so much well located land constituted a remarkable undertaking for so poor a man. He appears to have been alone in it. Less than four months after his purchase he was able to reduce the costs, in the sale, on December 30th of two lots which he separated from his holdings, which had been generally referred to as "Dudley's farm". For one lot of 40 acres he got £40, but for one of 20 acres he received £120. Deeds were first recorded in Massachusetts (Middlesex County) but later in Rockingham County when the New Hampshire Registry was in order, (45.199). In reviewing his transactions since the fire, Stark is seen to have had net results in cash of £186 and to have retained 540 acres of his purchase.

About this time Londonderry people became seriously concerned over the control of the fishing privileges at the mighty falls of the Merrimack, which lay, one side at least, within their grant of 1719. Potter's Manchester (1856) dealt at some length with the rival claims of Massachusetts and New Hampshire to the general area. The lands that Stark bought were not then divided into ranges and lots. Stark had taken title from the Massachusetts owners. He did not deal with the "Proprietors" of the "Nutfield" grant, Londonderry. His success and enterprise is believed to have aroused some latent feeling. The Scotch encouraged some of their number to settle near the Starks, among them John McNeil, who "pitched" (that is, occupied for human habitation a bit of vacant land without getting legal title to it beforehand), his location being near "McNeil Street," Manchester. Fifteen years later when John McNeil assaulted Archibald Stark, the act may or may not have had an origin in old stresses and not have been wholly the result of "bad blood", though big McNeil was of the bully type. Archibald Stark, on the other hand was not one to turn the other cheek in order to avoid further quarrels.



Kitchen, 1736, where Eleanor Stark Labored for 30 Years  
Now in D. A. R. Chapter House, Manchester, N.H

## THE STARKS AT AMOSKEAG FALLS, DERRYFIELD

Ancient records speak of the locality as "Tyng's Township", a Massachusetts title, though "Harrytown" was a local name. Londonderry authorities reserved 200 acres at the falls for taking and curing of fish. Just north of this area was the Archibald Stark purchase, "Col. Dudley's farm", a previous name. There is no definite clue to when Archibald Stark began his homestead buildings, but as he was burned out in 1736 it has been assumed, probably correctly, that his house at the Falls dates from that year. In any case he would have had to set to work early, hewing his frame, and it still stands as he put it together with the help of his neighbors, choosing the best trees, drawing them down with a pair of oxen. The boards for the roof, siding and floors would have come from a mill. Potter has one built in the 1735-1737 period, on "Cohas brook, a little east of the mill now owned by James Harvey, the first mill in the present limits of Manchester". As he was a "Joiner" (though sometimes of the finer skill, cabinetmaker) it is unlikely that the wide white pine boards of the front rooms of the house, in their wainscot and panelled perfection, were put in until some-time after the new habitation was occupied. By that time Stark would have been able to dam the brook, outlet of his own pond (always called "Dorr's pond") and with crude but workable gear equip his own saw mill. After the huge pines yielded their wide boards, almost free from knots, the lumber was air dried in the sun, carefully piled against the day he could use them. More than two hundred years have elapsed and his work still commands admiration. The mill was used for many years, some of the foundation stones showing, until recent years, where the wheel, probably over-shot, turned in its deep pit. The boys, William, Samuel and John, were not too small to help around. In due time John Stark learned to be a sawyer. After his father's death he built the Dunbarton mill and still later had one, using Merrimack water, through a sluice or rough canal, near his father's old home. Visualized must be the hardships, the tiring labor, the delays and disappointments that Archibald and Eleanor Stark suffered in that primitive time, in erecting not only their shelter but in clearing, plowing, harrowing, planting, cultivating and harvesting the crops and vegetables needed to sustain their



lives and those animals of the farm, horses, cows, oxen, sheep, which their poverty precluded them from having all at once.

Before the Londonderry house burned down Archibald Stark and two other men, John Richey of Londonderry and Samuel Graves of Kingston, on May 6, 1735 signed a note for £100, due a year later. It remained unpaid and the consequence was that Sept. 14, 1740, a court order was issued for the arrest of the men. Richard Wibird, wealthy Portsmouth holder of the note, attempted to collect, according to law, and it involved attaching a coat belonging to Archibald Stark. The outcome is not shown in the documents (file 11722, N.H. Hist. Soc. Concord; in the "archive room").

In 1738 Archibald ("husbandman alias joiner") and "Hellen", his wife, sold (deeds 27.207) the last of their Londonderry land, when Samuel Torrance of that town, "weaver", paid £65 for it. It was probably very welcome money. Not until 1752 did the two sell land again, when, it being in Dunbarton, they, of Derryfield, disposed of a lot, their own children, Ann and Archibald, witnessing the signature of their father and the attempt of their mother to make a large L, as the token of "her mark". It is the last item of the kind and she is mentioned afterward rarely; in her husband's will in 1758 and in the Bible record of her death, in 1768.

#### ANECDOTE RELATING TO ELEANOR (NICHOLS) STARK.

Potter, who relished a good story often, as a raconteur, embellished them on suitable occasions, like that of October 22, 1851 celebrating the Manchester Centennial;

"One time it happened that Stark was visited by some gentlemen from Boston, distinguished by royal favor. While taking them about his place they chanced to pass through the room where she and her maidens were spinning. Attracted by her extraordinary beauty, as they went out, one of the officers asked who that pretty girl was. 'Oh, replied Stark 'it is a girl I have got to do my work'. Mrs. Stark, who had overheard the question and was listening with curiosity for the reply, felt all the spirit of an injured woman rising her breast, and confronting her husband, company and all, with her fine eyes flashing fire, retorted in her broad Scotch dialect, 'Ye lee! Ye lee! Archie Stark, ye know I'm your ain wedded wife and as good as any o' yee!'

Could this have been a much dramatized version of an occasion, a day's visit, August 18, 1737, when "the mighty falls at Skeag" were visited by arrogant Governor Belcher of Massachusetts, rich Bostonian, with his

Council, looked over the somewhat disputed territory? Stark's house was the one nearest the falls. Four years later (in December, 1741) New Hampshire became a separate Province and the "Province line" was run, forever ending all controversies.

In extreme age Mrs. Robie related, as applying to her grandmother, Molly Stark, a similar story but it was probably a senile mistake. Anyway Potter's was at least 50 years older and Eleanor should have the benefit.

## TOWN AFFAIRS

In the earliest days "The Proprietors of Tyng's Township" held their meetings in various places, Chelmsford, Westford, Dunstable" and Groton, sometimes so inconvenient to local members that after June, 1741, it was voted that meetings should be held in Litchfield and that those coming from a distance would have a stated allowance for attending. Wm. McClinto provided 6 gallons of rum at the first Litchfield meeting, at which the raising of funds for a meeting house was discussed. McClinto collected 5 £and 8 shillings and Archibald Stark, who brought a salmon, collected 9 shillings for that. He, McClinto and one Chamberlain were voted 30 £ "for preaching, the trouble of hiring and Billiting included", in other words for the minister and the committee's expenses.

"Stark's Fort", named from its location and Archibald Stark's part in its erection, was of logs and was in a stockade (with sides 125 to 150), with a well (even in 1856, discernible). Potter believed that the very existence of the fort made the Indians avoid attacking the little group of houses.

Christo, also called Christian, had his wigwam on the brook bearing the latter name on the southern border of the Stark lands and as late as 1745 was friendly and well known to the Stark boys. John's almost compassionate view of the nature of the uncontaminated red man probably dated from that period. In 1757 Christo was recognized at St. Francis, the home of his tribe, by Moses Jackman of Canterbury, there a captive.

## FISHING AT AMOSKEAG FALLS

Even during the early days of the Starks, the late thirties and the early forties, the scenes around their home, in fact under their very eyes, were often more animated than any in New England. In spite of attempted regulations by Londonderry and Bedford, men and boys from near and far came to fish and spear in the rapids and great swirls of water fallen from the high river above. There amid massive rocks seines were drawn by the inhabitants each in his own allotted place, year after year. The best locations were well known. Some are specified in the History of Bedford, such as those of the Starks and the

Pattens. The History and Matthew Patten's diary give many details of catches. In season enormous quantities of shad were taken, and eels, alewives, great salmon and sturgeon. Shad ran to 20 and 30 pounds. Sturgeon 6 feet long, no less, were accounted worthy of mention. The gamy fish of all varieties, entering from the sea in the Spring, surmounted all the rapids of the lower river, until, when they came to the greatest of them, at the Amoskeag, they attempted and failed again and again to reach the quiet spawning grounds along the placid sandy banks above. And while so many thousands succeeded in their valiant efforts, the fighting throngs in the melee about the rocks and ledges were often the prey, if not the sport of the Indians and settlers, bent on supplying the larder with the richest treats the year afforded. For salting down great tubs and barrels were used. For drying long racks were set up. In the lush and prodigal seasons corn and other vegetables were fertilized, after the manner of the red man, with dead fish. In this now fabulous and forever vanished period, the young Starks became adepts as spearmen and fishermen, as they were, from much practice, becoming keen and successful hunters and trappers.

### A WRESTLING MATCH

Potter devoted less than a page (in his history of Manchester) to Archibald Stark, not at that time (1856) having knowledge of or access to the early court records, but, liking a good story, he gave more than three to John McNeill and his wife, Christian, whose headstones may be seen in the S. W. corner of the Valley Cemetery. Enough of John's character is shown to indicate that he was overbearing and that he sometimes took advantage of his size. In the north of Ireland having knocked a person of distinction from his horse, he found it prudent to flee the country. "Six feet and a half in height with a corresponding frame and a stern will....his wife well mated with him" Potter relates how she threw a stranger who had called to test McNeill's ability in wrestling;

"an troth, mon, Johnny is gone but I'm not the woman to see ye disappointed and I think if ye'll try, mon, I'll throw ye meself."

### PRELUDES TO WAR

In 1745 the fall of Louisburg served to bring to a temporary close the inciting of the Indians by the French to depredations in the Merrimack Valley, though in Suncook one McQuade was shot and killed, his companion, Burns, escaping to spread the terror. The Starks saw pass their hamlet a regiment of some 800 men that Col. Theodore Atkinson of Portsmouth headed, destined for Canada. The ill-conceived plan ended in the wintering of the large force on one of the bays or out-



let lakes of Winnepesaukee. From December, 1745, till April, 1746, Capt. John Goffe (living a few miles South of the Starks) had his men out, most of the time on snow-shoes. In May two men were killed and one was captured by the stealthy red men, biding their time until they could strike. Watchfulness and alarm prevailed in the Derryfield hamlet, in the direct path, successively, of the explorers, the scouting parties and venturesome settlers. Everything passed the doors of the Stark homestead. There the first news of every foray was received and relayed. The last act for the time (Potter said, the last in the Merri-mack valley) was when the Indians attacked Epsom, 16 miles as the crow flies, from Derryfield, capturing Mrs. McCoy. By Oct. 1748, (Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle) the incursions had practically ceased.

### DUNBARTON

James Rogers (father of the famous Ranger, Robert Rogers) and Joseph Putney had built temporary log houses about 1746. When these were burned by the Indians they retired to Concord for a time. In 1749 Capt. Wm. Stinson (born, Ireland, 1725) built his permanent log cabin and by 1751 John Hogg and Thomas Mills had built in the western part of the forest wilderness. At the tavern of Samuel Rankin, Londonderry, in 1751 Archibald Stark, John Hogg and Hugh Ramsay were authorized to call the meeting and the names of the principal landholders were disclosed (1752). The Starks included Archibald, William, John and Archibald, Jr. "of a place called Amoskeag". Caleb Page, Jr. and others were "of Hampstead". Title to lands about six miles square had been acquired in 1751 from "the assigns of John Tuf-ton Mason" (Hist. Dunbarton) Archibald Stark being the first named, and from that fact, rather than from the size of the family's holdings, it was named and for the first 14 years carried the name, "Starks-town". Captain Caleb Page (born 1705) of pure English descent, came at this time and at once assumed a prominent place, by 1753 being appointed with Col. Zacheus Lovewell and Major John Talford, by the New Hampshire authorities, "to survey and make a road to Coos". On the list of the men they engaged are found, as of March 1753, the famous names of John Stark, Pilot, (who collected the same pay as the three leaders, 35 shillings a day) and Robert Rogers.

### ARCHIBALD STARK'S FINANCIAL TROUBLES

They were slowly growing and eventually overwhelmed him but did not deter his taking an interest in Dunbarton. In 1748 he gave two notes to Samuel Rankin. One for 57 £ shows his signature as clear and distinct as when written just 200 years ago (No. 19834, N.H. Hist. Soc. archives) the other being for 37 £, and for both of which, being unpaid in 1750, Rankin sued. In 1750 Archibald gave a note to James Dwyer (Dwyer), apparently a truckman or teamster and followed it

with three others, all small amounts. Dwyer waited seven years, then got out a writ and Sheriff Thomas Packer attached a chair in Stark's house. Such legal proceedings were very common and it is seldom that the outcome, damages collected or what not, is now evident.

### A SERIOUS AFFAIR

In 1751, as the result of some argument or clash Archibald Stark and John McNeil, his neighbor, became involved in a case having far reaching consequences. Archibald swore that McNeil, assisted by Daniel McNeil, used "clubs and stones" in an assault and that he suffered "great pain, incurred charges for nursing and Doctors and was hindered from any labor or business from 14th April till Aug. 3rd, 1751" claiming his "life was for a long time despaired of." Three Arbitrators awarded Stark "for trespass and all other controversies" the sum of £34 and Robert Boys, Justice of the Peace, fined John McNeil 20 shillings. Perhaps the physical disabilities may have been, as usual, exaggerated, but an actual assault on a 60 year old man by a huge bully is proven by the legal outcome. The Stark boys, aged 27, 25 and 23 could not have been around or they would have seen that their father was not knocked about.

### JOHN STARK CAPTURED BY THE INDIANS - 1752

There are three accounts, the first being a brief one by Stickney, son-in-law of the General, printed in the Patriot, Concord, 1810, barely two score lines; the principal feature this:

"I have had many hours of high enjoyment in hearing the old gentleman relate anecdotes of his captivity. Stark remained with the Indians three or four months; and he says he received from them more kindness than he has ever seen prisoners of war receive from any civilized nation, and that they practice the moral virtues in general much more than the Europeans".

By 1831 when Caleb (1805-1864) son of Major Caleb (1759-1838) wrote his inadequate Memoir of his grandfather (the General), he, of course, enlarged on Stickney, but as he personally scarcely knew his grandfather, living in another town and being only 17 when the General died, his account, which it is better to give (as it is the earliest) must have been derived from father Caleb, who may not have checked it, containing, as it does a mis-statement, that John was the second son of Archibald, when he was actually the third.

"In 1736 Mr. Stark removed to Derryfield, now Manchester, upon Merrimack river and commenced a settlement near

Amoskeag falls. John, his second son, the subject of this memoir, resided with his father, at this place, till 1752. At that time (in company with his brother, William, Messrs. David Stinson and Amos Eastman) he went upon a hunting expedition to Baker's river, in Rumney, N.H. On the 28th of April they were surprised at this place by a scout of ten St. Francis Indians. Signs of them had been discovered two days before and the party were in consequence about leaving the hunting ground. John, separated from his companions to collect the traps - and while thus engaged fell into the hands of the enemy. On being interrogated respecting his comrades he pointed a contrary direction and led them two miles out of the way. His friends, alarmed at his long absence fired several guns, which discovered them to the savages, who, proceeding some distance down the river, turned their encampment and formed an ambush to intercept their boat. The hunters, suspecting what had taken place, were proceeding down the river - William Stark and Stinson in the canoe, and Eastman on the bank; when, about sunrise the latter fell into the ambush, and was taken by the savages, who then directed John to hail the others - He did so; informed his friends of his situation and advised an escape to the opposite shore - upon which four of the Indians fired into the boat. At this critical moment he had the temerity to strike up two of their muskets, and upon the others preparing to fire, did the same and told William to escape, as they had fired all their guns. He profited by the advice and made good his retreat - Stinson, his companion, was killed. This conduct of their prisoner so exasperated the Indians, that they beat him severely, made prize of his furs and proceeded to Coos, near where Haverhill, N.H. is now situated, where they had left two of their party to collect provisions for their return. Here they tarried one night, and continued their route to upper Coos; whence they despatched three of their party with Eastman to St. Francis. The remainder employed themselves sometime in hunting upon a small stream called John's river. The prisoner was liberated during the day, but confined at night. While he, Stark, was directed to try his fortune at hunting, he succeeded in trapping one beaver and shooting another, and received the skins as a reward for his skill.

On the 9th of June the Indians reached St. Francis where he remained six weeks - was well treated and obtained a knowledge of their modes of attacking and annoying their enemies. Mr. Wheelwright of Boston and Capt. Stevens of Number Four, who were sent by Massachusetts to redeem prisoners, arrived



about this time at the village, and not finding those they expected from Massachusetts, released both the captives, and returning by way of Albany, reached Derryfield in August following. Mr. Stark paid for his freedom \$103, and Eastman \$60. These sums were never repaid by the state. Massachusetts, directed by a more just and liberal policy, redeemed all her captives. It may not be improper to remark that the scout which captured these prisoners came to Albany in company with this returning party, and sold the furs taken from them, without molestation.

During this captivity Stark acquired that thorough knowledge of the Indian character, and of their stratagems of war, which he turned to such good account against them, and their allies, the French, in the war that ensued. It is a custom with the Indians, to impose all their labor and drudgery upon their captives and Squaws. They accordingly directed Stark to hoe corn. He first proceeded to cut down the corn, carefully sparing the weeds;- but this, not answering his purpose of relieving himself of the labor, he threw their hoes into the River, telling them, "it was the business of Squaws and not warriors to hoe corn". Instead of being irritated at this, they were pleased at his boldness, called him "young chief" and he was accordingly adopted as the son of their Sachem. In the latter days of his life he used to relate with much humour, the incidents of his captivity; observing that he had experienced more genuine kindness from the savages of St. Francis, than he ever knew prisoners of war to receive from from any civilized nation.

When Eastman and Stark arrived at St. Francis, they were compelled to undergo the ceremony of running the gauntlet. The young men of the village ranged themselves in two lines, each armed with a rod, to strike the captives as they passed along. Eastman was severely whipped; but Stark, thinking one good turn deserved another, snatched a club and made his way through the lines knocking the Indians down, right and left whenever they came within his reach; and escaped with scarcely a blow, to the great delight of the old men, who sat at a distance enjoying the sport at their young men's expense."

In 1834 Edward Everett followed, almost word for word the 1831 account, except that there was some improvement in the language, as would be expected. Everett commented severely:

"The unhappy want of political concern between the Colonies at this period is curiously illustrated by the fact, that the party of Indians, who had plundered and captured Stark and his companions, travelled with them to Albany, and their, without molestation, made sale of the very furs, which had been taken from these citizens of a sister province in time of peace;- for this adventure preceded by four years the breaking out of the war of 1756."

Though Everett was 28 years old at the time of Gen. Stark's death, he seems to have contributed little in his "Life" in knowledge acquired otherwise than in print.

Observing the development of the spirited story of Stark's capture;- Potter in his "Manchester" took occasion, with his great knowledge of the Indian Life, to improve on Caleb Stark's story: Stark when first discovered by the Indians, had his attention arrested by a sharp hiss; "upon William's return to the settlement a party from Rumford, consisting of Nathaniel Eastman, Timothy Bradley and Phineas Virgin started for the scene of the disaster, found the body of Stinson, scalped,- buried it in the woods nearby and returned in safety"; for the gauntlet the prisoners were instructed in there parts, being taught to repeat some sentence as they passed through the lines and being "furnished with a pole six or eight feet in length, upon the top of which was placed the skin of some animal"; Stark's pole was furnished with a loon skin; "Stark started off at a deliberate trot singing out at the top of his voice "Nutchipwuttoonapishwameugnnonkkishguog" which means "I will kiss all your young women", Eastman having repeated some gibberish, probably improvised by Potter, meaning "I will beat all your young men". Having seen this in 1856, Caleb Stark for his 1860 volume of "Memoirs" and correspondence, added something himself, but more conservatively;- the furs had a value of five hundred and sixty pounds sterling; the chief was Francis Titigaw; author did not repeat that 1831 foot-note, that the follow-up party, burying Stinson, "brought home one of the paddles of the canoe, which was pierced with several shot holes; it was preserved a long time by the Eastman family". But Caleb, influenced by the pole story, replaced his own, Stark "snatched a club", a more probable weapon than a long pole in close attack, in view of the effective use Stark made of it. Caleb was not impressed into repeating Potter's 38 letter equivalent of the kissing threat but did add "Stark stated that the first one that struck him was a youth, whom he knocked down; and that he did not see him again while he was at the village".

## ALBANY

Stark's opinion of Albany morality had its origin when he first saw the place, a redeemed captive, in the summer of 1752. He never got over his resentment, as he needed the money to reimburse Massachusetts and had to find it the hard way later. Albany was not less curious to the eyes of Stark and Eastman than Montreal had been, each having characteristics greatly different from New England towns. They saw old Dutch buildings, all sorts, brick and wood mixed together, steep gables on the street sides, stockades still standing, a fort on the hill within them. One Kalm, a traveller from Sweden, had visited the place in 1749 and described the customs and costumes in detail (Foster's trans. 3 vol. 1771) but see Justin Smith "Our Struggle" for vivid, if "constructive" portrayal. At 24 Stark was keen and observant but his mental vision could have hardly conjured up a picture of himself during a long war with Great Britain a quarter century later, as a General in command of the Northern Department, of an army of colonists throwing off a foreign yoke. The place had grown fast; the County in 1731 having had 8573 inhabitants, growing four years after Stark's first visit into 14,805. The number of slaves more than doubled; 1222 to 2619. But the two young men had neither the time nor the money to enable them to tarry on their homeward journey. The route and the events have never been found in print, but the men reached Derryfield and Dunbarton, respectively, in safety.

The real price of Stark's redemption came out in Butler's address to the Legislature of Vermont (1849) for it,

"was not for \$103 but for an Indian pony. I copy the following from the original journal of the officer who redeemed the captive. 'July 1, 1752, This day was John Stark brought to Montreal by his Indian master. He was taken a hunting this spring. He is given up for an Indian pony for which we paid 515 livres'".

In the 1810 story Stickney had something about Stark having been given a deceased chief's widow for a "mother" and a daughter for a "wife", doubtless quite symbolic acts. Bancroft had a comprehensive paragraph, all that a general history could give;

"Danger lowered on the whole American frontier. In the early Summer of 1752 John Stark of New Hampshire, as fearless a young forrester as ever bivouaced in the wilderness, of a rugged nature, but of the coolest judgment, was trapping beaver along the brooks of his native highlands, when a party of St. Francis Indians stole upon his steps and scalped one of his companions.



By courage and good humor he won the love of his captors, was saluted by their tribe as a young chief, and, for a ransom, was set free." (11.370)

### JOHN STARK'S MILITARY LIFE BEGINS

While Stark and his companions were on their Baker River Hunt in 1752 a party (called a Committee, but whose make-up has not survived) looked into the Coos (pronounced co-oss) country with a view to forestalling any French lodgments. But the real work was done in 1753 with Stark as "pilot" because he had been through with the Indian party of his captivity, and, no doubt, because of his recognized skill. The fifteen men would have been able, in the short time (19-1/2 days) to have done little more than blaze a trail. The Indian word "Co-has" stood for a wide and level valley of the Connecticut where the river, flowing past the towns of Haverhill and Newbury forms the famous "ox-bow" of fertile farms and lovely villages to-day. It was a winter job, necessarily on snow-shoes, the party reaching Concord on its return on March 31st, 1753. It was a small beginning for Stark. In what month Caleb Stark's 1831 book does not indicate, but it was probably later in the year, April, 1753, that an honorable obligation to repay a ransom was undertaken.

"Our adventurer repaired the next season to the river Androscoggin to pursue his vocation and raise the means to discharge his redemption debt. Upon this occasion he was very successful and returned with a valuable load of fur."

It was a long and arduous journey beyond the White Mountains possibly, and was not one to be made alone, as danger from roaming Indians would be enhanced on such a long quest. Without knowing it John Stark was in training for valorous deeds.

There were border attacks in 1753 on the Merrimack River settlements. In Canterbury, inhabited but a few years, two familiar and hitherto friendly Indians, Sabbatis and Plausawa, acted in a threatening manner and were killed by two settlers, Morrill and Bowen, to prevent outrages. They were tried, being deemed by some little better than murderers, but were delivered from jail by friends, in disguise. The menace was not averted; it was accentuated.

There was (1753) another family item, a note given by Archibald to Richard Ayer of Haverhill, Mass. a tanner, a suit following it eventually, Hugh Stirling, Stark's future son-in-law being co-maker.

The year 1754 saw on Feb. 22nd the first marriage, William Stark to Mary, sister of the pioneer, Capt. William Stinson, at Dunbarton, his parents and John probably being present to celebrate the first alliance of the family, one that influenced the future life of William

Stark in a dark and fatal way. There may have been there a brown eyed girl from the house of Capt. Page in whom a young scout from Derryfield was taking an interest.

### THE ALBANY CONFERENCE

In July, 1754, the colonies sent delegates to a conference or congress at Albany, the first great conclave, abortive of immediate and tangible results, but showing the feasibility of coming together on subjects of mutual interest. The men, some of whom met for the first time, would form almost a roster of the leaders of their respective colonies. One object, treaty making with the chiefs of the "Six Nations" was partly achieved. The Indians, lavishly entertained, with feasting and speechmaking, prevented the important York state tribes from affiliating with the French. In the course of the next six years this meant much to John Stark. New Hampshire's bill, (still extant) for cloth, vermilion, a cow, liquor and "printing Mr. Peters' sermon"; some £83, date; Dec. 26, 1754.

### THE INDIANS AND BORDER ACTIVITY

Capt. John Webster's list of 20 scouts sent to capture the Indians, who in May, 1754, took Nathaniel Meloon's family at Stevenstown, did not include the name of John Stark, but another scout under Capt. Peter Powers of Hollis, starting from Pennacook June 15th, probably had him, judging from the 1831 and 1860 paragraphs:

"In 1754 the report was current that the French were erecting a fort at the upper Coos and Capt. Powers was despatched by Gov. Wentworth with 30 men and a flag of truce to demand their authority for so doing. He applied to Mr. Stark to accompany him, who conducted the party to the Upper Coos by way of the little Ox-bow by the same route he had travelled two years before as a captive to the Indians".

At Canterbury on May 31st Col. Blanchard, as a Justice of the Peace, took a joint deposition by John Stark and Amos Eastman after having taken one by those two men with William Stark added, because of the expectation that a council would be held at Casco involving restitution, the three setting up claims for £560 "at least". John and Amos deposed:

"That the said Amos was sold to the French and for his Redemption paid sixty dollars to his master besides all his expenses of getting home. That the said John pur-

chased his Redemption of the Indians for which he paid one hundred and three dollars besides all his expenses in getting home. That there was ten indians in company who Captivated the Deponents and Lived at St. Francis- they often told the deponents it was not peace. One Francis Titigaw was the chief of the scout. There was in their scout one named Peer they called a young Sagamore that belong to St. Francis.

And the deponents further say that in their Return from Canada they were at Crown Point, a negro named Tom was there who told them he was captivated at Canterbury that year by Sabbatis and Christo and that they sold him to a Frenchman at that Fort for Four Hundred Livres which sum Capt. Phineas Stevens and Mr. Wheelwright then offered for his redemption in order to return him to his master James Lindsay but the Frenchman his master refused his Liberty unless they would pay him six hundred livres which they refused to do".

(Provincial Papers VI)

Mrs. McCall was tomahawked on her door-step at Stevenstown and a scout of 24 horsemen were sent there as a guard, the commander, Lt. John Goffe, taking young Caleb Page (26) and nine Derryfield men, including young Archibald Stark (24) but no Indians were seen. John Stark seems not to have been on this or a larger one (State Papers VI and Potter, 1866, II) though Robert Rogers was one of the scouts. Potter concluded that "The promptness of Gov. Wentworth in this emergency and the effective force detailed preserved the inhabitants of the Merrimack valley from any further molestation.

There being no domestic items of the Stark family until the summer of 1757, William and John being in the Ranger service in the French and Indian War, the closing year in the life of Archibald Stark will be related, out of order.

### A STRAYING COLT AND THE CONSEQUENCES

On Aug. 9, 1757, a one year old black colt, with a white spot on its forehead, the property of James Wallace of Londonderry, and valued at 14 pounds, old tenor, while in the custody of Robert Anderson, in some manner got into the field of Archibald Stark. The court papers show 14 documents (N.H. His. Soc. archives). John McNeil heard Anderson tell Stark he would not pay the damages claimed at the moment he was leading the colt out of the field, namely 11 or 12 pounds, but would pay reasonable damages. Matthew Patten gave a "warrant of apprisement to Daniel McNeil and Wm. Eliot to apprise three colts said Stark had pounded for which he gave me £4, O.T.", as to "Rye, barley



and grass", the appraisers considered £20 O.T. proper damages to Archibald Stark. The colts were sold at auction at Stark's instance on August 20th. Two days later an action looking like reprisal was started by Wallace who had Stark arrested as he had "converted and disposed of to his own use....knowing it to be the property of James Wallace" the colt in question. The trial at Portsmouth on Sept. 6th was attended by Matthew Patten who "sit in the sessions the afternoon" and the next day, gave his testimony. Put over till the next term (December) the jurors found for Wallace but only in the amount of seven ponds odd. On appeal Stark lost the action in June 1758, in spite of the ability of hired legal talent in Squire A. Livermore, whose bill afterward, not showing up, might indicate that he got cash. Presented were numerous affidavits; Ann Stark, eldest daughter made her mark, Isabel Stirling signed "Isabell Starling" for all we know her sole surviving signature. The girls swore to seeing the colt taken out of their father's field by him and an apprentice boy, John Johnson. Patten earned good fees out of the unfortunate case.

### DEATH OF ARCHIBALD STARK

The controversy had caused him much time, and also money he could ill afford to spare. The talk of the community had worried him, culminating in the gall and bitterness of a lost case. The whole took its inevitable toll of the ageing man's vital forces. Hot weather and fatigue may also have been factors. He had tried to get home from Portsmouth. A hurried horseback journey may have been the immediate cause of his death, as a similar one was destined to kill his grandson, Caleb, in Ohio.

But for one obscure item posterity would have been none the wiser as to his being taken deathly sick at Kingston, on the way home. On June 22nd he hurriedly made his will, describing himself as weak, witnesses, Caleb Towle, Caleb Towle, Jr., and Benjamin Sleeper. The signature of Archibald Stark, his last, was a feeble effort but is well preserved, brown ink practically unfaded, linen paper durable.

It was during the heat of midsummer that Archibald Stark's body was brought home. The duty fell to Samuel, recently married, living at home, for the 32 year old son had no help from William and John then at Lake George in the final stages of the Abercrombie campaign. When the rude cart bearing the body, pulling hard in deep sand, bumping over ledges and rocks, creaking through many a stretch of pine woods, finally reached the old home and the never ending roar of the falls, the remains were received amid subdued voices and placed by restrained and reverent hands in the front room of the house he had built twenty years before. The last journey was over, forty miles. Eleanor, the bereaved wife, grieving over one who, however wrong-headed at times, had been her loyal companion for more than two score years of poverty, joy, prosperity, affliction and now at last, disaster,

had daughters and sons to help her bear her burden. The burial was in the little cemetery by Christian Brook, in sight of the home. A few of the early settlers had preceded him. When William and John came home they were shown the new made grave.

The envelope containing the Will and the estate papers (N.H. Hist. Soc.) is filed with hundreds of others of that early period. He left to wife, "Elinor" one third of the income, everything else to the children (without favoritism, so common at the time), William, Samuel, John, Archibald, Nancy, Isabel Stirling and Jean Stinson. After feebly making his signature he had only three days to live (grave stone inscription, June 25, 1758). When Executor John Stark (William, co-executor, seems not to have been active) filed his accounting Oct. 21, 1765, more than seven years afterward, it included "\$100 to convey the body of the Deceased from Kingstown (where he died) to Derryfield, and the funeral charges". By August 11th, 1758 John Stark had arrived home for Patten wrote in his book "I with Thomas Hall appraised Archibald Stark's estate and got 19-3/4 pounds of beef at 4s/ from John Stark and pd him." Patten and Hall eventually collected over £88 for their work. The lands were down at £8000, personal at £1618, but the estate was "insolvent," some 21 persons having claims among them Matthew Thornton (later a "Signer") and though a physician it was probably not for medical attendance. John Stark had the principal claim, "me, the subscriber, £441" and it implies he had been giving his father sums out of his pay as a ranger Captain. Patten had many more entries due to the estate settlements.

A stone was erected over the body of Archibald Stark, reading "Here Lyes the Body of Mr. ARCHIBALD STARK He Departed this Life June 25th, 1758, Aged 61 years". What remained of it was destroyed or covered up when the "Stark Park" idea was being carried out about 1900, by persons unknown. Potter's Manchester gave the date of Stark's birth as in 1693 (p181). But fortunately the Bible in possession of a descendent of William Stark's line, Harold M. Stark of Detroit, gives the exact date as "July 8, 1687", the only record known and conforming to other evidence. A year before she died, Mrs. Jennie L. Osborn, born 1858, told the author that when she was a little girl she went with her mother, Mrs. Susan Abbott, (1834-1910) to the Valley Cemetery, to which the few bodies identifiable by stones had been removed in 1854 (when the locomotive works needed more space and the Christian Brook cemetery was destroyed) to visit the Stark and Gamble graves. The stone of Archibald Stark ("a low slate head-stone" Rowell, 1904) was found to be broken. They took a piece home. The next day Jennie was sent by her mother to return it. Even so small a piece as she could carry caused Mrs. Osborn to remember the incident always. Was Herrick right, in 1896, in asserting that the remains of Archibald Stark, and presumably of Eleanor, though she never had a stone (his buried 136 years, hers ten years less) were actually removed after the second interment, to "Stark Park", time

"a year or two since"? If not, and only his broken stone was moved, their dust is mingled with the clear sand just north of the old stone of their son, Samuel, the one spoken of as having a "bullet hole" in it, but which is nothing more than a hole due to spalling of the soft material. Potter in printing six inscriptions on the stones recently removed, (in his and Rowell's time) from Christian Brook, made four mistakes!

Archibald's name (with incorrect dates) is on the monument in Stark Park but there is no "marker" (as is the case of the 26 others) with his name nor one with that of Eleanor (the "Eleanor Coombs" being that of the General's daughter). If the Archibald stone was ever moved from the Valley cemetery to Stark Park it became lost when the desecration occurred. It may be, like that of Molly and the others, a dozen or more in all, subject to possible discovery and retrieval. The ground to the west of the present high fence slopes off, down steeply, showing the necessity of much filling and grading.

*Province of } To the worshipful  
New Hampshire } Justices of the peace for the province of New Hampshire*  
*On the humble complaint of Archibald Stark of a piece called Ameyhagg in the*  
*province of New Hampshire but not in the bounds of any town or man in his*  
*most humble most humbly sheweth*  
*That John in needily out with the aid of Daniel in well both of Ameyhagg -*  
*of paid husbandmen on the twenty fourth day of this last of April at Ameyhagg*  
*of paid with force and arms did make an assault on the body of your Compt*  
*one with clubs and stones did beat wound and abuse your Compt*  
*so that his life is in danger all contrary the peace of our sovereign Lord*  
*the King his Crown and dignity and the Laws of this province in that*  
*he hath made and provided and your process against the said John*  
*and Daniel and that they may be dealt with as the Law doth require*  
*Dated this 27th day of April 1751* *Archibald Stark*

*Province of } To the sheriff of the province of New Hampshire*  
*New Hampshire } his undersigned duty as to one of the Constables*  
*of the County in said province*  
*your one for the province of New Hampshire*  
*in the County of Dover the 27th of April 1751*

Archibald Stark's Charge of Assault, 1751



## THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

When John Stark was 20 years of age the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle brought its temporary peace and the border settlements of New Hampshire enjoyed comparative freedom from Indian incursions. From that year, 1748, the English settlements grew steadily, especially across the Appalachians. In 1753 Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent George Washington into the edge of the Ohio country, in the following year with an armed force. It was the small beginning of a struggle that was to bring about the emergence of many a man of spirit and ability. By the experience gained and the strong habits of life then formed such men became leaders years later in the larger struggle when the yoke of Great Britain was thrown off by the colonies.

John Stark's short trips as a pilot in 1753 and 1754 opened for him a vista which he was to follow the whole course of his adventurous life. An enlistment in one of the three companies locally forming was almost inevitable. The one chosen was that headed by his friend, Robert Rogers. It was a natural selection, influenced by the association of their respective fathers in the acquisition and settlement of Starkstown (Dunbarton) and by the appeal that scouting had for the young woodsman who had already seen enough of the life to realize he was fitted for it.

## ROBERT ROGERS

A condensed account should precede the story of their exploits in the war about to open. Stark's relations with Rogers can now be better understood because of the constantly widening knowledge of the latter, confirming Parkman's early judgment of his true character. From Allan Nevins (1914, the Caxton Club) to Burt G. Loescher, (1942, the History of Rogers Rangers, Vol.1) documentary evidence is now complete. But few items show Rogers between March, 1753 (the Lovewell-Page-Talford expedition, Stark "Scout"; Rogers one of the men) and the Summer of 1755. In this period the smuggling and counterfeiting began and, per-

haps, ended. Rogers had undertaken to raise 20 men for Major Joseph Frye of Massachusetts toward the quota of the Bay Colony, "taking the King's pay for it", Frye later contended (Prov. Pap. N. H. VI.364). In the following month, February, 1755, Rogers was tried on a counterfeit-  
ing charge. The case was so important it was before a bench of three Justices of the Peace, Joseph Blanchard of Dunstable (Nashua), John Goffe of Derryfield and Matthew Thornton of Merrimack. Thornton became one of New Hampshire's three "Signers" of the Declaration of Independence. The trial was at Rumford (Concord) and as the result of it Rogers with 15 others were bound over to the Superior Court, to sit at Portsmouth on Feb. 12th, 1756. A transcript of the incriminating evidence, including the examination of Rogers was, in the usual way, sent to the appeal court. Some of the records are in the archive room of the New Hampshire Historical Society. Unfortunately what the Provincial Court at Portsmouth did about it cannot be found. Rogers was there. Probably thoroughly frightened but with the outward plausibility and the cool effrontery which he could always assume, Rogers himself seems to have found a way out. At any rate he was permitted to switch the would-be soldiers he had 'listed for Massachusetts over to the quota that Governor Wentworth was raising for New Hampshire, by methods not too squeamish, if accepting "King's evidence" from Rogers is any indication. It was not a time to be particular about personal records, of men who were needed, men of stamina, to go into the wilderness to fight the Indians and the French. Parkman (Montcalm and Wolfe, I,445) more than hints that smuggling was one of the early exploits of Rogers and that during his illicit intercourse with the French in Canada he acquired a smattering of the language. At more than one dangerous juncture Rogers in the future found the knowledge serving him well.

In April, after getting his freedom at Portsmouth, Rogers barely escaped the toils again. His dupe or confederate, Carty Gilman of Exeter, tried to swallow Rogers' incriminating letter (but did not succeed for it is still a loathsome court exhibit) when he was found with counterfeit bills and gave up that he had had dealings with Rogers. The Provincial authorities and all the Justices for Rockingham County were, of course, fully cognizant of these and other works of the strapping young man of 25 with the enormous nose, his distinguishing feature, if we may believe the somewhat doubtful and unconfirmed evidence of his only portrait done in London by an unknown hand in later years. If his nose was any bigger than two of Gilbert Stuart's of Washington, it would have been a monstrosity, and probably just escaped that misfortune.

### STARK, ROGERS, ORR AND THE SCALPS

Amont the strange and perhaps true stories of Rogers and Stark one is to be found (p59) in William Little's History of Weare, N. H. (1888) which records how Rogers, Stark and one Samuel Orr of Goffstown were hunting on the Asquamchumauke river near Mount Moosilauke. The

year must be inferred, probably about 1753. It was a rainy day in camp, three Indians called, departing shortly before night. Rogers slipped away, Stark and Orr not thinking much of his absence. About midnight he returned and carelessly threw down three bloody scalps. As Little has it; "Stark reproved him for killing these Indians in time of peace. 'Oh, damn it' said Rogers 'there'll be war before another year'". True or false the story illustrates a significant difference between Rogers and Stark.

How Robert Rogers' name had been connected with counterfeiting, and perhaps smuggling, could not have escaped the notice of Archibald Stark and his sons, located as they were where the traffic along the river passed their very door. John Stark could have remained with no illusions as to the course of Rogers. The unstable moral poise exhibited at times through Rogers' career, never seemed to sway the canny and observant Stark. The free gossip of every hamlet in the county ran in every ear, some of it arrant heresay but a good deal of it true, backed by the assertions of trustworthy men. In the following year counterfeiting was again prevalent. The printing of the bills themselves was a simple business. Many a country yokel was deceived by more intelligent men who had yielded to cupidity. Utterers from the Bay colony were continually corrupting overwilling listeners in New Hampshire in a get-rich-quick circulation of the forged notes.

For the full story of Rogers' counterfeiting trial see Loescher's "Hist. Rogers Rangers," (1946) pages 264-270 and Provincial Court files, Concord, Boston News letter, Apr. 1, 1756, and State Papers (N.H.) VI. 364. John Stark gave testimony relative to Rogers' asseveration that he would have nothing further to do with the men who offered to buy oxen with counterfeit money. Rogers on the stand admitted taking a "20 pd. bill" from the man "to pasture his horse", but strongly denied other dealings.

That John Stark was not debased at this time by his association with Rogers must have been due to the strong fibre of the man's inherent morals. While this resistance was going on unconsciously, the reserved man learned to become bolder and the venturesome one become wary, a process in Nature in compensations where forces were constantly interacting. Stark's stability of character, due in part to Scotch caution, received some rude shocks (and became tougher thereby) for in the years to come Rogers and Stark were thrown together intimately. Often beneath the stars in the fastnesses of some unbroken wilderness, lying side by side, confidences were exchanged. On the shores of Lake George on summer nights of sylvester beauty, and by the camp fires in the dead of winter in the snows of mountain passes, John Stark learned to know Robert Rogers. From Rogers' own narratives it appears that more than once Stark helped him out of a bad situation. When Rogers, in the same accounts, deviated from the rules of scouting that he himself drew up, endangering himself and his men, it is noticeable that Stark was not with him. The time came when Stark's make-up sufficed to direct him on a



true and honest course, while John's own brother, William Stark, went the way of Robers. Both became Tories and worse, as the records will show in due course.

### STARK'S MILITARY EDUCATION BEGINS

As to the three companies enlisted and organized locally, Potter's history of Manchester states that one was that of Capt. John Goffe, another that of Capt. John Moore and the third, in spite of the Carty Gilman affair, that of Robert Rogers, all being of Derryfield and vicinity;

"Noah Johnson of Dunstable and John Stark of Derryfield were Lieutenants in Rogers' company, which, as it was principally employed in scouting and ranging the woods was called "The Rangers". This was the nucleus of the afterwards celebrated Battalion known as "Rogers Rangers".

The roll has not been preserved but the company of about 50 men had Abraham Perry as the Ensign and Hugh Stirling as Clerk, the latter brother-in-law of Stark he having married John's sister, Isabel. Stirling did not remain a Ranger very long. Later, when he was able, Johnson, a much older man who had seen service in Lovewell's war, was let out in favor of Robert's brother, Richard Rogers.

The ambitious plans of Commander-in-chief Shirley (who was also Governor of the Massachusetts Bay colony), embraced three objects, his own expedition against the Forts on the great lakes, General Braddock's advance westward in Pennsylvania and the assembling of a large force under Gen. William Johnson (afterward Sir William) to attack Crown Point, that thorn in the flesh of the New Englanders and of the settlers along the Hudson. The New England regiment of Col. Blanchard was slow in getting under way. It was rendezvoused at the fort at Stevens-town (Salisbury) and Captain Rogers' company was sent on in advance, to the Coos meadows. There a small fort was built at the junction of the Ammonoosuc with the Connecticut and the men were vigorously employed in constructing light batteaux. Ignorance in high places expected the force to reach Lake Champlain in that manner. The idea corrected, the troops went by way of "No.4" and crossed the wilderness, now Vermont, reaching Albany on August 12, 1755.

There the New Hampshire force was assimilated at the "flats", river bottoms just above Albany, with the men of Johnson's army from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island and from the Mohawk and Hudson. Stark soon learned that William Johnson had remarkable influence with Indians, but may with others have doubted Johnson's ability in a military way, seeing, as Parkman remarked, that he "knew nothing of war." But able and energetic Johnson was not the only man to head several thousand men with no more adequate training than himself. Another was his

second in command, Phineas Lyman of Connecticut, lawyer, a brave and vigorous raw soldier.

In the commissary line there had been poor co-operation and the New Hampshire men soon found themselves facing short rations. A private subscription was thought necessary for their relief. (Blanchard to Wentworth, Prov. Pap. N. H. VI. 429)

While at the "flats" just above Albany or at the camps across the river, John Stark had the opportunity to renew his acquaintance with the queer Dutch town. He was later to know it even better but, perhaps, to esteem it no more than he did on his release from Indian captivity. The place had grown and was destined to thrive in a material way from the profitable presence of one army after another. The Indians, whose impressions are indelible said that the storekeepers there and also those representing them who came to their villages to bargain for furs were "not men but devils". Nevertheless the Indians were an asset in the hands of William Johnson and he was here now when Indians meant success or failure in the campaign.

Back home in New Hampshire in the Merrimack valley, the news of Braddock's defeat on July 9, 1755, was received with dismay. The 23rd of the month" was observed as a fast day throughout the Province" as Matthew Patten wrote in his Diary. It was deemed by Gov. Shirley too late and too far to carry out his design but he left a large garrison at Oswego.

When Gen. Johnson's army was marched northward to "the great carrying place", later Fort Lyman, later Fort Edward, it was Rogers' company that was ordered to remain behind to escort the provision trains. The alertness and mobility of the Rangers were deemed the best procurable protection. It was already better passageway than the trails. To act as a garrison the New Hampshire regiment of Col. Blanchard, some 500 men, remained at Fort Lyman. How near they came being annihilated will be seen. On his arrival at the lake, Lac St. Sacrement, which Gen. Johnson proceeded to re-name "Lake George" in honor of the British King, the army prepared a flotilla for the journey to Lake Champlain.

Fort Lyman, on the level Hudson at the junction of a creek, had little merit in natural defence. Then and during the ensuing 25 years the stockades and minor earth-works, afforded no sense of security. The story of the first campaign against an enemy that John Stark was to have a part in is told, all too briefly, in the "Introduction" which Rogers wrote for his celebrated "Journals" (London, 1765) his note books evidently not kept until the first of the narratives, Sept. 24th, 1755.

"On the 26th of August, 1755 he was employed to escort the provision wagons from Albany to the Carrying Place, so called, since Fort Edward. Here he waited upon the General to whom he had been recommended as a person well acquainted with the haunts and passes of the enemy

and the Indian method of fighting and was by him dispatched on several scouts to the French posts. He was on one of these up Hudson river, on the 8th of September, when Lieut. General, the Baron Dieskau, was taken prisoner and the French and Indians under his command defeated, at the South end of Lake George, near Bloody Pond, so called, from that defeat. For this service General Johnson was created a baronet."

While General Johnson, who knew vastly more already about Indians than the stalwart Captain before him, received Rogers, who was now in an unfamiliar country, though his 2nd. Lieutenant, Stark, was not wholly so, the latter, we may be sure had been left behind. Rogers, attired in some sort of a uniform seems to have favorably impressed Johnson "notwithstanding some insinuations have been made to his disadvantage" for, after the campaign was over, in October, he wrote that Rogers "is the most active man in our army" and that "his bravery and veracity stand very clear in my opinion". Parkman's thirty thrilling pages in Montcalm and Wolfe should be followed for the advance of Baron Dieskau down from Canada, along Wood Creek and a trail, till within 4 miles of Fort Lyman where lay Blanchard's 500 men on guard. The French general's Indian allies had no stomachs to face the cannon of a fort, so Dieskau turned his steps to Lake George. When within three miles of Johnson's camp, some of the latter's forces were found to be approaching to give battle. Hurriedly arranging an ambush Dieskau nearly wiped out the advancing troops killing Col. Williams and King Hendrick, the fat old Indian chief. Dieskau pressed on toward the lake to complete his victory but Johnson had intrenched behind trees hastily felled. The New England men did deadly work with their muskets. A few field pieces were placed and fired, creating terror among the Indians. Defending the position Johnson was wounded but Lyman, his second in command, successfully directed the fighting. Dieskau was severely wounded. At Fort Lyman Col. Blanchard learned of the battle and courageously sent Captain Nathaniel Folsom ("Ensign Falsam of the New Hampshire regiment, wounded through the shoulder "William Johnson's Report to the Governors, Sept. 9, 1775) with about 80 men of the regiment together with 40 men of the New York forces under Capt. McGinnis. The latter was soon killed, but Folsom receiving his baptism of fire creditably, did good work against the retreating French, losing only six men. Johnson did not follow up his victory, due either to his own injuries or, as was suspected, to his unwillingness to let Lyman have greater credit.

As Rogers was on a scout "up Hudson river" at the time and we find no mention of Stark in any account, it must be assumed that Stark was with him and that The Rangers knew nothing of the battle until their return to camp Lyman. Rogers was directed to remain and conduct



scouting parties during the winter, beginning Sept. 23, 1755. A rough fort was built at the lake side and named Fort William Henry. The provincials, having been enlisted for short periods, were sent home, except some 600 retained for garrison duty at the two forts. In the "Journals" Rogers gives the stories of seven successive scoutings, made up of 4, 5, 40, 4, 30, 10 and 2 men respectively. He finally reported on Dec. 24th. at Fort William Henry and was directed to remain with that garrison. Of Stark's movements we see nothing in Rogers. On October 6th, Johnson wrote to Gov. Wentworth "As Col. Blanchard is now obliged to return with his Regiment" he proposed that Col. Symes and Captain Rogers with a few of their men should continue the work of scouting through the winter. Some 24 men stayed on at William Henry. It is probable that, on permission being given, the reduced Ranger company was partly reorganized, the Isle au Mouton ambuscade scout being the last under Blanchard, and that Stark returned to New Hampshire then. As Nov. 28th was the date of the appointment of Richard Rogers to be Lieutenant, Stark's participation had probably ended. Between Nov. 12 and December 19th Rogers conducted two scouts, reconnoitering Ticonderoga both times, finding the garrison large and very busy; three new barracks, four store houses, fifty tents and probably 500 men in all. Caleb Stark's note (1831) was in error as to time; "This campaign passed without other occurrence of note. In the Autumn the regiment was discharged and Lt. Stark returned home". Rogers' account of his scouts indicates plainly the October-November termination, but Caleb didn't grasp the facts in the "Reminiscences".

#### A MINOR CASUALTY OF THE 1755 CAMPAIGN

Late in December, 1770, over 15 years after the event, John Stark was trying to help one of the old Rangers. Who wrote the certificate, notable for direct and clear statement without an unnecessary word (but with a common grammatical error) is not known but it was signed by Captain Stark. (Vol. III, Indian, French and Rev. War papers, archive room, N. H. Hist. Society)

This may certify whom it may concern that Peter Bowen of Salisbury was in the Provincial service in the year 1755 under the command of Major Rogers, who was then a Captain, and that the gun of Charles McAuley was discharged accidentally being loaded with a ball which entered the head of said Peter near his right eye and blew same out, I being personally present and see the same. Dec. 24th, 1770.

John Stark, Lieut. to said Company.

"The bearer hereof, Peter Bowen, has been under the care of Dr. Carter, (my deceased husband) and had the misfortune of losing his eye-sight by a shot

of a gun while in the province service. This account to the Doctor amounted to upwards of £ 200 O. T. Attested by Ruth Fowler.  
Bouscown, December 3rd, 1770!"

Uneventful as the campaign had been it provided Lt. Stark with needed experience of large camps and the movement of troops, as well as more or less actual scouting.

At home the year 1756 opened inauspiciously for the Stark family. Archibald Stark had to give another note to Samuel Rankin, the inn-keeper, this time for thirty seven pounds. The former note of 57 £ was overdue, unpaid since 1748.

Counterfeiters were active in the Merrimack valley and on Feb. 3rd. Matthew Patten's diary told of his going down the river in search of the culprits;

"Set out after midnight with Thomas McLaughlin and John Little to summon Aaron Quimby but mist of it he being absconded summond on Sabath day John Stark John Quig, Benj Smith & Wm. Moor to appear on Monday and Caleb Emery, Jun<sup>r</sup> on Monday to appear before Joseph Blanchard, Esq<sup>r</sup>.

What was done by Justice Blanchard after hearing these witnesses of what the counterfeiters were about is not seen but Patten gave in on the 8th, his account, "to Mr. Parker to carry to Court" (meaning the Superior Court) at Portsmouth. On the 4th. Patten had "rid all night" and had apprehended four men, whom he does not name. Though Aaron Quimby had "absconded" his name appears as one of the company of militia next to be enlisted. From time to time other counterfeiters and scares are found in the records but no further mention of Lt. Stark.

### THE CAMPAIGN OF 1756

During February and March, while John Stark awaited the end of winter and his call to service, a poor and diffident young man about the homely tasks of the farm and saw mill, a study in contrasts is furnished material.

There entered Boston, only 60 miles away, by the road from New York, a showy cavalcade of five persons. The leader, an equestrian to claim the attention of every eye was no less than Col. George Washington, a tall and handsome man of 24, graced in all the courtly qualities of Virginia, a colony most like cultured England. At times by his side were Captains Mercer and Ashton, his aids. All were notably mounted and dressed in new and expensive uniforms. Behind were two negro servants "glittering in cream and scarlet and silver lace". The long journey of two months was to seek a favor of Governor Shirley, who welcomed

Washington and granted his request. Capt. Dagworthy of Maryland had seen no reason to acknowledge any authority in Col. Washington of Virginia. Washington was determined to put him in his place; an early exhibition of his character.

The visitors saw little of the dark background of surviving Puritanism, were splendidly entertained and then headed their horses homeward. It was as Commander-in-chief that Washington next saw Boston. Nineteen years were to pass before Stark and he were to meet. Never in their long association in wresting their diverse colonies from British rule were their characters and their modes of life to draw together. They were alike in unvarying patriotism, in all other essentials poles apart.

In March 1756 General Shirley summons Rogers to Boston for a conference. Washington had been and gone. It is doubtful if they were ever face to face but when during the Revolutionary war's early months Washington had to deal with Rogers, he made no mistake; he knew his man. Rogers in his "Journals" wrote;

"Leaving Ensign Noah Johnson the command of my company I set out on the 17th. for Boston. On the 23rd, the General gave me a friendly reception and the next day a commission to recruit an independent company of Rangers."

This was a feather in the cap of Rogers for it would take him out of the regiment of Col. Blanchard or any other. The ambitious Captain "sold", as the present day has it, his project, as he did to most Britishers, though to but few Americans. We may presume that there were "red letter days" in Boston, sight seeing and the like, for the backwoods boy from the border town in New Hampshire. What Parkman said of William Johnson "a courtier in his rough way" may be applied to Rogers. He was to have a company of 60 privates, to be paid 3 shillings a day. As Captain he was to have his 10 shillings, his lieutenant, 7, his ensign, 4. The instructions given Rogers by Shirley were predatory; at least Rogers recorded them thus; "to distress the French and their allies by sacking, burning and destroying." Shirley gave letters to the commanders at Fort Lyman and Fort Wm. Henry. While Rogers would be under the command of any superior officer the nature of his work would make his a separate arm of the service. No roster of the new company is known but Potter says of the unit that it was "officered principally from Amoskeag and being enlisted from the New Hampshire regiment, most of the men were from this neighborhood."

Between the time of his leaving Boston on March 24th, 1756, when he received his commission, and April 28th, when he left No. 4, the short gap suggests that Rogers looked to the selection of his junior officers. He would have no difficulty in securing the services of John Stark, to act as third in command, his second Lieutenant. There would be time and inclination, so a visit to Starkstown would be natural, where his widowed



mother kept the home place. It was somewhat remotely located in the south-east portion of the new town. In memory of the North of Ireland the farm had been named "Mountalona". On an Irish map of 1777 "Mounterlany Hills" are to be seen in Tyrone, not many miles south of the ancient city of Londonderry, the home of so many of the Scotch-Irish emigrants. So the Rogers family were of the hill country. Robert's sisters, Mary, Martha and Catherine were still unmarried. Daniel and Samuel, his elder brothers, had not left the farm, carrying it on while Robert ranged far and wide. He had already taken Richard with him and later James, still younger, went with Robert. Virgin forests nearly hemmed the clearings in. From rising ground a little to the south there was visible the placid Merrimack above the falls. Behind a hill where the river disappeared was the hamlet, Derryfield, where the Starks lived. The City of Manchester now fills the view.

Scarcely ten years were to elapse before Robert Rogers, the boy brought up in the log cabin was to achieve fame and then a notoriety of more than doubtful cast. In London itself there was to be printed and be followed by acclaim sufficient to turn his head, his two books. One was the "Journals" dealing with his part in the French and Indian War. It became a chief source of information to historians and romance-historians. His note-books, if any, have not survived. His memory was doubtless remarkable, though it sometimes slipped. Perhaps his good mother, Mary McPhartridge, was better educated and more dilligent than most pioneer mothers with their children, Eleanor Nichols Stark, for example.

#### ROGERS CONTINUES THE HISTORY OF THE RANGERS

"When the company was completed part of it marched under the orders of Lieutenant Richard Rogers to Albany; with the remainder I passed through the woods to Number Four, a frontier town, greatly exposed. There I received orders to proceed to Crown Point, for which on the 28th of April we directed our course, through vast forests and over lofty mountains. The second day of the march Mr. John Stark, my second Lieutenant became ill and was obliged to return to Fort Edward, with a guard of six men."

Split up into three parties the routes are not given in detail. There may have been a blazed trail for Robert, hardly one for John Stark, though his course may have anticipated the road up the Black River and over the mountains of Peru to Manchester, thence to Fort Lyman. To Albany Richard Rogers would have merely to descend the Connecticut and go over a road across the Berkshires. John Stark's course was hazardous. He was not long in making recovery from his sudden illness. His party was small enough, seven men in all, to be able to hide from roving bands of savages. His party was ever on the alert but if they were following a trail it was a matter of luck not to run into an ambush. Once there was imminent peril, for Rogers records it; Stark "discovered and elud-

ed a scout of 400 Indians". Such a large party was probably in the region near the end of his journey, on the Hudson. But for Stark's unvarying caution his scalp might have been hung at St. Francis together with those of his companions, to be among the hundreds seen by Rogers when the village was burned and the inhabitants massacred by his men on Amherst's orders a few years later.

Rogers tells how he and his own party arrived at Lake Champlain, some four miles south of Crown Point (Ft. Frederic) at a place where there was an "unoccupied village". They saw 500 French go by. Rogers killed 23 cattle "whose tongues were of great service on our march". Then "each man taking a different route" they escaped French and Indians approaching, got in plain sight of Fort Ticonderoga (Carillon) and "reached Fort William Henry on the 11th day of May". The Rangers thus began their series of exploits. They found that Richard Rogers had already been sent on a new scout.

The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum for July, 1942, published a translation of the Journal of a French engineer, in rank a Captain, one Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Lere, covering a short period; May 8th. to July 2nd. 1756. De Lere was helping in the construction of the Fort at "Ti" but set down in his daily account, in the accurate and painstaking way of his calling, many incidents, troop movements, casualties, accessions, departures, and the like. The stories seem quite dependable and afford one of the few checks on the credibility of Rogers. In London in 1765 the latter was writing his books for the English market, based on memoranda in his "Journals". Taken literally, and their form encourages that definite construction, we are able to see in one instance (the doings of May 21st, 1765) how long a time a diminutive Nemesis sometimes takes (in this case a matter of 186 years) in coming up, in order that Rogers might be brought to book. Under date, May 20, Rogers wrote;

"Was ordered by the General with a party of 11 men, to reconnoitre the French advanced guard. Viewing them next day from the summit of a mountain, their number appeared to be 300 men, who were then busy in fortifying their position with palisades. From the other side of the mountain we obtained a fine prospect of Ticonderoga and the French camp, which from the ground it occupied, I judged to contain 1000 men. This night was passed upon the mountain and early next morning we proceeded to the Indian Carrying path" &c.

It was a near thing, how Rogers and his party of 11 men missed the most important movement of the French at "Ti" for weeks. Dated the 21st, the same day, Rogers scouted secretly first one side and then the other of "Mount Defiance", de Lere recorded how "at noon, M. de La Colombiere set out at the head of a party of 415 men to go and burn the

boats of the enemy which are beneath the cannon at the fort of Ledijs." The junior officers are named, also the make-up of the troop units. At what hour of the day Rogers got his "fine prospect of Ticonderoga" is conjectural but it was probably, if we may credit the account, shortly after the flotilla, required in conveying the expeditionary force as far as the head of Champlain (now Whitehall), had passed, otherwise he could not have failed to discover the massing of boats and the troop movements, the bustle of the departures. As John Stark was probably not with Rogers on this small scout, it will not be necessary to show how the French task force returned on the 29th, bringing only four prisoners and three scalps. One of the prisoners, a negro, told of the strength of the garrison at Fort William Henry, of Fontenay's disclosures of conditions at "Ti" and a good deal more, of interest to the student. Had the timing permitted, Rogers could have watched the boats of the French expedition for miles, going up the clay-mixed waters of Champlain, there in its narrowest stretches. In blissful ignorance of all this Rogers made his night camp on the mountain, possibly avoiding disclosure by not lighting a fire. Rogers' account, again taken up;

"early next morning we proceeded to the Indian Carry path, leading from Lake George to Champlain. There an ambuscade was formed between the advanced guard and the Fort. About 6 o'clock 118 Frenchmen passed along the path without observing us; in a few minutes 22 others came the same way; - upon them we fired, killed six and took one prisoner; but the first party returning at the report of the guns, obliged us to retire in great haste. We reached Wm. Henry on the 23rd in safety with our prisoner who reported that 220 French and Indians were preparing to surprise the out parties at Fort Edward."

The French account, to be compared with that of Rogers of the same date, is;

(de Lere) - "At 9 o'clock of the morning there arrived 13 men of the Canadian militia who escaped from the portage where they were attacked by some 15 English as they say. It is true that M. deBeaujeu had ordered M. de Fortenay, cadet, to go there with 20 armed men, each one with an axe, to work on the portage trail. They left their arms at one end of the said portage with a sentry to guard them and came to the other end to work there. This portage is  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a league across. The English killed one man and scalped him after which they left more promptly than they had come without taking the trouble to follow the fleeing men; they could have captured these 20 men without firing a shot if they had



wanted as they were all sitting in a circle smoking their pipes (calumet). There is still missing from this detail only the sieur Fontenay, and we are very anxious as to his fate."

Rogers succeeded, as he so often did, in capturing a prisoner from whom valuable information was to be obtained. DeLere mentions no detachment of a hundred men. Rogers may have dressed up the account, though the passage of troops between the Fort and the advanced camp on Lake George would be a routine procedure. But for the purpose of comparison the discrepancy as to men killed is a serious one. DeLere recorded one man killed, and scalped. Rogers boasted of six killed. Both agree in one prisoner being taken by Rogers. This coincidence and other points make the date beyond question. The scalping of the killed Frenchman remains unexplained. A picket from the Fort was immediately sent to the scene. DeLere further stated that they remained out until 4:30 seeking to discover traces of the English (Rogers) party. Had the veracity of Rogers in his later life not been so thoroughly riddled, some reconciliation as to the six men killed, might be possible.

On Rogers' return to Fort William Henry he learned that Gen. Shirley had been superceded by Gen. Abercrombie. The latter reached Albany on June 25th. Rogers made a written report to him, recommending a greater Ranger company. Soon after he went to Albany and there was ordered to organize an additional company. The command of it was given to Richard Rogers, Noah Johnson was made 1st. Lt. Nathaniel Abbott 2nd. Lt. and Caleb Page, Ensign. The latter was brother of Elizabeth Page who in due time became the wife of John Stark and achieve fame as "Molly Stark. Caleb was "the handsomest of the Pages." He was to die the following year, caught in ambush on one of the Rangers' biggest scouts. Rogers says of his own old Ranger company, "John Stark my 2nd. Lieut. was appointed my first, John McCurdy succeeded him and Jonathan Burbank was appointed Ensign." Having his brother taken care of, Stark's promotion was in order, though Richard Rogers was younger and of no previous experience and John Stark would have been of more value in the new corps. It is probable, however, that Robert Rogers had so learned to value John Stark that he depended on him. As it turned out some 8 months later a different decision might have cost him his life. But for his thriftily looking after his own family interests, the story of Robert Rogers might never have been written.

#### DELAY AND INDECISION LOSE A CAMPAIGN

At Albany the English commander and the Colonial authorities were concentrating an army to attempt the reduction of Ticonderoga and the capture of Fort St. Frederick (Crown Point.). Rogers says that

his brother's new company was "completed in 28 days and went on a scout up the Mohawk." Early in August, 1756, Robert Rogers with some of his men went on several scouts down the lakes. On one of these he detoured Ticonderoga by a route he had travelled before, in order to safely avoid that post.

"A company of Stockbridge Indians was this year employed in his Majesty's service, officered by Indians commissioned by Gov. Shirley. Gen. Abercrombie was at a loss how to dispose of them; but was advised by Sir William Johnson to employ thirty privates and a Lieutenant as scouts to scour the woods under the direction of the Ranger officers. This party Lieut. Stark had strengthened with some of his own men and sent on a scout with particular directions, the day I returned from my last excursion."

It shows that Stark had enough authority to act in the absence of Rogers and that he was entrusted by the authorities with organization and direction.

The Earl of Loudon arrived in Albany and assumed the Chief command, Rogers rendering to him an account of his recent scouts and requesting permission to "penetrate into Canada with the Indians and distress the inhabitants by burning their harvest (now nearly ripe) and destroying their cattle."

"Accordingly August 16 we embarked in whale boats in two detachments, Lieutenant Stark commanding one and myself the other. The next morning we joined each other .....and proceeded to the place where our boats had been left July 7th, 20 miles North of Crown Point on the west side of Champlain." (The next day they made 20 miles also and at midnight discerned a schooner passing them, which they were unable to capture. After a short time further down the lake, without incident, they returned to) "8 miles North of Crown Point on the east shore. The 29th in the morning entered a village lying east of the fort and took prisoners, a man, his wife and daughter, (a pretty girl of fourteen) and with them we returned to Wm. Henry Sept. 22nd."

The Frenchman, two years at Crown Point, gave much information of value, detailed by Rogers, who was ordered by Lord Loudon to wait on Col. Burton at Saratoga. He was directed to scout down opposite Saratoga.

"On this tour we apprehended 4 deserters from Ottway's

regiment going over to the enemy, who were sent back to Fort Edward in the charge of Lt. Stark."

Under the direction of Col. Burton the companies of Robert and Richard Rogers were utilized in scoutings, the Stockbridge Indians participating, "leaving the remainder of our Rangers to serve as flankers to the parties conveying provisions to Fort Wm. Henry." It is probable that Stark was in charge of this work, Rogers going into several small scouts in much detail without mentioning Stark, the period embracing the greater part of September. On the 24th.;

"Gen. Abercrombie ordered that three commissioned officers of the Rangers with 20 privates each should reconnoitre Wood Creek, South Bay and Ticonderoga, who alternately kept up a continual scout for some time."

Normally Lt. Stark would have headed one of these parties, but is not mentioned. Rogers jumps to October 22nd. for his next item, then communicating the decision of Lord Loudon and Gen. Abercrombie at Fort Edward to do nothing further in the campaign, supposing the lakes would freeze,"as they generally do in December", Rogers added. The Rangers were then ordered to proceed to "Ti" and bring in a prisoner. In graphic fashion Rogers describes the capture of one he deceived by first answering the sentry in French, who called out "Qui estes vous?". "I answered, 'Rogers' and led him from his post in great haste." It was one of those instances when Rogers with animal quickness, one of his most valuable acquisitions, showed his outstanding value as a Ranger. So the name "Rogers" had for French and Indians alike a glamour that made him famous in every camp and feared on every expedition.

There was scouting about Fort Edward until on Nov. 19, 1756 when "Captain Abercrombie, aid-de-camp and nephew of the General, had the curiosity to accompany the expedition" down Lake George, getting a view of the French garrison (and nothing of more value) at Ticonderoga.

"He was delighted with the novelties of a scout and with the romantic and noble scenery through which we conducted him. He treated us handsomely on our return to Fort Edward, on the evening of the 25th."

Young Capt. James Abercrombie had in August previously, it seems, from another account than that of Rogers, been extremely critical of the Rangers, saying that Rogers

"undertook to go off with his company without orders and excused his action because of the unwillingness of his men to stay behind when other parties were out."



After the scouting party he wrote of it;

"They even rebelled against their own officers. All I could do or say to the officers they could not prevent firing on our march. They slept one night near Ticonderoga and next morning a few of them were seen as they were about to capture a prisoner. Capt. Stark who was with me set up the Indian hollow, upon that the whole party jumped up and yelled as if Hell had broke loose and all fell afiring at a few men running away. I did everything in my power to make them hold their tongues and behave as they ought to do. I even knocked several of them down and damned their officers for a set of scoundrels. A month later the rangers encamped on an island off Ft. Edward and began a riot in an effort to rescue two of their number who had been imprisoned by their own officers, cut down the whipping post, which was to them the chief emblem of the discipline they detested and dispersed only after Capt. Shepard confronted them with a fire-lock in their hands. After that they began to desert... The rangers refused to take orders or to do any duty but that of scouting. If Webb is to be believed they were not above lying and sleeping on an island in Lake George one whole fortnight when they were supposed to be surveying the enemy positions."

And so the Rangers were like that? It would be worth a whole picture-show to see Lt. John Stark give the signal and start the fray by clapping hand on mouth in the staccato and explosive Indian yell that has come down to us from those times, probably unchanged, a yell that strikes mock-terror to every boy's heart.

Yet young Abercrombie outdid himself in praise and polite commendation a few months after the disastrous scout when Capt. Spike-man was killed and John Stark saved the expedition from complete rout and disaster. "You cannot" he wrote Rogers "imagine how all ranks of people are pleased with your men's behavior."

"I was so pleased with their appearance when I was out with them that I took it for granted that they would behave well whenever they met the enemy".

As to the Rangers in another quarter, "Loudon had to bear with their humors for he could not get along without them" (Pargellis in "Lord Loudon in North America" Yale Univ. Press, 1933)

The summer had slipped away. After Montcalm had taken Oswego in August the French had little to fear, for from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, their communications were perfect. Parkman summed up. "Shirley's grand scheme for cutting New France in twain had come to wreck." The colonies, especially those of New England were in despair, their money and men had been wasted, heavy debts had accumulated. From Albany to Fort William Henry Abercrombie was able to count some 10,000 men. It was deemed by Abercrombie and Loudon too late to attack Ticonderoga. So the season was allowed to close in idleness and inaction. Had the general's incapacity been recognized then, the great disaster of 1757 would have been averted.

Rogers records; "About this time his Lordship drew off the main body of his troops from Fort Edward, to be quartered at Albany and New York. Both armies now retired to winter quarters. The Rangers were stationed at Forts William Henry and Edward and were augmented by two new companies under Captains Hobbs and Spikeman. The two companies were posted at Fort William Henry and our two at Fort Edward. Capt. Richard Rogers was sent to New England for recruits. He waited upon the Boston Government to obtain pay for our services in the winter of 1755 but could obtain none, though Lord Loudon generously supported the justice of our claim."

#### LT. STARK PROVES HIS METTLE IN AN EMERGENCY

Rogers took seven pages in his Journals to describe and explain. The fact was that he walked the Rangers into an ambush on January 21, 1757. Eight years after the event, in London, where he was trying to repair his fortunes and prestige, he wrote the principal account. Another is found in Parkman, who failed to give full credit to Stark, probably because Rogers understated the part. In 1831 Caleb Stark published a short and indifferent story, another in 1860, after Potter's Manchester (not being helped by any "family" narration) reprinted Rogers' Journal as to the battle. The locale of the night before the battle is probably, though this conclusion and that of Loesch ( "History of Rogers Rangers") must differ, up the steep valley where the reservoir for Ticonderoga is now located. The locale of the battle itself is derived from a study of the actual ground, also from Rogers' own story and from conclusions as to the movements of the French, the element of time being of the utmost importance, along the bed of Trout Brook, above where it receives the "reservoir" stream. The theory that it was anywhere north of "Street Road" is not tenable. Compromises with descriptions and topography are required and the actual places can never be proven. Rogers' account began;

"Marched with Mr. Stark, my Lieutenant, Ensign Page of Richard Rogers' company and 50 privates to Fort William Henry where we were employed in providing provisions, snow-shoes, &c. until the 17th. when being joined by Capt. Spikeman, Lt. Kennedy, Ensign Brewer and 14 men of his corps, together with Ensign James Rogers with 20 men of Hobb's company, with Mr. Baker, a volunteer of the 44th Reg. of the line, we proceeded down Lake George on the ice and at night encamped on the east side of the first narrows."

Spikeman's and Hobb's companies had come from Halifax, Robert's younger brother James being among the New Hampshire men. Brewer was from Massachusetts and later fought, or who had men who fought, at Bunker Hill. Ensign Page ("Molly Stark" was his sister) was out of Richard Rogers' company. Only 11 miles were counted up for the first day of travel. On snow-shoes it was slow progress for that usually fast accessory. The camp was under the lee of Shelving Rock mountain, opposite Tongue mountain and where the lake is filled with beautiful islands.

"next morning some of our party who had become lame in consequence of the exertions of yesterday were sent back. This reduced our number to 74 men and officers. The 18th. camped 12 miles down the lake on the West side. The 19th. marched 3 miles down the lake, then took to the land with our snow-shoes, travelled 8 miles north west and encamped 3 miles from the lake. 20th. marched north west all day and encamped on the West side three miles from Lake Champlain. Jan. 21st. marched east to the Lake, half way between Crown Point and Ticonderoga, where we discovered a sled passing from the latter to the former. Lt. Stark with 20 men was directed to head the sled while I with my party cut off its retreat, leaving Spikeman with the centre. Ten other sleds were discovered following down the lake and I endeavored to give Mr. Stark notice of it before he showed himself upon the lake but could not. He sailed out and they hastily turned back toward Ticonderoga."

Rogers then pursued, took 7 prisoners, 3 sleds, 6 horses. The prisoners were separately examined, disclosing that there were some 500 in garrison at Crown Point with 350 at "Ti". Rogers adds;



"From this account of things and knowing that those who escaped would give immediate notice of us I gave orders to march with all expedition to the fires we had kindled the night before and prepare for battle, if offered, by drying our guns, it being a rainy day."

Rogers, whose 28 carefully written out Rules for the guidance of the Rangers he pompously published in his London book, no doubt greatly impressing his predisposed British audience, seems to have disregarded more than one of them. He proceeded to pay the penalty, as he did on other occasions, as when Israel Putnam was captured and nearly killed. Smoke from the fires of 70 men even in overcast weather could have been seen for some distance, so we must suppose that precaution was taken to camp off the beaten tracks of the red men and especially far from the direct route between the two forts. The guns were dried.

"We then marched single file, myself and Lt. Kennedy in front, Lt. Stark in the rear and Captain Spikeman in the centre. Ensigns Page and Rogers between the front and the centre and Mr. Brewer between the centre and rear, Sergeant Walker having command of a rear guard. In this manner we advanced half a mile over broken ground, passed a valley of fifteen rods breadth, when the front, having gained the summit of the opposite hill on the west side fell in with the enemy drawn up in the form of a crescent to surround us."

Drying their guns at the previous night's camping place had allowed ample time for the enemy at Ticonderoga to have found the trail of the northward journey and dispose the French and Indians for a perfect ambush, some little space in advance of Rogers, himself in the lead but carelessly, in the face of danger, walking into the trap. Caleb Stark (p36, 1831) has a foot-note;

"The late venerable Mr. Shute of Concord, N. H. remarked that Rogers did not act with his usual prudence. He states that after taking the sleds, a council of war advised to return by a different rout, from that by which the party came, which was the usual practice of the Rangers and on this occasion would have enabled them to escape the hazards of a battle. Rogers, however, said in regard to the enemy that they would not DARE to pursue him and took the same rout back."

In 1756 Rogers printed his Rules, two of them being as follows;

"No. 2. In your return take a different rout from that by which you went out.

No. 5. If the ground will admit send a man in front and one on each flank, to give notice of the enemy, his number, &c."

It is not surprising that Shute reported the strain of braggadocio in Rogers. That day the intrepid leader was careless to the point of rashness. There may have been more than the usual inward fortification; it was rainy. Caleb Stark, grandson of the General, knew Mr. Shute well, their homes being but a few miles apart. Rogers' account is resumed and he wrote that they

"were immediately saluted with a volley of 200 shot at a distance of five yards from the nearest and thirty yards from the rear of the party. This fire took place about two o'clock P. M. and proved fatal to Lt. Kennedy and Mr. Gardner, a volunteer, besides wounding several and myself in the head. I ordered my men to retire to the opposite hill where Lieut. Stark and Mr. Brewer had made a stand with forty men to cover our retreat. We were closely pursued- Capt. Spikeman and others were killed and several made prisoners. Lieut. Stark repulsed them by a brisk fire from the hill, killing a number and affording us an opportunity to post ourselves to advantage. Mr. Stark then took a position in the centre with Ensign Rogers, Sergeants Walker and Phillips acting as reserves, to protect our flanks and watch the enemy's motions. Soon after we had thus formed for battle the enemy attempted to flank us but the reserve bravely attacked them giving the first fire which stopped several from retreating to the main body. We were then pushed closely in front, but having the advantage of the ground and being sheltered by large trees, we maintained a continual fire upon them, which killed a number and compelled the others to retire upon the main body. They attempted to flank us once more but were again gallantly repulsed by our reserve. In this affair Mr. Baker was killed.

We kept up a constant fire till sunset, when I received a shot through my wrist, which disabled me from loading my gun. The action, however, continued till darkness prevented our seeing each other. Our men gallantly held their position till the fire of the enemy ceased

and he retired."

Caleb Stark (1831) after a preliminary, went on;

"A most bloody and desperate action ensued, perhaps according to numbers, one more sanguinary was not fought during the war. Major Rogers was wounded, Capt. Spikeman was killed and the command devolved upon Lt. Stark who by his prudence and firmness secured the wounded and drew off the detachment in such order as to keep the enemy at bay. They reached Lake George at 6 A. M."

In another foot-note Caleb Stark comments;

"Stilson Eastman of Concord, N. H. who was one of Stark's Rangers in this action states that on receipt of his second wound, Rogers thought of ordering a retreat as the only safety of the party. Lieut. Stark who was then almost the only officer fit for duty declared he would shoot the first man who fled, said he had a good position and would fight the enemy until dark and then retreat, and that in such a course consisted their only safety. While he was speaking a ball broke the lock of his gun; at the same time, observing a Frenchman fall, he sprang forward, seized his gun, returned to his place and continued the action. Eastman stated that Stark's courage and prudence saved the party and that to the bravery and skill of William and John Stark, the Rangers were indebted for much of their success and celebrity in the campaigns against the French. The late Col. Webster of Plymouth made a similar statement."

In 1860 Caleb Stark added a number of lines of anecdote which he doubtless got from his father, Major Caleb.

"General Stark stated in after times that he was never conscious of taking the life of an individual except in this action. While the rangers were defending their position on the crest of the hill he observed that several balls struck near him from a certain direction. In a moment afterward he discovered an Indian stretched at full length upon a rock behind a large tree. His gun was soon ready and he saw the Indian rising for another shot at him. His fusee was instantly



leveled, discharged, and the savage rolled from the rock into the snow, pierced by the bullet through the head"

(Foot-note) "He was at this period twenty eight years of age. He had been an expert and successful hunter and was well known to have been one of the best marksmen of his time; and the most savage animals in his native forests the catamounts, bears, wolves and wildcats - in numerous instances, felt the effects of his unerring aim."

Rogers made a point of the following;

"The enemy during this action practised several stratagems to induce us to submit; sometimes assuring us that they had a reinforcement at hand, which would cut us to pieces without mercy and that it was a pity that so many brave men should be lost; that in case of surrender we should be treated with compassion; calling me by name they assured me of their friendship and esteem; but the brave men who fought by my side, were neither to be dismayed by their threats, nor flattered by their professions and determined to conquer or die with arms in their hands."

Incidentally the foregoing paragraph is only one of many in Rogers' book, printed in London in 1765, going to show that the narrative was actually written by one having the command of perfect English only the facts being told off by Rogers, from memory and his memoranda. The utter impossibility of Rogers himself, a raw country boy brought up in a frontier town in New Hampshire, entirely devoid of school facilities, penning an excellent relation, replete with the amenities of the cultivated life of England did not seem to occur to Parkman (who may not have known of the deprivations Rogers suffered in his youth) for the great historian observed "His style is direct, simple, without boasting, and, to all appearances without exaggeration." Nevins' words "He may have been in school" are on the favorable side, though the few log houses in the wilderness of Dunbarton are not historically credited with even an itinerant schoolmaster. Sir William Johnson, (Journals, 1767) probably told the truth in indicating that the services of one Nathaniel Potter (and see Kenneth Roberts) were necessary and that he had been employed "because Rogers was so illiterate as to require someone to do business for him." Nevertheless Rogers had great ability in picking up knowledge and his grade of intelligence was superior. He knew what he was about but a loose screw in his moral make-up made his actions unpredictable.

His account concludes with "six wounded men" but as relief was limited to "the sleigh" it is likely that Rogers made an unconscious exaggeration.

"After the action we had a great number so severely wounded that they could not travel without assistance; but as we were near to the French garrison, it was thought best to take advantage of the night and retreat, which we did, keeping up the spirits of the wounded as well as possible, and reached Lake George six miles south of the French advanced guard next morning."

The place was probably Cook's Bay, the route having been by Trout Brook during the night. It was a comparatively level if difficult trail, often followed both by Indians and white men. Rogers finishes the account;

"Our wounded men were now exhausted and could march no farther.- Lieutenant Stark then volunteered with Thomas Burnside and another, to proceed to Fort William Henry and procure sleighs for the wounded. They reached the Fort that night and next morning the sleigh arrived though the distance was nearly forty miles. Lieut. Buckley of Hobbs' corps of Rangers came out with fifteen men and met us at the first narrows of Lake George" (The narrows at Tongue Mountain) "Our party of forty eight effective and six wounded men, arrived with the prisoners at William Henry the same evening, being the 23rd of January, 1757"

To this Caleb Stark's foot-note is pertinent;

"He travelled a distance of forty miles through the wilderness on snow-shoes and with great fatigue reached the fort on the evening of the same day - when the party above named was immediately dispatched to the assistance of Rogers and his wounded men. The snow was four feet deep upon a level."

The amazing fortitude of John Stark was put to the test. It was after a night of mental distress and muscular toil, following the intensest nerve strain during a battle the day before. Lake George is about 30 1/2 miles long in a straight line. Deducting about six miles at the north end (where the party of 54 men waited, exhausted) the distance "as the crow flies" of about 25 miles actually means little, for the route followed must have been considerably lengthened, though perhaps not to 40 miles, in seeking better going where the snow was wholly or partly blown off the surface of the ice and in avoiding the deep slush due to recent rains.

It was an almost superhuman task for the three men. Stark himself and his companions were not called upon, and probably did not go, when the sled for the wounded was pulled and pushed to the point indicated, because fresh Rangers were available at the Fort.

Rogers thought the enemy numbered 250; heard that those killed or who had died of their wounds numbered 116, but Vaudreuil, the principal French source, gave, according to Parkman, only 89 regulars with 90 Canadians and Indians. Vaudreuil, with his usual inaccuracy, wrote that of the English some 40 were killed and that only three reached Fort William Henry alive. What was done about the killed at the scene of the fight may be imagined, but the Indians would scalp them all. Necessarily left where he fell was young Caleb Page, townsman of Rogers and friend of Stark. He had married his young wife, Hannah Carleton, less than two years before (Haverhill record). It was a tale of anguish for Lt. Stark to tell his future father-in-law, Caleb Page in Dunbarton. In the rude house, that preceded the mansion there, the grewsome story, Elizabeth, then 20 years of age, would hear from the lips of her future husband, who was to make her known to posterity as "Molly Stark".

To his immediate superior, Major Sparks, at Fort Edward, he told his losses. His Report was followed by one to Aid-de-camp Abercrombie at Albany, recommending:

"Such officers as were most deserving to fill the vacancies occasioned by the late action, as follows; Lieut. Stark to be Captain of Spikeman's corps, and Sergeant Joshua Martin to be ensign of Richard Rogers' Company."

The response was:

"The General received your report by Major Sparks. He returns to you and your men thanks for your good behavior..... We sent an express to Boston, recommending your brother James for Lieutenant of Spikeman's company. Please send the name of the officers you recommend for your own company and your recommendation shall be duly regarded. You cannot imagine how all ranks of people are pleased with your men's behavior.....When Gen. Abercrombie receives his Lordship's instructions respecting the Rangers I shall send you notice of it. In the meantime I hope you'll get the better of your wound."

The letter revealed no intentions as to Stark, though Rogers asserts his favoring him for Captain. The wording of the report has never become known.

"My wound growing worse I repaired to Albany for medical aid, and there received from Gen. Abercrombie the following instructions."



These, (no doubt after conferences with Rogers), involved cutting down the pay of some rangers, making them all on the same basis and if those cut down did not wish to serve they could resign; "you are at liberty to discharge them" was the General's phrase. The four companies of 100 each were to be completed as soon as possible and brought to Fort Edward. The date was Feb. 26th, 1757.

Rogers was probably informed of the reason for the prompt action ordered as to the Rangers. Lord Loudon had his plans made for the taking of Louisburg. It was a laudable ambition, quite the strategic move for the control of North America by the British. But Loudon was a weak and leisurely organizer and his chief aid, Abercrombie, was no better. It is well known that had the expedition arrived a month earlier at Halifax, assuming that the British fleet could have met the place and date, Louisburg must have fallen. As John Stark was not fated to go, the story will be abridged, to include one of the most surprising episodes of his life, nevertheless.

The willingness of Rogers to have the pay of some of his most experienced and best men cut down was, probably, never known to them, but came directly as orders from headquarters. Rogers, always intent on retaining the ascendancy, capitalized in the increasing numbers of Ranger companies, keeping his prestige and his leadership, showing his extreme cleverness. His choice in having John Stark head Spikeman's company must have been prompted by recognition of Stark's outstanding efficiency, by his long friendship with him and, last and not least, in unacknowledged gratitude in redeeming the Rangers' reputation and probably saving the life of its chief. In a few months Robert Rogers was again to show his fairness to him and the Corps, in a striking way. For the time being, Stark, who as senior Lieutenant had frequently to attend to many details for Rogers, thus gaining experience and confidence in handling all the Rangers' life and operations, assumed the usual duties of Captain of a separate Co. He was succeeded by John McCurdy, a veteran, as 1st Lt. of Rogers' own company.

It may have been that Jonathan Brewer, Ensign in Spikeman's company had aspired to become Captain, though that would have been contrary to the ethics of the corps, as shown by custom. No outbreak resulted and perhaps none was imminent but shortly a series of events presented an opportunity to Brewer and he made use of it, though he gained nothing but temporary prominence and satisfaction, at Stark's expense.

Somehow at Albany, though taking the small-pox was always a hit or miss matter, Rogers acquired the disease, entering this in his Journal:

"March 5th I suffered with the small-pox which confined me till the 15th of April, during which time my officers were recruiting according to the instructions."

At New York headquarters, plans for the expedition were being advanced. New Hampshire raised a regiment; Major John Goffe of Derryfield with a surprising number of recruits (all named by Potter, p310) marching toward New York, crossing to Flushing bay. On April 22nd, Rogers was to "inform Col. Gage" (later to be Governor of Massachusetts and commander in chief at Boston during the Siege)"that it is Lord Loudon's order that the two companies at Wm. Henry and your own at Fort Edward, proceed immediately to Albany and embark for this place." Rogers had endured rather more than the usual period with the disease, perhaps aggravated by the condition of his system due to his wound, which may have suffered an infection. His exact whereabouts is not always clear.

### STARK SAVES FORT WILLIAM HENRY

Loudon, Abercrombie, and Rogers, occupied with the proposed expedition, overlooked the possibility that the French on Lake Champlain might take occasion to make a surprise attack on the light garrison at Fort William Henry. The force had been much depleted, only 346 effectives. There were no less than 128 invalids, showing the inroads of disease and old casualties. Not being a participant, and while he was at Albany confined with the small-pox, Rogers has an indifferent account. Capt. Stark had been obliged to send to New England five of the best officers under orders to recruit. The ice and snow restricting activities out-of-doors, life in the fort and huts had settled down into a dull routine. But something arose to excite the watchfulness and apprehension of the head of the Rangers, Capt. John Stark. Parkman (1884) calls the story of Caleb Stark (1860) "a curious mixture of truth and error". After one of his finest descriptions of Nature in that season and place, Parkman tells the story of the advance of Rigaud and his force of 1600, mostly Canadians and Indians, and their discomfiture when their planned surprise came to naught through the vigilance of the garrison, it being, Parkman was satisfied, the 19th, before daybreak. His notes refer to all the Loudon papers and the French sources. Loescher (History of Rogers Rangers, San Francisco, 1946) does not disagree but says that Eyre's Regulars were not drunk when Rigaud appeared but had a "bad hangover"; likely enough but which does not detract from Stark's forethoughtfulness. Rigaud had been given every possible accoutrement, food supply and clothing (provision for 12 days) and at Ticonderoga a week had been spent making 300 short scaling ladders.

"Whether rangers or British soldiers it is certain that watchmen were on the alert during the night between the eighteenth and nineteenth, and that towards one in the morning they heard a sound of axes far down the lake, followed by the faint glow of a distant fire. The inference was plain that an enemy was there and that the necessity

of warming himself had overcome his caution. Then all was still for some two hours, when, listening in the pitchy darkness, the watchers heard the steps of a great body of men approaching on the ice, which at the time was bare of snow. The garrison were at their posts and all the cannon on that side of the lake vomitted grape and round shot in the direction of the sound, which thereafter was heard no more." (Montcalm & Wolfe, I, 460-65, Little Brown & Co.)

Parkman indicates that the story (Caleb Stark, Memoir, 1860) "may be doubted, for without counting the English soldiers of the garrison, who had no special call to be drunk that day, the fort was in no danger till twenty-four hours thereafter, when the revellers had had time to rally from their pious carouse". But 346 effective men against 1600 well equipped attackers with scaling ladders, would have had little chance of successful defense had John Stark's precautions, time element to the contrary notwithstanding, not been taken, and the garrison or a part of it, been asleep, as in the dead of a long winter they would have been. Sound narrative or not, Potter's description, closely followed, in substance and in point of time, by Caleb Stark, may justifiably be included:

"Many of the troops under Major Eyre, who held the fort, were Irish and the company of Rangers then in the fort were, many of them, of Amoskeag and of that class of men known as "Scotch Irish" who, though of Ireland, were yet not Irish nor particularly in love with Irish customs but had no objection to uniting in a celebration in honor of St. Patrick. This company was under the command of Capt. John Stark of Amoskeag, a son of a Scotch Irishman. His knowledge of Irish customs doubtless saved the fortress. The garrison had determined to celebrate St. Patrick's Day which is the 17th of March. Stark upon the alert, determined that the Rangers at least should be sober and commanded the sutler, Samuel Blodgett of Amoskeag, to deliver no rum to the rangers without a written order from him and he refused all solicitations for orders under the pretense of a lame hand. Thus on the night of the 17th of March the rangers were ready for any emergency while the rest of the garrison were in the greatest excitement from deep potations in honor of St. Patrick and his wife Shelah. The French leaders aware of the character of the troops in the English forces laid their plans to attack it on St. Patrick's night, supposing that amid a bacchanalian carousal it could readily be surprised. Accordingly on the night of the 17th of March the French crossed the crackling ice of Lake George with their scaling ladders confident of easy success in escalading the fortress from which sounds of deep debauch were wafted upon the air. They advanced near the fort in silence prepared to adjust their ladders when a flash struck their eyes and the rattling of small arms and the booming of cannon filled their astonished ears while their ranks were thinned and broken by a shower of shot from well directed



musketry and cannon from the walls of the fort. They retreated astonished but not disheartened. The foresight and prompt action of Stark saved the fortress. The crackling of the ice under the heavy tread of the French soldiery fell upon the practised ears of the rangers and gave them timely notice of the approach of the foe..... They were suffered to approach within half musket shot when the terrific fire was opened upon them."

At this time 1st Lt. Stark was a Captain but did not know it until March 24th. His commission was dated Feb. 24th but was not signed by Lord Loudon (in Virginia) until March 8th, 1757.

Loudon's Report to the Minister, Pitt, paid the garrison and rangers a fitting tribute, says Loescher, in giving his authorities, greater in number and scope than were available to Parkman:

"I cannot enough on this occasion Commend every officer who had either the Defense of the forts or the command of the Regt's. for the alertness and the activity with which each behaved in their different stations as well as the behavior of the men; those in the Fort determined to defend it to the last, and the Sick crawled out to the Ramparts."  
(Loudon, Apr. 25, 1757-LO3467)

It was very handsome of Loudon, of course, but it does not seem that he mentioned the two senior officers, Major Eyre and Captain Stark - it was usually that way, "The old Army game". Gage received the report, giving all the facts, at Albany, as Abercrombie had gone to New York and Loudon had gone to Philadelphia. Had Rigaud been successful in taking a British stronghold, with Rogers and his superiors all away, some explanations would have been in order. At the critical moment Stark's precautions and Eyre's complete support of him, saved the Fort and Britain's repute. Loescher found that Stark's men numbered but 60 though they included two good Ensigns, Jonathan Brewer and James Rogers, (brother of Robert) and that the Rangers were in their picketted fort on the east side of the main work until Major Eyre ordered them into Fort William Henry and "the Regulars were roused from heavy sleep and hushed into silence as they took their places along the ramparts with Rogers Rangers who had reluctantly abandoned their picketted village." The following morning, Sunday, Eyre ordered Stark to make a reconnaissance of the enemy's camp a mile away and found them forming a column of their men, two abreast and a mile and a half long on the ice.

"Rigaud now sent Chevalier Mercer under a flag of truce to Major Eyre asking him to surrender. In spite of the sight of Rigaud's numerous force before his fort, the valiant Eyre flatly refused to surrender even on good terms. A

general assault was now expected and when the news reached the sick Rangers and Regulars below the ramparts, who were suffering mostly from scurvy, those that could walk or crawl bravely made their way to a firing position on the ramparts." (Loescher's Rogers Rangers, p154)

But nothing resulted until nightfall when Rigaud burned the few lake boats in dry-dock nearby and also the Ranger's huts, which contained all their personal belongings. In spite of a sortie by Stark and a few men, 17 Ranger huts were thus destroyed, three of their men were wounded and Stark "was touched by a bullet, for the only time in his adventurous life" (Parkman). Caleb Stark presented a copy of his 1831 book to Lt. John A. Winslow, annotating it "Respecting the night attack on March 16, 1757, the ball produced a slight contusion but did not draw blood." In another place Caleb wrote that "it was a spent bullet". The date was carelessly set down.

On the 22nd most of the ice-bound flotilla had been destroyed but rum from the ranger's storehouse was saved when "part of the sallying party maintained a covering fire" (Loescher). The Johnson papers show that Munro relieved the garrison and Eyre arrived at Albany on April 2nd but the Rangers had to remain at the Fort. Rigaud lost 14 men killed and his three wounded were captured. The defenders lost no men and had but seven wounded.

About this time Rogers, who usually sent some cadets on scouts to educate them, took into his own company William Stark, who, of course, he knew well from Starkstown associations. Hugh Stirling, brother-in-law of the Starks, was also taken in with four other men, all to be given commissions, "if they proved capable".

To make sure that the enemy had withdrawn from the country Capt. Stark was sent on a scout to Ticonderoga. He returned and reported that all was quiet and inactive. (Gage to Loudon from Albany, April 16th, 1757). Shortly thereafter McCurdy made a similar scout toward Crown Point with 13 men. But a courier from Fort William Henry was sent to order him to return at once and march to Albany. When the two companies, Stark's and Rogers' (McCurdy in command) reached the vicinity of New York the sloops they came down the river on were searched for small pox suspects. Capt. John Stark was found to have taken the disease and was hospitalized, just where is not shown. A new company of Rangers had been recruited in New Hampshire, but not by Rogers. Its Captain was John Shepherd, James Neal, 1st Lt., Samuel Gilman, 2nd Lt. Loudon commissioned Shepherd Feb. 25th. The company went across New Hampshire to "No. 4" on the Connecticut, which feared an attack, but was soon ordered to New York, reaching Long Island (Flushing Bay) and camped with Col. Meserve's company. Four transports were set aside to convey the Ranger Companies, that for Stark's company being the Brig Betsey, Rogers' was to go in the Sheffield, Bulkley's in the Snow Tartar and Shepherd's in the Delight.

## THE SMALL POX AND DR. CUTTER

A Portsmouth, N.H. surgeon was obtained for the Louisburg campaign and on May 6th Dr. Ammi Cutter and Col. Meserve waited on Lord Loudon in New York. The sum £10 covered the cost of his medicine chest. Cutter was kept busy eliminating the victims of the prevailing scourge. Shore leave for the Rangers was limited in an effort to stop gambling. There was some robbery and once a loose woman was drummed out of camp. Bathing was finally forbidden as sharks attacked the soldiers. Delays were many and it was not until June 18th (the 20th according to Parkman) that the big fleet of transports left Sandy Hook, 100 sail (Rogers' Journals). What Rogers was doing between April 15th and June 18th (or 20th) and where he was, do not appear of record, evidencing the large gaps in his narratives.

## CAPTAIN STARK'S ARREST AND CONFINEMENT

Just before sailing time Lieutenant Brewer, under circumstances not clear, took summary action against his Captain and superior officer and confined him, either in his quarters or a pest house, until the expedition had sailed. It is to be supposed that Brewer, having a taste of command during Stark's illness, wished to prevent his Captain from going, so as to retain the command during the coming campaign at Louisburg. Presumably Stark considered himself fit to go. His period of danger, in giving the disease to others, was undoubtedly over, but perhaps not so much so but what Brewer had a semblance of right and duty. As soon as he was out of custody Stark used the very first packet to convey a letter that, we may be sure, blistered and crackled with rage, to the Ranger commander, Robert Rogers. The expedition reached the port of Halifax on July 1st and there waited the delayed arrival of the ships of war under the command of Admiral Holbourne, which came straggling in until the 10th of July.

Stark's story of his dastardly treatment by Brewer roused Rogers' sense of justice and he supported Stark, arrested Brewer and called for a court martial. The presiding officer of the tribunal was one day to be an antagonist of both parties, Lt. Col. Thomas Gage, when in 1775 he was Governor and commander-in-chief at Boston. Brewer was convicted of "confining his Captain illegally" and was sentenced to be cashiered. Lord Loudon approved the sentence "but in consideration of his former good service His Lordship pardons him" (Court Martial, July 21st LO 3576) Brewer continued to have charge of the Ranger Company; his title "Captain-Lieutenant", without incident. Lord Loudon had, in his Journal, some time back, entered a memorandum that Brewer was to be given a company when available. He probably had little interest in the affair. Rogers, however, recognized that such an infraction of discipline should follow its strict legal course, for the good of the corps. Stark's letter to him would be one of the most interesting of all



of Stark's correspondence. In it the true significance of the act should be discernible for Stark would not mince matters. If the records of court-martial are still preserved in London the papers may yet turn up. The Loudon "Orders and Journals", now in the Huntington Library, do not include it.

Stark missed a short sea trip and never in his life had one. As far as military experience was concerned he was no loser. More delays occurred in Halifax, thousands of troops were put through endless exercises and training. While drilling, vegetables were planted for the troops. Louisburg was reconnoitered and it was resolved to proceed, until, on the 4th of August, word came that three fleets of the French navy were anchored in the harbor of Louisburg, 22 ships of the line besides frigates. The garrison comprised 7000 men and Louisburg was the strongest fortress in America! As Parkman concluded "Success was now hopeless and the costly enterprise was at once abandoned". Loudon with his troops sailed back for New York, but Holbourne, with a few more ships sailed for Louisburg and dared the French to come out. A terrible gale followed, almost destroying the British fleet.

What became of Stark? Having no command and with no superior in the land, he was left to his own devices. A little record remains to indicate that he was in Marblehead, Massachusetts, on July 21st, 1757 (the same day that Brewer was being tried by Gage's court-martial) for a receipt was signed in Stark's pocket-book, by his brother-in-law, Hugh Stirling, for wages received. When Rogers and his Rangers reached New York, Brewer was tactfully sent recruiting, presumably in his native state, Massachusetts. About this time promotion for Brewer was envisaged, as enabling the two officers to be retained in the service, heads of separate Ranger companies. It is not known that Brewer apologized to Stark, though the ethics of military life would require it. Stark was not the man to forget, though he could forgive. Future records show nothing as to their relationships. The time came, however, when they both became heroes in the battle of Bunker Hill and the alembic of patriotism fired them in a common cause.

#### MONTCALM'S CAMPAIGN OF 1757

When the long winter was over it became certain to Montcalm at Montreal that Loudon had taken his best troops, and many of Rogers Rangers, to Halifax, and thus offered him a rare opportunity. Montcalm, therefore, proceeded to put his French troops in order, gathered his supplies and rounded up his Indian allies. Thousands of Canadians were requisitioned. The Indians came from far and near, so many and so lacking in restraint that they became unmanageable from the very first. One day they seized 18 head of cattle, butchered them, had a great feast and made themselves mad with the brandy the French were obliged to supply.

At the foot of Lake George, Montcalm, small, keen-eyed, gesticulating, harrangued the representatives of no less than 41 tribes of Indians.

Some of the latter had caught a small inexperienced party of New Jersey troops sent to reconnoitre by Col. Parker from Fort William Henry. When a Priest remonstrated on finding parts of one of them being boiled in a kettle, the Indians invited him to partake.

There being insufficient water transportation for all of the 8000 men, Levis was started off along an old Mohawk trail by the side of the lake, with 2500 troops.

### A COWARDLY ABANDONMENT

One of the tragedies of history was in the making. Loudon, thinking only of his Louisburg project, had withdrawn too many defenders from Fort William Henry and Fort Edward. They were only 14 miles apart with a good road between. At Fort Lyman, (Fort Edward) General Webb, in command of both outposts, had some 2600 men, though Rogers says 6000, while at the head of the lake Col. Munro had only 2200, not all effective soldiers. Even superior strategists might disagree as to what should have been done when Montcalm's army was discovered coming up; any choice being perilous.

After Montcalm began the assaults on Fort William Henry, Col. Munro firmly refused to surrender even in the face of overwhelming odds. He sent urgent appeals to Gen. Webb. Not until after days of cannonading, which Webb could plainly hear, did he suggest to Munro that he give up. Montcalm intercepted the note and kept it for days.

As Stark is not involved in the story, it may be shortened. The surrender took place on August 9th, 1757 and was to be, as all the world knows "with all the honors of war" and with a firm guaranty by Montcalm in person, of full protection from the Indians. The frightful slaughter that ensued is a familiar story. Montcalm, whose reputation suffered in the affair of Oswego, has been bitterly censored by historians. "One of the blackest incidents in the history of our country" (Fiske). Of the New Hampshire force of 200, over 80 were either massacred or taken prisoners. Of Samuel Blodgett, one of the sutlers, Potter noted:

"Escaping from the melee, he ran to the shore of the lake and secreted himself under a batteau. Here he tarried until he thought all risk was at an end. When leaving his hiding place he was discovered by some prowling savages and stripped of every vestige of clothing. In this plight he escaped his captors by running into the woods and got safely to Fort Edward."

Blodgett was a friend of John Stark. He was to die of old age, a famous man locally, who, under great difficulties and discouragements, built canals below Amoskeag falls. The water-power of the Merrimack encouraged cotton manufacturing. The city of Manchester resulted.

Parkman's account of the whole affair is one of his most vivid and eloquent (Montcalm & Wolfe, I. 488-529). After almost frantic efforts Montcalm finally secured order and days later, making no effort to capture Fort Edward, being satisfied with his signal success, he allowed the harrassed British and Americans to make their way to Fort Edward. The Indians, taking 200 prisoners and their plunder, made for Montreal. Montcalm proceeded to destroy the fort and barracks, throwing on the timbers and fittings of the latter, the dead bodies that filled the casements, and then fired the mass.

"The mighty funeral pyre blazed all night. Then on the sixteenth, the army re-embarked. The din of ten thousand combattants, the rage, the terror, the agony were gone; and no living thing was left but the wolves that gathered from the mountains to feast upon the dead."

September 14th, 1757, Stark's company of Rangers arrived in Albany with other Ranger companies to go to Fort Edward where Gen. Webb still commanded. It is presumed that Capt. Stark was with his company but no record remains.

In October a small scout was described in the diary of Joshua Goodenough. At night, two days out, howling of wolves was heard, a gun being discharged at a distance frequently. At day-break the scouts investigated, saw five Indians lying in blankets around a fire. One moved when a wolf tugged at his blankets. The scouts prepared to fire, but, advancing, they found all the Indians had died of small pox, the last one firing his gun as long as he could. The Rangers made a quick get-away.

Lord Loudon hurried back from Nova Scotia, arriving at New York on the last day of August. Gen. Webb, in command at Fort Edward, remained in fear of an attack by the French until the large numbers of militia, coming in haste, made camps all around the Fort, the reinforcements being sufficient to dispel the danger. Montcalm was back in Canada. It was at this time that Brigadier, Lord Howe, went with Rogers on one of his scouts;

"Lord Howe accompanied us on one of those scouts, being desirous of learning our methods of marching, ambushing, and retreating; and on our return expressed his good opinion of us very generously."

The short, intimate and good-behavior association of Rogers with George Augustus Scrope, Viscount Howe, then 33, not too old for enthusiasm, not too young for wide experience, taught him something of the character of the famous Ranger. After many desertions the militia was discharged and went home. Loudon visited the Fort on December 1st, 1757 and returned to Albany leaving Col. Haviland in charge, with a strong garrison. The Rangers were quartered on an island in the



Hudson near the Fort. Rogers was well enough to go on a large scout, ordered by Col. Haviland, beginning December 17th. He took 150 men to reconnoitre Carillon "and if possible take a prisoner". The start was in a heavy snow storm. The site of Fort William Henry was viewed "a deserted mass of ruin". They cleared away the snow under one of the mounds of the old fort and camped. After the scout at Ticonderoga had been accomplished Rogers returned on December 27th to Fort Edward.

Rogers then went to New York on orders to confer with Lord Loudon "upon the subject of augmenting the Rangers". Rogers prints his instructions for bringing up the companies to five additional, four from New England, one made up of Indians, each company to have 100 privates, a Captain, two Lieutenants, one Ensign, four Sergeants. "The officers are to receive British pay, that is, the same as officers of the like rank in the line." The men were to bring their own arms, good blankets and warm clothing "the same to be uniform in each company". All were to be at the Fort by the 15th of March next, instructions dated Jan. 11th, 1758. Rogers indicates the levies were completed by the 4th of March but four of the companies went to Louisburg to join Gen. Amherst "and the other remained with me".

#### THE CAMPAIGN OF 1758

The operations of 1757 and 1758 merged imperceptibly. A large force of British Regulars, some Connecticut Provincials under Capt. Israel Putnam, and other troops were kept, practically under arms, in the Fort at Fort Edward. On the island in the river the Rangers were quartered. Rogers went to Abercrombie, then to Loudon, after he had failed to get humane treatment of his revolting and disorderly Rangers by Lt. Col. Wm. Haviland, the rigid and intolerant commandant. Rogers had reluctantly complied with Haviland's order that whippings of Rangers should be the punishment of infractions. The men, confined in ramshackle quarters, the best they could make themselves, quite inadequate against the rigors of a northern winter, became restive. The whippings were excessive, 800 and 500 lashes. After 300 were administered the men would be horribly mutilated, their backs raw. An incipient mutiny was barely checked. The men cut down the whipping post on the island. Haviland was obdurate, determined to discipline some of Rogers' men, deciding one must hang, to bring about a cowing of the rest. The situation resulted in Haviland becoming hated as no post commander had ever been. After Rogers had stood up for his corps with Lord Loudon at New York, Gen. Abercrombie being an intermediary at Albany, those superiors of Haviland sensibly viewed the indispensibility of the Rangers as the main consideration. Rogers was allowed to discharge a few of the chief actors but the whole situation was a menace to the future and the reputation of "Rogers' Rangers". Capt. Stark was in and about the island most of the

time, but appears to have had no prominence in the disturbances. After recovering from an illness during the turn of the year (1757-1758) Rogers made important plans for the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point by the Rangers. He saw Lord Loudon on Jan. 9th, and had his ideas checkmated, without divining that Loudon himself wanted Rogers to do nothing to interfere with his own schemes of taking the French strongholds. There is little doubt that Loudon's selfish ambition prevented a good measure of success, had Rogers received permission and been granted the necessary supplies for a large scout, over the snows to the northern posts in surprise attacks on the insufficient winter garrisons of the French. During this period Robert Rogers was doing some of his best work. His address and resourcefulness, his patience and leadership were never so conspicuous. Double-crossed by Loudon, by Abercrombie, but not Howe as far as known, Rogers contended daily with the local authority, Haviland, who, to spite Rogers used the ranger company of Putnam, Connecticut's contribution, a unit camped not on Rogers' island but separately, near the British. On Jan. 25 when Rogers had reached his headquarters, back from his trip south, he sent Lt. Phillips to Lake George to see if it was frozen enough to bear troops. It was. On the 28th a large convoy of provisions and artillery shells arrived by sleighs from Albany. A few days later Rogers sent Capt. John Stark with a party to the first narrows of Lake George to test the condition of the lake. While Stark was gone Fort Edward had a bitter surprise attack by a large French party under the Ranger, Langy De Montegron, as intrepid a leader as Rogers himself. Coming by Wood Creek from Ti, Langy's party of 100, Regulars, Canadians and Indians, laid an ambush near Fort Edward, where British regulars and Connecticut Provincials were gathering fire wood. The men had been allowed out with almost no protection and without snow shoes. Driven into the deep snow the men were helpless. The results were 13 killed, 4 wounded, five prisoners, some scalps taken. Rogers, somewhat belatedly got 140 Rangers together but could not overtake Langy. Rogers tried a short-cut to head off the Frenchman and in doing so met with Capt. Stark and his party at Half-way brook. They combined and crossed over to South Bay, but Langy had passed.

Loudon reluctantly gave up a plan he had to lead an expedition during the winter against Ticonderoga, leaving it for execution to Abercrombie and Lord Howe. Rogers and Stark bent their energies in preparations, Howe getting his order from Loudon on Feb. 1st, 1758. An engineer, Lt. Leslie, was sent up to test the lake route, with some light sledges, 30 in number, leaving on Feb. 11th with Capt. Stark and two subalterns and 40 Rangers on snow shoes. The snow was too deep and the weather too severe and 40 men too few to make a solid path but Leslie and Stark and 10 Rangers went on to Lake George. The snow was found to be four or five feet deep. Shortly a few sleighs and horses reached the lake and found it safe. The parties then returned and Leslie reported to Lord Howe and Abercrombie at Albany. Instead of

adopting Rogers' plan of a flying Ranger unit of 400 men with snow-shoes, it was foolishly considered that light field pieces should form a part of the attacking force. Snow shoes, however, being short, they were feverishly constructed at Fort Edward. The story is clear from Loudon's diaries and other sources.

In a curious vellum-bound old account book, now owned and kept in safe-deposit by Wm. S. B. Hopkins, Esq. of Worcester, Mass., a descendant of the Stinsons of Dunbarton, some entries by John Stark place him in Albany at various times during the winter, 1757-1758. He was not home at all. His brother, Capt. William, was (on January 14th on furlough in New Hampshire) informed by Rogers of his appointment and urging the enlistments that he, William, and other officers were to secure in the augmentation of the Ranger force. No time was to be lost and Rogers went to his own expense in sending two men to New Hampshire on horseback.

### JOHN STARK USEFUL IN ALL CAPACITIES

It is evident that John Stark during January and February was second only to Rogers in importance. The items in the account book show Stark's presence in Albany at various times. An entry in Matthew Patten's diary referred to men of Stark's company, probably fresh enlistments, rather than to Stark's presence, March 1, 1758 "Muster of Capt. Stark's men at Thomas Hall's tavern" (later East Manchester). As early as Dec. 12, 1757 the account book speaks;

"This day received of Capt. John Stark thirty dollars for Samuel McLarney (?) per me, William Stark."  
Also "Received from Capt. Stark one hundred and fifty dollars by order of Capt. John Shepard. Samuel Shepard."

The entries might be interpreted as made by Capt. William on his way to New Hampshire but for the fact that, in accordance with custom, the entries were written on pages of the book, not on separate bits of paper. Isaac Temple receipted for "my paye to the 25 Febrery". Ranger recruits receipted for pay on March 8th, the 9th and the 10th and Samuel Gilman receipted for "a sword that he brought to me", meaning Capt. Stark. Andrew Miller (or McMullen) received from Capt. Stark £63 "which I promise to be accountable to him at Fort Edward." J. Roorback receipted for 22 shillings, 6 pence, an amount which Nicholas Williams owed one Annatze Vischer; but the most interesting and important items are without date:

"Memorandum of what bills I have left at Albany. Received of Capt. Christy two bills one of 140 & 1 of 150 which is £290. Drawd two orders upon Gen. Abercrombie



one in favor of Capt. Dow for £15, the other in favor of William Frossy (?) for £100.

What with the history of the scouts and the now fugitive hints of his pocket-book, it is clear that Capt. John Stark was on the road between Fort Edward and Albany several times during the winter and was of some importance over periods of weeks in personnel work of the new and old Ranger companies. It is to be noted that Stark probably had, during this formative period, more than casual contacts with Lord Howe, who was a man who mixed freely with all classes, endeavoring to learn the business of soldiering in strange environments. These meetings would lend more significance to the statements by Caleb Stark (1831 and 1860) of the high esteem Stark held Lord Howe in and that the association of the two men was not limited to the brief meetings when the Abercrombie expedition was on its way from Fort William Henry down Lake George and the consultation Howe held with Stark at Sabbath Day Point on the eve of the fateful battle. That John Stark was the trusted confidant of Rogers and the only man in the entire corps whom he could depend on in every respect, is clear. It is probably true also that Stark was "in the know" as to plans and the ways and means necessary, in spite of the secrecy attending such matters.

#### THE RANGERS WORST DEFEAT

Due to his various assignments, John Stark was not called upon to go upon the most disastrous scout in the history of Rogers' Rangers. The story really begins with the action of Haviland in sending out the favored one, Capt. Putnam, ("One Putnam", Rogers called the man who was to become the celebrated Revolutionary War General) on a large scout to Ticonderoga to take a prisoner. His decision followed immediately after word came from headquarters that the Howe expedition had been abandoned and that all the stores accumulated for it, were to be sent back to Albany. It was not intended that Putnam should fight the enemy but return with information, upon which Haviland intended, and publicly disclosed, his plans to have Rogers go out with a huge scout of 400 Rangers. This general knowledge among the men of Putnam's party was unfortunate. Putnam returned safely on March 6th. (a few days before incoming rangers were receipting Stark's pocket-book in Albany) but had lost a man, who was picked up by the French. Rogers, after his fatal scout, blamed Haviland for the disclosure of plans which ought to have been perfected with the upmost secrecy. There is, however, nothing to show that the French actually knew. On March 10th, after two minor incidents, Rogers got his orders to take 180 Rangers, including officers, but he could pick his men. As the affair did not include John Stark, the account may be shortened. Rogers' reluctance to go against the very active French at Ticonderoga and

Crown Point, is disclosed in his Journals, but not a word remains of any Haviland record. Loescher gives the personnel in detail, all being volunteers, none ordered to go. The expedition, fitted out hastily, camped at the first narrows of Lake George on March 11th, 1758. Rogers, due to his small force, was cautious. Reaching the vicinity of Trout Brook, Rogers made two divisions of his force, laying an ambush to capture a daily patrol of the French. On sighting about 100 of the enemy, chiefly Indians, the Rangers dropped their packs to fight. The encounter was quick and bloody, the Rangers winning, and proceeded to scalp about 40 Indians, a thrifty move that cost them plenty later. Word coming to DeHebecourt, commander at Ti, he organized with a force of about 300 men to go after Rogers.

Rogers assumed, as he admitted, that he had defeated the whole enemy force. He soon encountered the main body who were out to get him. A truly desperate situation immediately developed. The Rangers fought with great bravery and in the best traditions of woodland warfare but were greatly outnumbered and the decimation of their force at the very first clash was fatal. To make the situation worse Langy's men joined the fighting. After a long fight, retreats following rallies, the Indians infuriated by brandy and vengeful on discovering so many of their tribesmen scalped by the Rangers, pushed Rogers' force against the west side of Bald Mountain, later to become famous as "Rogers' Rock" on the Lake George side. After a fierce attack from three sides Rogers gave the order to scatter, every man for himself. Lt. Phillips accepted the offer of quarter and good treatment. Most of his men were tied to trees immediately and slowly hacked to pieces. Phillips escaped, cutting his cords. Rogers climbed the side of the hill, saw before and below him the ice covered lake at the foot of the smooth mass of solid rock. The prospect appalled him but the man's cunning sufficed. He turned his snow-shoes around and made back tracks until he found a ravine, which he descended while the Indians looked in vain for him on the open top. In due time a legend resulted, that he had slid down the rock-face in its winter dress of ice, to the lake below. Of the apocryphal story the Journals say nothing, Rogers merely stating "I now retreated with the remainder of my party in the best possible manner" which discredits spectacular feats. In extreme cold Rogers and some of the fugitives gathered and remained the night without food or fire, sending an appeal to Haviland for assistance for the wounded. It was Captain John Stark who responded, finding only 52 survivors of whom 8 were badly wounded. Of his scouting force Rogers had lost 124 men on the battlefield. The disaster was long remembered in the homes of New Hampshire.

Rogers made fair progress up the frozen surface of the lake, and records:

"In the morning we proceeded up the lake and at Hoop Island, six miles North of William Henry met Captain

John Stark coming to our relief bringing with him provisions, blankets and sleighs. We encamped on the island, passed the night with good fires and on the evening of the next day arrived at Fort Edward."

It was March 15, 1758. Rogers enumerated his casualties; in his own company, 36 privates killed with Lt. Moore and Serg. Parnell. In Shepard's company, 16 privates and two sergeants killed. In the company of his brother, James Rogers, who was not present, only ensign McDonald killed. In Capt. Stark's Co. 14 privates and 2 sergeants killed. In Capt. Bulkley's Co. 47 privates killed or missing, including the Captain himself, Lt. Pottinger and Ensign White. In Capt. Wm. Stark's Co. only Ensign Ross killed and in Capt. Brewer's Co. Lt. Campbell killed. Wm. Stark and Brewer did not accompany the scout. The distressing result detracted from the prestige that had been built up by the exploits of Rogers' Rangers. Yet the famous corps was not without acclaim for their ability in fighting against odds of two to one, for their killing of so many Indians.

Lord Howe, now in command at Albany (incidentally enjoying the hospitality of Philip Schuyler and his wife, the acknowledged heads of society there) was apprised of the result. What Haviland thought is not known, though the enterprise he sponsored and so niggardly supplied, could not have resounded to his credit or have enhanced his reputation among the Rangers, or even his own rank and file.

Rogers, received by Lord Howe, was given permission to journey to New York to lay before Abercrombie, successor of Lord Loudon, his plans. He learned that 4 of the 5 new companies were destined for Louisburg and claimed the raising of them had been at his own charge. Everything had gone wrong with him, yet the hardy young man looked forward especially to being made Major of his corps and thus command an independent battalion. Forgetting Stark and other able captains, Abercrombie wrote of Rogers that the Rangers "without him would be good for nothing". To keep an implied promise Rogers received on April 6, 1758 his coveted commission.

About this time something was going on which Rogers did not understand;

"About the middle of May a flag of truce was sent to Ticonderoga on Col. Schuyler's account, which put a stop to all offensive scouts until its return."

Apparently nothing resulted. Capt. John Stark was in Albany. The old account book shows; (on May 8th) "Received of Capt. John Stark the whole of my pay of a Lt. in Capt. John Shepard's Company of Rangers from the 24th of October to the 24th of February; Samuel Gilman" (signature partly rubbed out, not crossed out). On the 23rd of May; "Archibald Stark to cash ten Dolars". On May 20th, James



Moore receipted for money. It was while Rogers was in New York, without doubt, that Capt. Stark was favored, though the issuance of a commission to his brother, Archibald, was delayed until April 28th. No doubt competency was at the base of appointments as Lieutenant and Captain but John Stark could urge Rogers that a little nepotism should not stand in the way of Archibald's advancement. In view of his record in that respect Rogers could have no material objection. So Abercrombie as "Colonel of His Majesty's 44th Regiment of Foot" signed the document, which may still be seen, a veritable relic of "The Old French War", in the "Stark Papers" (Vol. 1, 1743-1779) in the New Hampshire Historical Society.

A decision was reached at Albany during the conferences, to learn more of the enemy's strength and situation. Four trips were planned for the Rangers, Captain Stark to go as far as "Ti" on the west side of Lake George, Captain Jacob, the Indian, to go there by the east side, Captain Shepard to take a route between the lakes, presumably on the ridge of the high hills dividing those waters, while Rogers was to go by whatever route he should decide upon, as far as Crown Point. Each party had orders to take some prisoners. Stark returned on May 8th, with six, Jacob with ten and seven scalps. Rogers gives his own route day by day. On May 5 "killed a Frenchman and took three prisoners"; one of the latter giving valuable information as to the enemy. Large scouting parties were kept out continually until Lord Howe's arrival at Fort Edward with one half of the army. It was a good beginning but not enough as Howe wished to know definitely the geography of Ticonderoga and what could be observed of the enemy. "His Lordship immediately ordered me to take 50 men and my whale-boats, which were carried over to Lake George in waggons, and proceed to Ticonderoga, to obtain at all events a plan of the north end with all possible accuracy". So directed, Rogers on the 30th made the plan and while at some distance from his men they were attacked, Capt. Jacob's Indians suffering, and inflicting some losses. Rogers' dates conflict but he soon after went to Half-way brook and met Lord Howe; "gave an account of my scout and the plans he has requested". Then Rogers did another characteristic thing; he asked and received permission to visit "his Excellency Major Gen. Abercrombie at Fort Edward". The latter promptly ordered Rogers back to Lord Howe "with all the Rangers, amounting to 600 men, and proceed with him to the Lake". The Rangers camped 400 yards to the west of where Fort Wm. Henry had stood, presumably where the village of Caldwell now stands. From June 28th till July 5th Abercrombie massed his forces at the head of the lake.

The great army of nearly 16,000 men, Regulars, Colonials, Rangers and a few Indians (Sir Wm. Johnson arrived the day of the battle with 450 more) embarked in boats of every description. Even Rogers wrote; "It afforded a splendid military show". The scene in magnitude and import was never again equalled. The 900 batteaux, 135 whale boats and the artillery flat-boats completely hid the surface

of the lake for three miles from the starting place. Parkman, as usual, outrivalled all in his description;

"The spectacle was superb, the brightness of the summer day; the romantic beauty of the scenery; the sheen and sparkle of those crystal waters; the countless islets tufted with pine, burch and fir; the bordered mountains with their green summits and sunny crags; the flash of oars and the glitter of weapons; the banners, the varied uniforms and the notes of the bugle, trumpet, bagpipe and drum, answered and prolonged by a hundred woodland echoes."

#### LORD HOWE'S LAST SUPPER

He ate his evening meal with Capt. John Stark. It was one of the high spots in the latter's life. From about five in the afternoon until ten at night the more forward portion of the great flotilla rested at Sabbath Day Point. It was to await the slower boats though Rogers says the halt was "to refresh". Two-thirds of the journey having been accomplished the immediate steps ahead were considered anew. For some reason it was to Capt. Stark that Lord Howe turned when he wanted to be certain. His acquaintance with the erect and energetic scout had not been extensive but he had, no doubt, marked him well. The moment was serious enough. Having crossed the ocean to effect the capture of the French fortress and from thence advance into Canada, Lord Howe, on whom the hopes of Britain were pinned, though the command had for certain reasons been given to Abercrombie, eagerly sought every aid. It is regrettable that we have only one account, Caleb Stark's in 1831, though it is to be noted that Parkman, who selected his incidents with care, and, be it also noted, for their illustrative and even picturesque effect, adopted the family account.

"The evening before this fatal battle, Captain Stark had a long conversation with Lord Howe, resting upon a bear skin (his Lordship's camp bed) respecting the mode of attack and position of the fort. They supped together and orders were given to the Rangers to carry the bridge between Lake George and the plains of Ticonderoga at an early hour in the morning."

On the dusky bank from which more than half of the whole lake could be seen, were camp fires accentuating the gathering gloom. The light faded from the tops of the mountains across the beautiful water. The scene was an indescribable melee of boats, soldiers, officers, Regulars from across the sea, Colonial troops, and Rangers in their non-descript garb, mingling for the time without order to partake of food and have relaxation. There were two figures somewhat apart, for a respect-

ful distance would be kept by his aids, permitting Lord How to have a private conference with Captain Stark. It was plain and hard fare that they enjoyed as they sat on bear skins and the like while England's gallant son extended his courtesies to the tanned and coarsely dressed woodsman. A servant or two brought the food, members of Howe's official family were about. Between the principals was, no doubt, Rogers' plan. What became of it has never become known. As Howe had ordered it, he probably kept it and that night as his bear skin cushioned his last slumbers on earth, it was probably by his side. In what manner should the attack on the fort be made on the morrow? Howe's intentions, formed while with Stark, and after further consideration, may have been modified or completely set aside when Howe talked with his chief, Abercrombie. This is to be presumed since the arrangements adopted could not have been worse.

There was one point upon which Capt. Stark was not in position to give the best information. It was surely an engineer's business, and not within a Ranger's knowledge, to conjecture if the long cannon then resting on the flat-bottoms, could with a heavy powder charge send round shot down into the fortification, if the brasses and their carriages could be, separately, hauled up the long, yet comparatively easy slope from the foot of Lake George to the top of Sugar Hill. But even engineers and ballistic experts of that day were skeptical, as may be seen in the Revolutionary War Chapters. An almost bloodless victory could have been obtained by Abercrombie and Howe over the French, who must have evacuated their fortress, commanded as it was from a height of 772 feet above Lake Champlain (U.S. Survey). Montcalm was not without some fear of this possibility.

Howe, with the instincts of a born commander, discussed the point with John Stark. Else in what way could the curious foot-note in Caleb Stark's 1831 book have come about? Either the idea was not considered feasible of accomplishment or else such an attempt was vetoed by Abercrombie, who, confident in the numerical superiority of his army or from plain rashness and impatience, decided not to wait for results from a slow and doubtful experiment. So the solitary height was not visited, covered with the dense growth of forest trees, that distinguishes it to this day.

"The importance of occupying the mountain which overlooked and commanded the works of Ticonderoga did not escape the military eye of Howe. But the attempt to transport cannon to the summit (800 feet) was considered in those days a task which nothing short of miraculous aid could accomplish. Abercrombie, therefore, confident of success, from the number, discipline and valor of his troops waived an opportunity of reducing the place without loss. Gen. Burgoyne afterward acted a more prudent



and military part. He took possession of this mountain, drew up his cannon in the greatest secrecy in the night, by using large brass tackles and from the summit shew (sic) himself to the astonished Americans on the morning of July 5, 1777. The immediate evacuation of the post and the disastrous retreat of St. Clair were the consequences."

The profound study of all source material, nearly as complete in Parkman's day as in ours, is evident in his unusually long account of the battle, some 20 pages (Montcalm and Wolfe, II) from the landing of the troops on July 6th, 1758 during the forenoon, until their ignominious retreat late on the afternoon of the 8th. Even Parkman was unable to reconcile conflicting data. His compromises, however, were woven invisibly into the best story of the whole affair ever printed. It has the advantage of French material, sometimes lacking in American histories.

The chieftains, Abercrombie and Howe, were strangers in a strange land. Their training and experiences were not adaptable to the new surroundings or methods of fighting, though Howe set himself to master everything needful. How much his wonderful personality and initiative were negatived by Abercrombie can never be known. Howe's death in the first moments of combat was the beginning of disaster.

The decision to get at the French by entering the woods and following down the left bank of the stream which flows from Lake George into Lake Champlain was not faulty. Landing at the "French advanced post", found abandoned, would provide a short and smooth way, long cleared by the enemy in years of occupation of Fort Ticonderoga, to the bridge, or bridges (accounts are not definite) at the falls where the saw mill was located on the left bank. But Montcalm was holding that bridge-head with nearly half his whole force and to cross the rushing stream after the bridge should be destroyed, would be impossible.

Rogers with 700 hardy and trained Rangers should have been given the responsibility for the safe conduct of the army of 15,000 men through the two mile stretch of woods, having only the fordable Trout brook to cross to approach near enough to the enemy's defence position a half mile from the Fort itself. A man of greater generalship than Rogers was needed, for his force of character ran in minor adventures. In many cases he was a "yes" man taking orders against a judgment that should have been given exercise, especially by a leader of quick sensibilities like Lord Howe. But in the usual way the strict precedents of British military procedure were adhered to and the Rangers were treated as an arm of the service, as skirmishers or as protectors of flanks and the like. In the case at hand a tenuous but expeditious passage for a strong column (not four) could have been cleared in a few hours, though days could have been allowed if necessary. This, even though Abercrombie had been erroneously informed that Montcalm had 6,000 men and was

shortly to be reinforced. But the safe and deliberate processes of an Amherst found no forerunner in the present undertaking. The course of events proceeded rapidly. Rogers gives this;

"At daylight his Lordship, Col. Bradstreet and myself proceeded within a quarter of a mile of the Landing place and perceived a small detachment of the enemy in possession of it. Whereupon his Lordship returned to assist in landing the army, intending to march by land to Ticonderoga. At 12 o'clock the landing was effected and the Rangers posted on the left wing. I was ordered by General Abercrombie to gain the summit of the mountain which bore north one mile from the landing place and the saw mill and to take possession of a rising ground on the side of the enemy, there to wait for further orders."

In Rogers' Journals of 1765 one must be on guard against forgetfulness, intentional omissions and misleading statements, for the Journals, as printed, are as ingratiating in some respects as was the man himself in his personal contacts. It was too late for reconnoitering if that was the object of an order to climb a mountain, which must have been Cook's, (972 feet above Lake George; U. S. Survey) or else the easterly summit of the "Three Brothers", (668 feet) but neither could be a mile north of both the landing place and the saw mill, two and a half miles apart. Rogers indicates he did not literally follow his orders, which as time was important, were foolish;

"After a fatiguing march of one hour I reached the place whither I was ordered and posted my men to the best advantage, being within a quarter of a mile of where the Marquis de Montcalm was posted with 1,500 men, as my scouts ascertained. At 12 o'clock Colonels Lyman and Fitch of the Provincials took post in my rear. While I was informing them of the enemy's position a sharp fire commenced in the rear of Lyman's regiment."

Rogers and his men were on familiar ground. The nature of the woods was well known to them. The two Provincial regiments had evidently come direct through the woods from the landing place and had made excellent progress. There was no preparation for the army, no way, or ways, cleared for the British regulars, who were, for some reasons better known in the 18th century than in this, formed into four columns, which perhaps meant three or four abreast each.

## A MINOR EVENT CAUSES A CATASTROPHE.

The sharp fire was from a party of French under Langy and Trepezec. They were trying to get to Montcalm. They had been posted near "Rogers Rock" to observe the movements of the British and Americans. Mostly French there were some Indians, the whole about 350. Their progress was slow and uncertain, beating their way northerly. When they thought themselves near the rapids which for a long distance precede the falls, they turned easterly and ran into Lyman's men, a contact they would have avoided if possible. There was no help for it, firing began at once, the French were nearly cut to pieces, some few escaping. During the hottest of the firing Lord Howe, much too far in advance for a commanding general, was instantly killed. The confusion was intensified and all progress arrested. Abercrombie's army, already out of formation and floundering, was without leadership.

To those familiar with the aspects of an Adirondack forest, much of which remains to this day as the Creator made it, Parkman's description of the scene suggests an exaggeration of the physical facts, the novelist in him writing;

"The forest was extremely dense and heavy and so obstructed with undergrowth that it was impossible to see more than a few yards in any direction, while the ground was encumbered with fallen trees in every stage of decay. The ranks were broken and the men struggled on in dampness and shade, under a canopy of boughs that the sun could scarcely pierce. The difficulty increased when advancing about a mile they came upon undulating and broken ground. They were now not far from the upper rapids of the outlet. The guides became bewildered in the maze of trunks and boughs, the marching columns were confused and fell in one upon the other. They were in the strange situation of an army lost in the woods."

The first movement of this, the 6th of July, ended when the army "was needlessly kept under arms all night and in the morning was ordered back to the landing place from whence it came" (Parkman). On the afternoon of the 6th, Montcalm after consulting with his general officers, decided to withdraw from the bridge at the saw mill, first destroying the bridge. This action, when discovered, changed the approach from the woods route down the outlet's left bank, to the short course across level ground, Abercrombie's decision coming the forenoon of the 7th. The intention of the 6th was a march without encumberment; artillery and baggage left at the landing place. The intention of the 6th was the same, even though the bridge-head crossing might have been disputed in force and with cannon.



About noon of the 7th Bradstreet, unopposed, threw across a temporary structure, near the old one, and sent word the way was open. Meanwhile all day long the French were feverishly felling trees, piling up breast-works (8 or 9 ft. high) at the edge of moderately high ground half a mile from the Fort, where the French command judged, after much indecision, the terrain would support the best defence. Not content with the wall of solid logs the ground in front of it was left with the loppings and smaller trunks and branches, all disposed so cleverly as to make a maze of obstructions to entangle assailants while being shot down. Hundreds of sharpened boughs were disposed so as to form an abbatiss. As evening fell the huge work was nearly finished.

#### WHERE WAS CAPTAIN JOHN STARK?

Parkman does not mention him. He is found in no account except one of the "family", which Parkman did not see fit to adopt. Caleb Stark's incident is found in two places, 1831 and 1860, the former in a foot-note, referring to the usual duties of Rangers;

"On this occasion they cleared the way to the saw mills. The bridge between Lake George and the plains of Ticonderoga was forced by Capt. Stark at the head of 200 Rangers, which left the passage for the army to advance to the attack."

The other is in the Memoir of Gen. Stark, the words directly following the story of the interview with Lord Howe at Sabbath Day Point (which Parkman did adopt) as though the plan to "carry the bridge. . . . at an early hour in the morning" was immediately achieved;

"Accordingly they advanced and on approaching the bridge Major Rogers, who was at their head, perceiving a party of French and Indians prepared to dispute their passage, halted for a few minutes, which pushed the rear upon the front. Stark, not knowing the cause rushed forward saying that 'it was no time for delay' pushed boldly on to the bridge and in a few moments the enemy fled, leaving a clear passage for the army."

Parkman's researches failed to discover historical mention of this incident and the present investigation is likewise barren. Yet the strength and reliability of Stark traditions makes it likely that some such thing took place some time before the battle. Major Stark, father of Caleb, was alive when the 1831 book was printed. The Major's memory of his father's military actions has generally proven reliable, so the biographer is, perhaps, justified in going where the historian is more prudent. Rogers' story mentions Stark but once; in relating the

the events of the second day, July 7th;

"At six o'clock I was ordered to the river running into the falls where I had been stationed the day before, there to halt on the west side with 450 men, while Capt. Stark with the remainder of the Rangers proceeded with Captain Abercrombie and Mr. Clerk, the engineer, to reconnoitre the Fort. They returned the same evening. The whole army passed the night under arms. At sunrise on the 8th Sir William Johnson arrived with 440 Indians. At seven o'clock the Rangers were ordered to march. A lieutenant of Capt. Stark led the advanced guard, which when within 300 yards of the intrenchments, was ambushed and fired upon by 200 French." &c.

For some reason Parkman does not mention Stark;

"Clerk, chief engineer, was sent to reconnoitre the French works from Mt. Defiance; and came back with the report that from what he could see, they might be carried by assault. Then, without waiting to bring up his cannon, Abercrombie prepared to storm the lines."

In 1856 Potter (History of Manchester) had had the advantage of being old enough to have heard much from aged sons and daughters of Gen. Stark as to the latter's participation in the "Old French War". In 1860, having printed nothing before, Caleb Stark boldly copied Potter's matter;

"Major Rogers held the position with 450 men while Captain Stark with the remainder of the Rangers (250) went with Captain Abercrombie and Colonel Clerk to reconnoitre the enemy's works. They returned in the evening, Col. Clerk reporting that the enemy's works were of little importance. Capt. Stark, however, was of a different opinion and did not hesitate to say that the French had formidable preparations for defence. Stark was but a provincial woodsman and Clerk a British engineer. The opinion of the former was unheeded, while, most unfortunately, the advice of the latter was followed."

It was not the first time that John Stark and Engineer Clerk viewed Ticonderoga. When Stark was in charge of the Rangers on the scout when Capt. James Abercrombie later charged the corps with misbehavior, Clerk was also along. After the fog cleared that morning the British officers and ten rangers went two miles to look at Ticonderoga fort. At dusk they saw it, distant 900 yards (one half mile) and saw 20 or 30 boats moored. This shows that they must have

climbed up "Mt. Defiance" far enough to get the view. Clerk was probably not a highly trained engineer, or a ballistic expert. Had he been, his advice to Gen. Abercrombie might have been given and heeded, saving hundreds of lives.

Stark could have guided the observers far enough up the wooded slope to where they could not fail to observe the activity of the French at their new breast works though the devilish contrivances in front were either too small or too unfinished to show their defensive strength. Stark's duty was to find for the Engineer and the large party of protecting Rangers the best route. He had no responsibility except for that and a safe conduct. He would have had no standing before General Abercrombie in offering advice.

Overnight, in the French camps, the arrival of Levis with 450 men, was hailed. The defending forces were now about 3,600, only about a quarter of the attacking army. Nevertheless it was fatefully illusive for Abercrombie, in his self-assurance, that there was no need of bringing up his heavy artillery for a softening up and for knocking down the new log ramparts.

If the student has Parkman he will require Rogers for only a secondary interest. The latter points to the beginning of the real battle on the 8th as being "opened" by "a Lieutenant of Captain Stark", indicating that Stark himself was otherwise employed. Parkman's seven pages of combat recital, begins "First came the Rangers, the light infantry and Bradstreet's armed boatmen, who, emerging into the open space, began a spattering fire". Provincial troops followed and then, in formation, the Regulars, making the first attempts on the unique che-vaux de frise. They never got any farther. After an hour it was found too awful. Yet, back at the saw mill, Abercrombie ordered a second attack and yet others. Parkman again excels;

"The scene was frightful; masses of infuriated men who could not go forward and would not go back; straining for an enemy they could not reach and firing on an enemy they could not see; caught in the entanglement of fallen trees; tripped by briars; stumbling over logs; tearing through boughs; shouting, yelling, cursing, and pelted all the while by bullets that killed them by scores, stretched them on the ground or hung them on jagged branches in strange attitudes of death."

Brave individual deeds there were and one nearly successful mass attack which Montcalm stopped with his reserves. "The assault still continued, but in vain, and at six o'clock was another effort, equally fruitless". Till early evening Rangers and Provincials kept up desultory firing to cover the collection of the wounded, while the regulars, "fell back in disorder to the Fall", where the last act was to set the saw mill on fire. On the morning of the 9th, there were signs of precipitate



retreat, abandonment of stores, as far as the landing place, of the proud army of the 5th of July, 1758. Abercrombie's casualties were 1,944 officers and men. "A gallant army was sacrificed by the blunders of its chief" (Parkman). The French loss was 377.

In addition to the bitterness of defeat and the loss of Ranger comrades, there was for John Stark a personal regret that was to become a sort of cherished bereavement, as it were. The young captain who had crowded so much experience into his thirty years was in reality nobody as yet, specifically only one of seven Ranger captains, though senior among them. But the flower of the British Army, Brigadier Lord Howe, had given him special notice and attention. The consultation on the eve of a great battle, accentuated the shock of a death with a bullet in his breast, as Howe fell fighting, perhaps not far from Stark, though nothing exists to show it. In 1860 Caleb had this;

"The regret of Capt. Stark for the fate of the gallant Lord Howe who thus fell at the age of 33, lasted his lifetime. He often remarked, however, during the Revolution, that he became more reconciled to his fate, since his talents, had he lived, might have been employed against the United States. He considered him the ablest commander under whom he ever served."

James Wolfe, hero of Quebec, wrote his father, August 7, 1758, "The noblest Englishman that has appeared in my line and the best soldier in the British Army." The great Pitt called Howe "a character of ancient times; a complete model of military virtue". Parkman said "The young nobleman, . . . had the qualities of a leader of men. The army felt him from general to drummer boy. He was its soul. . . . broke through the traditions of the service and gave it new shapes to suit the time and place." Parkman then gave incidents illustrative. Such a man as Lord Howe would appeal to a man like Stark who well knew the ring of true metal from false. Mrs. Philip Schuyler, Howe's hostess at Albany, as Parkman commented, "loved him like a son, and, though not given to such effusion, embraced him with tears on the morning when he left her to lead his division to the lake." During the Revolutionary War, the happenings of those tragic days would be referred to by Mrs. Schuyler and General Stark. Lord Howe's body was brought to Albany, buried by Col. Schuyler in his own lot, until, with appropriate ceremonies, it was interred under St. Peter's Church. In the records the charges for the use of the pall are still shown.

#### DEATH OF ARCHIBALD STARK.

The very day John Stark was making camp for the Rangers at the head of Lake George, some 400 yards from the army of Lord Howe, an ailing man, far away in New Hampshire, feeling that his hour had come,

was making his will. It was Archibald Stark and the day was June 22, 1758. The news did not reach his son, John until some time after the battle and the retreat. But after the defeated army had finished its intrenchments and the troops were relieved from exacting duties, probably shortly after the 9th of July, word of the loss of his parent could have reached him. A leave of absence would be granted readily. It may have been even later in the month, when the Captain could have had the company of Capt. Shepard also of the Rangers. Shepard reached New Hampshire on August 1st bringing money for Ruth Burbank, as her receipt still shows.

No hint of Archibald Stark's death is to be found in Caleb Stark, 1831. He seems to have been strangely ignorant of the career of his great-grandfather. The Probate records and those of law-suits would, on examination, have afforded him the same information that now exists.

Of Captain John Stark's marriage there is the briefest mention. Evidently Caleb inferred that it was the cause of the furlough;

"After the close of this campaign, Capt. Stark returned home on furlough at which time he married Elizabeth Page, daughter of Capt. Page of Dunbarton."

His father's sudden death was the reason why Capt. Stark left the army at Lake George to return home. The marriage took place two weeks after the probate of the will. The union had probably been in contemplation for some time. As Capt. Stark was not the master of his movements the wedding was not delayed. The two families had known each other for some time, doubtless from 1752 when the Pages, of English descent, came to "Starkstown". Elizabeth a girl of 15, it is said, would sit by the spring near by with a musket across her knees while water was taken for the house and barns, to guard against surprise by the savages. Elizabeth's sister Mary was about a year younger. Two brothers, Caleb and Jeremiah were older. In 1754 John Stark's brother William, married Mary, sister of another prominent settler of Starkstown, Capt. William Stinson, and was living in town.

#### ROGERS AND PUTNAM.

In Rogers' accounts "Nothing material happened until the 8th of August." John Stark's lucky star was again in the ascendancy, for Rogers had one of his worst affairs. In one of his rash and bragging moments Rogers contended with Israel Putnam and others in target practice. It was near the site of Fort Ann. The large party of Rangers and others were on a scout and, for the moment, had nothing to do. The noise of the musket shots enabled some 500 French and Indians to discover Rogers' party. A terrific battle ensued. Putnam was tied and the Indians were about to burn him, but the French then getting the

worst of it began to retreat, taking Putnam with them. The encounter is vividly narrated by Parkman and almost unbelievably exploited by Putnam's biographer.

Young Lieutenant, Archibald Stark, was old and experienced enough to serve on a court-martial. He was about 28. The diary of Lt. Edward Munro of Lexington, Mass. (NE H-G Register, XV) for Sept. 1, 1758, gives;

"To march tomorrow morning with seven days provisions under Capt. Dalzell of the Light Infantry. Camp, Lake George, Sept. 3, 1758, Parole, BRATAL, officers of the day, Col. Beckwith, Lt. Col. Handimand (sic). A court-martial to sit to-morrow to try such prisoners as may be brought before them. Capt. Noal, President, Lt. Stark, Lt. Babeston, Lt. Lyon, Lt. Foote, members. Three companies to be under arms tomorrow morning at guard mounting. A scouting party consisting of one sergeant and six members to go about six or seven miles to the Westward to Predee."

The campaign of 1758 had ended ingloriously and while some of the Rangers remained on duty in the field there is nothing to show that Capt. John Stark returned to the vicinity of Lake George after his marriage, though Caleb Stark's "returned home on furlough" would invite such an inference. At home there was much onerous work for John. The estate of his father was insolvent and much involved and called for constant attention. Rogers would easily yield to any request of his senior Captain for leave of absence until the next campaign should open.

By the children of Archibald there was no opposition to the full execution of the will, as far as the debts permitted. After they were paid there was little to be divided. The final terms were arrived at to the satisfaction of all, for John's equity was recognized without a contest. Both he and William took their full legal fees as Executors. Custom did not run to any exceptions in that regard.

Of the long winter of 1758 - 9, Caleb Stark found nothing to record. Matthew Patten, however, had an interesting item; "March 1, 1759, brought a load of hay from the little meadow and went to Thomas Hall's to the muster of Captain John Stark's men." The make-up of the Ranger company is not given. The party made their way to Crown Point, without doubt. But Caleb Stark, quieting, as he thought, family traditions that were none of the happiest, saw fit to condense his grandfather's early military career, as follows;

"In the following Spring he joined the army and was employed with 200 Rangers in cutting a road from Ticonderoga to Charlestown, N.H. Under General Amherst he was present at the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.



The conquest of Canada in 1760 put an end to military operations in North America; this circumstance together with the jealousies of the British officers induced him to quit the service. Gen. Amherst by an official letter assured him of his protection and that if inclined to re-enter the service he should not lose his rank by retiring."

There was a great deal behind this hasty jumbling, two years into one.

#### HE MAKES THE CAMPAIGN OF 1759.

When Capt. John Stark joined his chief, Rogers, is not certain but he was on the Hudson late in February. His services under General Jeffrey Amherst began.

#### LORD JEFFREY AMHERST.

His career was set forth by Adams in 1896, Lawrence Shaw Mayo in 1916 and by J. C. Long in 1933. The operation against Louisburg the previous year redounded to his credit, as commander of 11,000 British troops and 500 Colonial militia, assisted by a huge fleet. But Fiske (New France and New England, 329-332) gives most of the credit for the successful land operations, which made possible the pro-forma siege, to young Brigadier General James Wolfe and so it would seem, though not uniformly so to Amherst's biographers. William Stark, Capt. John's brother, was in the landings and early strategic work of Wolfe, if he may be believed in his assertions (letter to Gen. John Sullivan, Papers, I. 178-180).

To Amherst "grave, formal, cold, taciturn and reserved" in later life, as one who knew him then said, Fate was kind. The favor of Gen. Ligonier in a recommendation to Pitt, the minister, newly come to power, arrogant and ruthless, but a great soul, started the train of appointments, as commander against Louisburg. Part of Amherst's personality is revealed in the "Journal of Jeffry Amherst" (1931, Univ. of Chicago Press) edited by J. Clarence Webster of Shediac, N. B. who in 1927 had published a short journal of Jeffrey's younger brother, William, Lt. Colonel and Adjutant. Jeffrey's private life in England was no better or worse than men of his class. His military story is one showing intelligence, moderated by self-interest, settled purposes and willingness to undergo hardships. His delay in co-operating with Wolfe has been variously interpreted, the weight of evidence being adverse to him.

After he joined General Abercrombie, following the latter's defeat before Ticonderoga, at the latter's camp 45 miles above Albany, Amherst acquiesced in Abercrombie's plea that it was too late in the season (though Colonial leaders did not think so) to start all over against the French. Probably Amherst wanted to be better prepared and to add

to, not run the risk of detracting from, his Louisburg glory. So Amherst went back to New York and then to Halifax for winter quarters, where, with little astonishment he received word of his appointment as commander-in-chief "of all his Majesty's forces in North America". He did not wait till spring to make his plans. Funds were lacking. The colonies themselves were heavily in debt, bled white by Lake George and Louisburg expenses. They were in no mood to become enthusiastic over one more Ticonderoga. Coming back, on his way to New York, Amherst sojourned with his friend, Gov. Pownall of Massachusetts, who in 1759, opened a new town for settlement, Amherst. Instead of dealing with the local civil and military authorities in the usual way Amherst began by inserting advertisements in newspapers, urging the public to respond to the need for troops. His idea, to cut corners was "not to risk the delay in sending orders through regional channels" did not avail much. Amherst made the best of the social activities in New York until he could get near the source of operations, Albany. Rogers in the good English of his dressed-up printed Journals recorded the preparations in his field.

Rogers wrote Col. Townshend, deputy aid-de-camp, suggesting that he be allowed to go to New England, first stopping on the way to see the General. "But the General by no means approves of your leaving Fort Edward" was the cold reply. Rogers then proposed making up two new regiments of Rangers and also three Indian companies. On Feb. 26th, Townshend wrote Rogers from New York "Your letter by Mr. Stark was yesterday received." He added "The General approves of your raising the Indians" (but see Amherst's heated disavowal of Indian use when Pitt tried to pin it on him and had it pinned on himself a few years later) "but does not agree to raising any more companies of Rangers", &c. As of this period Rogers prints five letters in full; he does not print this one and no copy is known.

Whether it was John Stark, his senior Captain, or Lt. Archibald Stark, is not known but Rogers knew he ran no risk of disloyalty in John. As there is nothing in family accounts to show, it is possible that Amherst did not personally even see the messenger, so formal was headquarters staff work in those days, but if he missed an opportunity of getting first hand information of the Rangers, of the country of the coming operations, of Abercrombie's failure, it would have been because John Stark unlike Robert Rogers seldom pushed his way where he was not wanted. It is reasonably certain that the same messenger that brought the letter, took back the reply.

One reason why Rogers was not to visit New York was his being ordered to conduct one of Amherst's engineers, Lt. Brehme, to the vicinity of Ticonderoga for observations. On March 3rd. the big scouting party started out, some 358 men in all. Stark's name is not found in Rogers' account. There were long marches in the most intense cold. The whole of Lake George was traversed as well as South Bay, the upper portion of Champlain. "Two thirds of my detachment have frozen

their feet" noted Rogers, but "Mr. Brehme is satisfied that he has done his business agreeably to his orders." On March 10, Fred Haldiman congratulated Rogers and advised that he was sending "twenty sleighs to transport your sick." When Rogers returned to Fort Edward he received Townshend's reply, per "Mr. Stark" probably.

Early in March 1759 Amherst received the orders of his Minister, dated London December 29th, 1758. Pitt directed him to attack Canada, by way of Ticonderoga. He advised him that Gen. Wolfe had been directed to attack Quebec.

### AMHERST'S DIFFICULTIES WITH ALBANY.

After many weeks of slow organizing Amherst advanced to Albany on the third of May, 1759. He found not a soldier from Connecticut and wrote the Governor, "I had ground marked out on the hill for the Connecticut troops against they come." The people locally seemed indifferent to the success of the campaign, for hardly a company reported for duty. The Council of Albany, wholly Dutch, backed Mayor Sybrant Gozen Van Schaick (in office from 1756 to 1761) in not interfering with the profits of the local storekeepers and taverners, in selling rum to soldiers. Constant violation of orders and much drunkenness prevailed. By the last week of May however, Amherst got his troops; from Connecticut 3640, from New York 2250, from Pennsylvania 2070, from New Jersey 928, from Virginia 800, from New Hampshire, 700, from Rhode Island 694 and from Massachusetts Bay 2740. New Hampshire also had regiments with Wolfe as had Massachusetts. With some 8,000, Amherst had an army.

### GAGE AND STARK.

When Amherst arrived at Fort Edward the first of June, he was nearly a month behind schedule. He sent General Thomas Gage on to Fort William Henry with a large part of his force, following himself on June 21st. Rogers wrote; "I was directed to send Captain Stark with three companies to join Gen. Gage. I remained with the other three", &c. It was not the first time Gage and Stark were associated. When Abercrombie met defeat the previous July, Gage had led the Light Infantry immediately behind the Rangers. The camps at Fort William Henry were not far apart and while fraternizing was not the common practice, there would be opportunities of becoming better acquainted with the British General whom Stark was one day to oppose in a memorable struggle, separated at the beginning only by the distance of Breed's Hill from Province House.

It was an aggregation of raw soldiers from several colonies brought together under the command of a British General who forgave few infractions of discipline. During a month of excessively rainy weather and heat, a fearsome and resentful condition of mind charac-



terized the common soldiers. There were many desertions. Whippings and some hangings were thought necessary. Amherst's Journal, on Stark;

(June 13, 1759) "Captain Stark with his company of Rangers will join the detachment from the 4-mile post".

(June 23) Amherst noted that the fishing party got too far and that they were pursued by boats of the enemy, three in number. "I sent Captain Starks out with a party to secure their retreat & try to catch the enemy. Got up today 11 batteaus and 47 whale boats. (24th.) The party came in in the morning. Mr. Turnbal had joined them as he was coming to camp, for on finding himself cut off he thought 'twas best toward Ticonderoga and he and four men he had with him got into a little island where they intended to defend themselves."

By June 27th, organized fishing, to provide a welcome change of food, was reflected in the general and regimental Orders. There was to be one boat for each battalion.

(June 27, 1759) "Capt. Stark will have a red flag in his batteau and every batteau must be near enough to call to each other and to follow Captain Stark immediately as he knows where the covering party is located and will row in at the proper time. The fishermen will take their arms, which Captain Loring will deliver and great care must be taken that they are not too much crowded. Captain Stark will receive his orders when the whole is to return to Major Campbell."

So, it would appear that Major Allan Campbell of the Grenadiers had the duty of seeing that the fishermen under Captain Stark should be armed and, as they would be regulars and "Provincials", not Rangers, it is likely they had arms from the British regimental depots. The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum (January, 1942) contained a narrative made up from General Orders, which shows that the original party had been fishing off Diamond Island, "distant fourteen miles from the army" and that Captain Stark's flotilla for fishing had the protection of a "covering party" consisting of no less than two companies of grenadiers, two of light infantry, some Rangers and Indians. Three weeks later the whole army moved down the lake, water borne to the last cannon, for the grand attack on Fort Ticonderoga.

#### DOWN LAKE GEORGE.

The scene had less than usual appeal to Parkman's brush. He devoted but a few pages to the fulfillment of Amherst's great enterprise.

As usual, the Rangers led on the lake, though in their approach Gage's light troops covered the rear, the whole pulling off by daylight. The army remained in the boats all night ("Our wind and weather were very rough, with a disagreeable tumbling sea") but the debarkation was successfully accomplished after some 400 of the enemy were routed early the following morning (July 22, 1759). Rogers wrote "The General employed several Provincial regiments to transport the cannon and stores across the carrying place". The work of investment was carried on deliberately. Amherst is most unemotional in his own Diary. Rogers was given orders to cut the log-boom and chain. Several days were required to dig trenches and to bring up the heavy cannon. Bourlemaque, the Brigadier in command, having his orders from Vaudreuil not to defend if attacked in force, made no serious attempt against the hosts of Amherst, who had double his number of men.

#### TICONDEROGA AND CROWN POINT ARE ABANDONED.

One night the French decamped leaving only some 400 under Hebecourt to keep up appearances. Watching the lake, though Rangers were available, seems to have been indifferently done. During the one exchange of shots Col. Townshend was killed, the principal casualty. At dusk on the 26th, Hebecourt and his garrison escaped, three deserters reporting it to Amherst. Near midnight the northwest bastion of the Fort was blown up, indicating the end of resistance. Early in the morning of July 27th a volunteer clambered into the fortress and took down from the great flag pole, the fleur-de-lis of the French Kings. It had flown at Ticonderoga for the last time. A few days later Amherst was informed that he would have no further trouble, for Bourlemaque had followed his orders and had left the fort at Crown Point. Amherst moved in.

Amherst had promised Pitt that he would "make an irruption into Canada with the utmost vigor and dispatch". He did the reverse of this. Parkman does not spare him;

"Every motive public and private impelled Amherst to push to his (Wolfe's) relief, not counting costs or balancing risks too nicely. . . . His industry was untiring, a great deal of useful work was done, but the essential task of making a diversion to aid the army of Wolfe was postponed."

Should Wolfe fail to capture Quebec from Montcalm, but survive? Parkman does not seem to have conjectured that Amherst may have speculated on such a possibility and have not been able to see a clear-cut future for himself, winner of Louisburg and of Ticonderoga. By slow motion he had profitted by Abercrombie's failure. Amherst had not heard from Wolfe since June 9th, and the taking of Quebec had then ap-

peared dubious. A latent talent for construction found exercise in Amherst's situation. He would make both "Ti" and Crown Point bulwarks of strength for King George. The only overland entrances into Canada had been mere trails; the invariable transportation for armies was by water. Amherst had few vessels, did not bring over from Lake George the hundreds of small batteaux. He proceeded to repair the saw mill at "Ti" and was much annoyed by frequent break-downs of the gear, but it produced rough timber and lumber, so some sloops were constructed and other craft. He improved the condition of the troops, long dieted on salt pork and stale provisions. His interest in the good effects of "spruce beer" on the troops, shows in the diary. He sent out unimportant scouting expeditions, explorations. He improved greatly the road between the two forts. Most constructive of all works, outside Crown Point itself, was the project for a military highway across the mountains to the Connecticut river. In casting about for a leader he found that Captain John Stark was the man for the job. The energetic Captain was given 200 men. They were of the Ranger service, hardy, most of them young farmers who, like himself, had helped clear their home lands, were accustomed to heavy work in fields and woods, acquiring muscles of steel. Rogers gives no details; "Captain Stark with 200 Rangers was employed in cutting a road from Crown Point through the wilderness to No. 4." Amherst in his Journal of August 8th (at Crown Point) "I ordered two scouts to St. Johns, sent 200 Rangers to cut a road to open a communication from New England and New Hampshire to Crown Point." It was evident that the way produced could have been not much more than a path, one impossible for teams or for cannon or their carriages for on September 9th there is Amherst's own entry;

"Captain Stark returned with his party from No. 4. Fourteen of his men deserted, six left sick behind. He said that he had made the Road and that there were no mountains or swamps to pass, as he came back it measured 77 miles. It may be much shortened."

With only 7% disloyal Stark can be credited with securing efficient service, his usual record, for when the woods were beginning to put on their Autumn glories and the home firesides were envisaged, the temptations to "cut it" and leave would appeal beyond resistance to a few. To Stark the decisions as to where the pathway should run would be difficult, his perplexities many, even though some portions, especially the beginnings and the endings, were full cart roads already and made up a fair proportion of the roundabout 77 miles, but in the great central wilderness of the Green Mountains there was neither path nor blazed trail. It is, however, known that the road started from Chimney Point, opposite Crown Point fortress, and ran through the level lands of the present town of Bridport through Shoreham, Sudbury and Pittsford. The end



at the Connecticut river was described in Benjamin Hall's "History of Eastern Vermont" (1858);

"It began at Wentworth's ferry, two miles above the fort at Charlestown and was laid out 26 miles in the course of the Black River as far as the present site of the town of Ludlow, where commenced a path which had been made before by Lt. Col. Hanks."

The officer, of course, was not Hanks but the then Major Zadoc Hawke. In the next year, 1760, Col. John Goffe of Stark's own town, Derryfield, improved the Charlestown-to-Ludlow portion. In Amherst, (date of Oct. 26, 1759);

"I sent 250 men with proper Tools under the command of Major Hawk to make the road to No. 4. Sent at the same time Lt. Small with 30 men with arms to give the Provincials papers from No. 4 to their homes and provisions or 4 pence per day for their march." On Oct. 29th, "I sent to Major Hawk's Party to kill them some fresh provisions." On October 30th it was "Very cold weather and frost. . . . I ordered the Provincials from Fort Edward and the Posts to join their Regiments at Crown Point that they may go home by No. 4." Nov. 13th, Amherst noted "Lt. Small wrote that some of Major Hawk's party had deserted . . . . The Provincials have got home in their heads & nothing can stop them or make them do an hours work though the whole Country depended on it, so I must send them all away."

The time of the year and the shortness of the workable period precluded much road making so that some further clearance of Stark's route must have been all that was accomplished by Major Hawke.

The whole story of this means for crossing the unbroken wilderness, settlements being only on the eastern and western areas of the mountains, has never been pieced together, materials lacking. Later during the Revolutionary war the route was rough and dangerous. To those who now pass over it in vehicles of incredible swiftness, the perfect road does not suggest the difficulties that taxed the ingenuity of Stark and his men, to avoid swamps where horses and guns would bog down, to round hills to avoid the steeper grades and to pass the beautiful wooded mountains that still stand much as Stark and his men saw them in their day. The enormous labor of cutting down the forest trees, of extracting the roots of the monarch pines, of rolling back the huge boulders, levelling here and filling in there, had to be left for the times of peace. But see Captain Stark, as he sits, a gallant figure on his active horse, watching the work his men could do, with axes and blasting

powder.. He picks his way every little while from one group to another. The intrepid future defender of Bunker Hill is there and the hero who risked defeat and won victory at Bennington. Between times does he think of his bride of a year ago with a peculiar interest? She is far away in her father's home. His bereaved mother in the loved home-  
stead by the falls of the rushing river comes into his mind. He is only 31, as young as the country, but the future is clouded. He wheels his horse and goes to give directions somewhere and his reverie is over.

### CROWN POINT.

While John Stark was away during the month, between August 8th and September 9th., many hundreds of soldiers were acting as laborers under the urgent direction of Gen. Amherst himself, advised by engineers, in making a new fortress, near the old works, at Crown Point. Traces of the outlines are still to be seen, 200 years afterwards, even portions of the massive stone walls, the blocks of quarried stone, well mortared. The "Provincials", of course, included many of the needed artisans and had the sinewy strength for the hardest of hard work, which was distasteful to the British soldiers. The huge task went on slowly, the "Journal" full of items about it.

### THE DESTRUCTION OF ST. FRANCIS.

Capt. Kennedy had been sent with a flag of truce and the bearer of peace proposals from Amherst to the St. Francis Indians on the St. Lawrence. Incensed at Kennedy's capture and detention and the rejection of the overtures, Amherst decided to wipe out the tribe and all their works. Stark had returned from his arduous labors and was not sent with Major Rogers a few days later, (September 13th, 1759). Rogers devotes pages to the story, Parkman gives it equal prominence but Long in the most recent life of Amherst, avoids it for some reason. The diary merely says (Sept. 12th) "As Capt. Kennedy's journey was now over I ordered a detachment of 220 chosen men under the command of Major Rogers to go and destroy the St. Francis Indian settlements and the French settlements on the south side of the river, not letting anyone but Major Rogers know what about or where he was going". Rogers is more explicit, stating his instructions, including "take your revenge", but "no women or children should be killed or hurt." Stark, left as the senior captain of Rangers, escaped an assignment which would have been distasteful to him and repugnant to his conception of handling Indians. During the absence of Rogers he was needed by Amherst. The predatory exploit is well known, not only through the accessibility of source material but through numerous writers. In 1940 it became familiar to an audience of millions. It was filmed (at great expense at a locale in Northern Idaho) the screen being based on the historical novel "Northwest Passage" by Kenneth Roberts. Stark was

no molly-coddle and for ten years had fought the Indians relentlessly but he knew that their expeditions had been chiefly due to the crafty designs of the French and that they were always executed by the stimulation of brandy or rum. He had known too much of the better side of the Indian character to relish entering dark wigwams, hatchet in hand, to brain sleeping men, before firing their village. Amherst has several entries of how Rogers was doing; learned that the enemy had discovered and had destroyed the boats left by Rogers in Missisquoi Bay; that Rogers "thought of returning by No. 4", whereupon Amherst sent Lt. Stevens with supplies to Wells River. It was "Very cold weather and frost" at Crown Point on October 30th. "The barracks very slowly getting on. Lt. Stevens whom I had sent with provisions to meet Mr. Rogers, returned. Said there was no probability he would ever come back that way, but he should have waited longer." The incredible hardships suffered by Rogers and his split-up parties are well known now as also Stevens' terrible mistake in destroying and not leaving the rations. On Nov. 5 Rogers sent his report to Amherst from No. 4, who replied on the 8th. "Every step you have taken was well judged and deserves my approbation."

The account of one egregious liar, Thompson Maxwell, alleges the presence of Stark on the expedition ("chose Capt. Stark our leader") but it appears from the publications (HG. Reg. XXIV. 57, 1868, and XL, 1891) that the relators of the two stories got them at second hand and "from notes. . .copied hastily". Maxwell's final reference to Stark was "70 of us under Gen. (sic) stark to No. 4" is not confirmed in the account of Rogers or anyone else. Parkman, a stickler for correctness, disposed of Maxwell thus (Montcalm & Wolfe, II, 269, Little, Brown & Co.)

"There is another account, very short and unsatisfactory, by Thompson Maxwell, who says he was of the party, which is doubtful."

In July, 1778, Stark was writing Gates of his familiarity with the wild nature of the country Rogers came back through, to show the difficulties of any military enterprise. The letter negatives any assumption of Stark's presence at St. Francis at the time of its destruction. It refers to the journey Stark made as a captive;

"I have once been across that country myself and in the year 1759 Major Rogers destroyed St. Francis but lost most of his party on their return by reason of the distance of the way and the badness of the country."

All of August, September, October and November Amherst continued his work at Crown Point and vicinity. On the very day, (September 13th) when Rogers was given his instructions as to St. Francis, Wolfe was paying the supreme sacrifice with his life, on the Plains of



Abraham, unhelpt by any troops of Gen. Amherst, but victorious nevertheless.

Amherst's boats, an armed brig, a sloop, a floating battery and other craft, were ready in October. "Capt. Stark is to man three whale boats with seven men each and to attend such directions as he shall receive from Capt. Loring" who was in charge of all floating equipment, on Amherst's staff. On the 10th of October, according to the Journal, Amherst's expedition toward Canada was begun by a start down Lake Champlain. There were "four columns" but bad weather and gales were encountered and when on the 18th word arrived that Quebec was captured by the British and that Wolfe had been killed, Amherst wrote that as Vaudreuil and the whole army would be at Montreal "I shall decline my intended operations and get back to Crown Point where I hear works go on but slowly." It was true that the season was far advanced and, in accordance with custom, campaigns would end with the advent of cold weather, so Amherst diligently sought to complete the fort and barracks. On Oct. 31, it was;

"Very hard frost. The mortar would not work in the morning. We must make the best of it we can and complete as much as I am able. Ordered a dram of rum to each man; 'twas very necessary."

It must be granted that Amherst stuck to his self-imposed task. On Nov. 22 is the last reference to John Stark.

"It is time I should get the troops away but I must see the Forts first in a defensive state & cover for their garrisons, which two days more will accomplish. Captain Stark's could prevail only on 157 Rangers to engage for the winter & next summer if wanted."

With the indication that Stark was fully in charge in Rogers' absence the next entry says "I reduced the six companies of Rangers to two. Shall keep the officers on pay in case they may be wanted." This distinctly is the promise Stark referred to in 1760 in his letter to Amherst and is the best confirmation of Caleb Stark's 1831 (p. 181); "Gen. Amherst by an official letter assured him of his protection and that if inclined to re-enter the service, he should not lose his rank by retiring."

#### THE CULMINATING YEAR, 1760.

Though the world war between Great Britain, France, Spain and Portugal did not end until Feb. 10, 1763 with the Peace of Paris, that portion of it involving any extensive participation through the service of New Englanders, was over with the surrender of all Canada to the British on September 8, 1760. That event crowned, if it did not end, Amherst's American career.

There were several reasons or influences why Capt. John Stark had no part in the campaign of 1760, when Amherst took Montreal and compelled the cessation of French resistance in Canada. Stark, interested in his farms and his family, was with many Americans, becoming saturated with anti-British feelings, but mainly he was dilatory when Amherst was summary in the preparations for Ranger participation.

The now available Amherst correspondence discloses Stark as more than willing to serve. The Captain's pay was in itself a considerable incentive, going a long way to compensate the inescapable risks, even though a patriotic motive was supposedly the underlying one. With further promotions not in sight and noting the rigid framework of the British army, Stark's enthusiasm may easily have worn itself out, leaving little more than the habit of going on campaigns. At the risk of drawing unsafe inferences the small amount of Stark material must be studied and amplified to the limit.

#### AT DERRYFIELD.

At home John Stark was going through the changeable New England winter but whether at his father-in-law's in Dunbarton or at the old house at the Falls, is not apparent. On January 1st, 1760, Squire Matthew Patten of Bedford probably went across the river. He was a great borrower and a slow payer. He entered in his diary "borrowed 25 Johannes or 45£ sterling of Capt. John Stark." Months passed by. Stark probably heard little or nothing of what Major Robert Rogers was doing, but it was an active season for Rogers. After his arrival, on December first, the previous year, at Crown Point he found that all the Ranger companies had been disbanded "except those of Captains Johnson and Tute." Some scouting was done. Then Rogers went to New York, met Amherst there and returned to Albany on Feb. 6th. Very shortly afterward on a small scout his party was attacked and he wrote "My own sleigh was taken at this time containing £1196, York currency, besides stores and necessaries". On March 1st; "Captain Tute and six men went upon a scout and all were taken prisoners." Rogers received Amherst's letter (about March first) advising his intention to "Complete the companies of Rangers which were on foot last campaign". At the moment Captain Waite was with Amherst and arranged to fill up his company from Massachusetts and Connecticut. He took with him money and beating orders. Amherst then wrote;

"I have also written Captain John Stark in New Hampshire and Captain Brewer in Massachusetts, enclosing to each beating orders for their respective Provinces. I send you a copy of their instructions, which are to send their men to Albany, as fast as recruited."

If Amherst's letter indicates anything it shows that he wanted and fully expected John Stark to continue as Captain and that he put

into his hands the recruiting credentials for his own and other Ranger companies in New Hampshire. Stark received the letter but like most of the pre-Revolutionary correspondence of John Stark it has not survived.

### GENERAL AMHERST DROPS THE STARKS.

Evidently John Stark did not recognize in Amherst's letter the importance of hurry. He knew that campaigns never got under way while snow was on frozen ground and also that large bodies move slowly. Amherst's letter was delayed in transmission; did not come by "express". It was through Rogers that Amherst conveyed his dismissal of the Stark brothers. The three letters, Amherst to John Stark, Amherst to Rogers, Rogers to John Stark have never been found but in the War Office, London, three illiterate letters remain (Vol. 34, No. 82, folios 114-115-116) of which photostats are in Converse Library, Amherst. All dated April 12, 1760, they appear to be in the hand of Samuel Stark but are individually signed by each brother, all addressed to "Major General Jeffry Amherst, Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's forces in North America". All are couched in the servility of attitude toward high officialdom, characteristic of the times, but the bad spelling and inferior psychology add to the lameness of the excuses; Samuel's that he fell from his horse, was injured, hence the delay; William's, (at his worst) wanted to know "the cause of my bad fortune in this case." The letter came by express rider. In this case it made a ticklish situation worse. John Stark was in no position to assume that Amherst was to repudiate his promise of pay, keeping the officers in pay from the end of the 1759 campaign, in order to retain their services, even if no money was advanced, as Stark may have heard as to Waite's getting with his beating orders. Indeed Amherst may have forgotten his promises and certainly Rogers, in high favor, was no man to remind him. The beating orders for the New Hampshire Ranger companies was the important thing; Stark got them. Whether the officers were to collect pay for the idle winter months could have been taken up later. It is hard to equitably assess delinquencies in conduct from the limited data surviving. The result was doubtless as much due to Rogers as to Amherst. Decisions, it seems, were being made (considering the slowness of campaign organization in those times) with unexpected quickness; the Starks were dropped without notice, in a matter of days, not months. John Stark's letter was as follows;

"I received your orders of the first of March and according to them I have sent copies to the -----(undecipherable) officers but did not receive them to the first of April and in five days afterward I received an order to deliver them up to Captain Rogers. I did expect to have had the honor to have seen the reduction of Canada inasmuch as



I have been in every campaign since the commencement of the war and have set myself about no manner of business till I received orders to the contrary, in which I am sorry I behaved so ill that your Excellency discharged me without my knowledge. But as your Excellency wrote to me if I changed my mind you would provide for me I beg I may not be forgotten and, as your Excellency told me at Crown Point, that the officers that went home have their pay till they received further orders I should be glad to know whether they might expect it as there is several of them that is not called for in the list I received of you.

Lt. McMullen was at my house and told me he had enlisted forty men and he is not included in the number that is to serve."

John Stark may have heard about Capt. Waite getting money for expenses. Rogers was not standing in his own light to plead the cause of friend John, or of William, still less of Samuel Stark. Amherst's whole attitude was summary and impatient. He was depending on Rogers to expedite the assembling of Ranger companies. On March 9th he wrote ordering that Lt. Solomon, the Indian of Stockbridge, be directed to raise a company. His intention as to William Stark is plain (Rogers to Amherst, March 15th) "I have sent Lt. McCormick of Capt. William Stark's corps, Lieutenants Fletcher and Holmes to recruit for my own and Capt. Johnston's company".

To Amherst, occupied with great affairs, the Stark letters conveyed the implication of an unfulfilled promise, of pay "till they received further notice", an absurd assumption for New England farmers to put up to him after their discharge. But his Journal now betrays him and shows his intention of 1759.

#### THE SLOW CAMPAIGN.

In spite of all his pushing, contrasting in a sinister way to the inaction of the previous year when Wolfe was expecting the Royal order for help, Amherst was not able to accomplish the surrender of Canada, a not very hard undertaking, until Sept. 8th, 1760. On May 9th, in the Albany-Schenectady area he bewailed; "Not a Provincial yet come". On the 26th, Rogers was ordered with 300 men to surprise St. Johns and destroy the magazines at Chambly. Eventually a maximum of 800 Rangers participated and when Vaudreuil's capitulation came "our troops took possession of the gates of Montreal". (Rogers)

#### CAPT. JOHN STARK NOT IN THE 1760 CAMPAIGN.

Superficial evidences have led to a contrary belief, one from a petition (notably untrustworthy guides) to Congress in 1776 "When Canada

surrendered to the British troops I resigned my commission and returned to my family, laid up my sword in hopes never to have occasion to draw it again." In view of his letter to Amherst of April 12, 1760, the inclusion of that sentence was not only unnecessary but misleading. Yet an historical error has Stark with Amherst's expedition down the St. Lawrence, starting at Oswego Aug. 10, 1760, and later with Rogers "near Detroit" to meet Pontiac. No doubt Augustus C. Buell ("Sir William Johnson" in "Historic Lives", 1903) was paying too much attention to Judge Witherill's letter to "The venerable John Stark, Esq." written from Detroit May 26th, 1811, which even Caleb Stark saw fit to print in full in 1860 (pp. 318-19). Witherill in turn had derived his belief from the vapors of Maxwell (who, in another instance caused Parkman to discredit him);

"I was much gratified by the feeling narration of this transaction by a man of the name of Maxwell, who served under you in that campaign, who while he related the events, frequently attempted to wipe away the encrusted tear from his furrowed cheeks, often exclaiming; 'Ah, is my old Captain Stark still living?'"

Though official records fail to show John Stark anywhere in British service after 1759, the petition and Witherill have one more feeble prop in the "family" view, sliding over and covering up an unpleasant phase of John Stark's career, as it were, in Caleb Stark's 1831 and 1860 sentences, "The conquest of Canada in 1760 put an end to military operations in North America; this circumstance together with the jealousies of the British Officers, induced him to quit the service." &c. Caleb's excuses could be the petition's mis-statement. It is doubtful if his father (Major Caleb) ever told him of the Amherst-Stark-Rogers correspondence. His grandfather's letter, with those of his great-uncles, reposed in the Archives in London in a seclusion ending in very recent years.

#### JOHN STARK'S ACCUMULATING SORENESS WITH THE BRITISH.

His characteristic refusal to "toady", his sharing the feelings of his men had, no doubt, long before engendered an aversion, not to be wiped out by the gratification of Lord Howe's treatment of him. Young Abercrombie's excoriation (the "misbehavior of the men" including Stark) the treatment of the Rangers on the Island at Fort Edward by Col. Haviland, the easy-going condescension of the British officers in all the campaigns toward "the provincials", even the officers of the Rangers, rank for rank (though under British pay and, at the last at the same pay) did not disguise the British unwillingness to fraternize in the long intervals between battles. The cheaply dressed, rough and ready, illiterate, poorly equipped, friends, neighbors and others in the

Ranger's dangerous service, always had the sympathy and understanding of John Stark. In the workings of a mind of his type a quick resentment would harden into an enduring antagonism to Amherst and spread to include all British officers, for the essence of good fellowship was seldom seen after Howe went. Passing in review his thoughts, time without number, would stress the exasperating attitudes of certain officers, their rigid adherence to class distinctions, the fine cloth and fit of the uniforms with gold plated buttons, heavy handsome overcoatings, no end of polished accoutrements. This was to say nothing of the dandified Majors and Captains who had bought their places with unearned money, some of them young and all unwilling to learn. Their antipathy to dirty work did not endear them to the sturdy colonials who had to perform it. In promotions even Rogers got no higher than Major, yet without the militia and especially the Rangers, the campaigns of the British would have beggared description.

### LESSONS OF THE WAR.

John Stark passed easily into civilian life. It was waiting for him and urgently. From the age of 32 until he again took the field at 47, the long nursed aversions had something more to feed on than the growing political disturbances served to affect the average man. During the rest of Stark's life his views of the British never changed.

Stark had learned the hard way all the complicated business of armies, in the field, in the camp, in battle, in victory and defeat. The "Old French War" taught him how to apply discipline, and not too much of it. He became well grounded in military maneuvers. He saw how large bodies of soldiers should be handled, supplied with equipment and provender. Naturally a keen observer he had also the faculty of learning his lessons well. Eventually he had no superior in knowing how his countrymen would act. The complement of this was that his own men knew almost instinctively how he would act. This mutual understanding was the basis of the confidence the enlisted men and their junior officers always bore evidence of.



## FIFTEEN YEARS OF CIVILIAN LIFE

Capt. John Stark, now 32, in the prime of young manhood found divided interests in Derryfield and Dunbarton. Both localities had a great pull for him but gradually the possibilities of the 600 acres on the Merrimack were found to have the stronger appeal. There in 1765-6 he selected a site for his mansion, built it with great care, moved from his father's old homestead, and in the new home lived for half a century.

### DUNBARTON

The boy, Caleb, born in December, 1759, in his mother's home, the house of Capt. Caleb Page, in the northern end of the new area, "Starkstown", later Dunbarton, was not to know another until almost man grown. The grandfather became so fond of the child that he continued to live on, eventually receiving the same consideration he gave to his own sons. But before the birth of Archibald, second child of John and Elizabeth, they had taken their places in the family life in the old house in Derryfield, sharing responsibilities with his mother, widowed in the summer of 1758. As to residence it was a definite break with Dunbarton though John Stark may not have intended it, for at the town meeting, Oct. 6, 1760, the inhabitants were "to see if encouragement be given John Stark to build a saw mill" &c. It was voted that he could have 100 acres of land if he should build within a year and agree to saw for the Proprietors "for the halves" (Stark to retain half of the lumber for his pay) and for other settlers do work "as cheap as any of the neighboring mills". During the fall and winter, laboring started, a wooden dam was constructed, pond water accumulated and the mill was finished, many men working on the project. The area was heavily wooded and still retains some of the "old growth" pines and hardwoods. Long after John Stark gave over in favor of his son, Caleb, a grist mill was added. Twice the building, destroyed by fire, was re-built (1834 and in 1860), but mill and dam gone, there is no "Stark Pond" and the woods have grown up again, much as they were when John Stark looked around him, making his plans. Travellers seldom pause to note the ruined mill-site but never fail to observe the long lichened wall of cut stone that calls attention to the retired cemetery within, behind giant trees, and dimly see the monuments of the Stark family and a few of their retainers, one of the most remarkable private cemeteries in New England. The stately mansion, built by Major Caleb Stark, is out of sight near by, on the estate he created and where the locally illustrious family for the most part resided from 1785 until 1946, a period of over 160 years of continuous ownership.

William Stark had located on the high ridge in the central portion of the grant, now the village street, where the view to the West is the finest and the White mountains, 100 miles away, can be seen on clear days to the North. In his house for some years the town meetings were held. He was a man of good parts and strong character, with energy

and ambition and became a leading citizen, remaining such until the disturbances and unsettlements and the unfortunate alignments and family splits due to the strains of the pre-Revolutionary period. There two children were born while he was still a Ranger Captain and, later, the remaining six offspring the last one as the War opened.

Younger brother Archibald (1730-1819) also became a settler, about 1753 marrying Mary Anderson. Some of their 10 children remained in the town and vicinity, others becoming residents of Hopkinton, to which, later in life, the parents removed. Her grave date (1813) is on the stone, the other socket of the foundation remaining empty.

Sister Jean Stark, born about 1734, youngest of the Archibald-Eleanor brood, married Samuel Stinson, brother of the David who was killed when in company of John Stark the Indians surprised them trapping on Baker's River. After Samuel's death, "the first natural death in Dunbarton" (Robert Rogers' father having been shot in mistake for a bear) Jean found a new help-meet in James McColley (1767-1812) and her two children found a step-father. His fortunes included lengthy service in the war as caretaker of Gen. Stark's horses. Jean died young shortly after the moment her father mentioned her in his hasty will at Kingston. McColley consoled himself in Isabella Jameson in 1774 and had children. So for some years, as his own projects became greater around Derryfield, John Stark's family ties served somewhat to bind him with Dunbarton.

### CONWAY AND FRYEBURG

Lt. Hugh Stirling, "cordwainer" (shoemaker) by trade, having obtained for his services, as did his brothers-in-law William, John and Samuel and Archibald Stark a grant of land in the wilderness, went up to occupy it as a pioneer with his wife, Isabel, born 1726, Hugh being 4 years older, his lot becoming known as "Stirling's location", a name found on maps until recent years, John Stark's being easterly, partly in Fryeburg, Me. The lots of Archibald and Samuel were westerly and through the latter the present highway of concrete and macadam carries a great traffic between Boston and the White Mountains. There is now little to show for the cultivation carried on by the settlers (John took no part but, it is said, deeded his grant to his sister, Isabel Stirling) and in the areas, grown up to woods and brush, one looks in vain for the homes and burial places. Even the dates of death of Hugh and Isabel are not known. Samuel, trying it a few years, leaving some of his children there, came back to Derryfield to end his days.

### LAND TRANSACTIONS

John Stark began on his own account in 1759 (Merrimack) and in 1760 (Dunbarton) until by 1770 no less than 17 title deeds show purchases and sales. In 1761 he quieted any possible claims under the disputed "Mason" title by buying off the holders. He slowly settled the in-

volved estate of his father by acquiring the rights of his brothers and sisters, they, (except for Anna, who married later) moving to other towns. In October, 1761, McColley gave a receipt for his wife's share and William Stark acknowledged the payment of £60 "as my part of my father's estate". Hugh Stirling did the like for Isabel's portion. Out of the whole property John Stark had to liquidate the many debts his father died owing, thus explaining the small sum that William received, the shares of the others no doubt being equally meager. The diary of Matthew Patten has numerous items concerning the estate settlements, as may be seen in the published volume (by the town of Bedford, 1903) and one item that had to do with something else. "Went to Thomas Hall's to take Capt. John Stark and his wives deposition concerning a Newbury lottery ticket, but Col. Goffe had taken it before I went and I came home in the evening." There was no contest over the Archibald Stark estate, John settling amicably with all, relatives and creditors. In the end he found himself the sole owner of all the land, an estate as substantial as those of any of the Revolutionary Generals, save only Washington.

Anna, oldest of all the children, was 14 when the family cabin was burned in Londonderry and was destined to be burned herself when her own home was destroyed by fire on the night of Jan. 28, 1805. She was her mother's helper until she left home to be the second wife of William Gamble in 1744. As a boy in the north of Ireland he escaped being captured by a "press gang" (his two brothers were taken) by being hid under the voluminous skirts of the wife of William McClintock. The lad came to America with them and in Londonderry, N. H. (Potter declared) "he found a cousin, Archibald Stark". If there was a common ancestry in Ulster or Scotland, it probably came from the Archibald family, thus accounting for the name.

### BAD THEN GOOD TIMES

The seasons of 1761 and 1762 were unkind to the struggling pioneers, freed at last from the support of the long French war. In local history they were years "of great scarcity" (Belknap, Farmer's Ed. I.322). Long droughts cut crops short and rendered outside aid necessary. The prevailing dryness permitted great forest fires that burned for weeks until the heavy rains of August, 1761. Fortunately no conflagrations occurred near Derryfield.

Their own and neighboring communities were poor when the Stark brothers returned from their last campaign. There was little money. Nearly everything was obtained by barter. Many people were in bad credit. Every store keeper had many an account hung up. But the years of poverty and restricted activity were succeeded by abundant returns from the soil and lumbering added to the incomes of landowners and millwrights and the laborers in the forests. Those having well selected properties in the Merrimack valley were the most fortunate of all for trade was easier where communications were better. It was an industri-



ous period for farmer and saw-mill operator, Captain John Stark, and he made good his opportunities.

### THE ORIGINAL ARCHIBALD STARK HOUSE

Bringing his young wife, perhaps already called "Molly", to it about 1760 it remained their home until he built his own. Several of the children were born there. The great chimney remains and the fire place of the large kitchen is just as Eleanor Stark used it to cook her last meal and in 1768 left it for a better home. The small northwest room was probably hers, a bed room having an outside door, looking on the falls, the stone step showing no wear from use even to-day. It is now a modern kitchen for the lunches of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and opens to the old kitchen, 20 by 12 feet, whose door on its easterly end. No doubt it was the usual entrance to the house, the "front door" being where an "entry" gave access to the large rooms on either side. Each had its fire place, each with fine waistcoating, one board being 16 feet long and 23 inches wide without a knot. The windows, nine small lights of glass in the upper, six in the lower sashes, have solid inside blinds, moving horizontally, for warmth and protection. The attic or roof space was not finished off during the time of the Starks, but now has rooms. Outside a curious and fatal thing happened during John Stark's occupancy, a teamster being killed when his horses swerved too suddenly around the house. He was caught between his wagon load and the corner board. The road turned off down the river there. The huge boulder that John Stark placed to prevent a repetition now bears the bronze tablet of the D. A. R. The barns, according to a map of 1834, were a little to the north of the house, the present access to the modern Amoskeag bridge passing over their site. The shed or ell of the house, having been called "Molly Stark's weaving room", (rightly or wrongly) now serves the "Molly Stark Chapter" as a very appropriate meeting room, a dais being at the north end, windows on both the long sides. The ladies of the Chapter rescued the property before its impending sale when the dissolution of the Amoskeag Mfg. Co. owners for over a hundred years, rendered that necessary. It is now the oldest and most precious thing in Manchester.

### JOHN STARK'S OWN MANSION

Having become by 1768 the sole owner of a large farm, requiring barns and extensive outbuildings and with a family likely to increase, thus making uncomfortable his mother's one story home (though she died soon after his needs resulted in his plans) John Stark and Molly selected a site a half mile north of the Amoskeag place, one which would be in the center of his acreage. Without regard to the beautiful view to the west the new establishment faced east with an ell and sheds arranged to make a sunny door-yard, protected from the northerly winds of

winter. Though only 40 he had seen many dignified and comfortable mansions. He built his own of fine timber, full two story and attic, big rooms upstairs and down, high posted, probably 8 feet, deviating from the central chimney idea of the old first-settler habitations, having instead two chimneys in the main structure so as to have fireplaces (it was fifty years before stoves came into use) in the front and rear rooms on the ground floor and in the chambers above. This permitted a front entrance in the middle with a wide hall running through to the rear. There was some ornamentation, not plain corner boards but with a blocked effect, as of stone. Each door and window had ornamental projecting frames. John Stark, admirer of fine wood finish would allow neither paint nor paper in the rooms so there was panelled wainscoating, and fine corner cupboards. Elaborate mantels over fire-places were not usual. But of the outside there is better knowledge than of the inside, due to the excellent drawing of Mary Gillis Marble, great granddaughter, made probably between 1845 and 1855 showing all the buildings on that side of the road. Though fire did not destroy them until 1866, it seems that no out-door wet-plate photograph was made, it being just before the itinerant wagon, with its dark room, began peregrinations. The drawing itself was photographed after the artist, Henry W. Herrick of Manchester, who himself remembered the scene, made his water color, putting in the general sitting in a chair in the door-yard, petting his animals, as of the last years of his waning life.

In 1858 a \$34,000 Reform School building was erected near the river on 100 acres of Stark's home farm land. Unfortunately the heirs when they sold did not reserve the house the general had taken so much pride in. On the night of the 20th of December, 1865 some of the boy inmates set fire to the large school building and it was destroyed. The old Stark mansion, from which the family had removed the furniture and fittings, was used to house many of the wayward boys and they soon proceeded to burn that down. Moved to another building, elsewhere, they were barely foiled after setting fire to mattresses. So, a structure good for 300 years succumbed after 98 had passed in 1866. Only the well may now be seen, topped with a new and cumbersome granite enclosing wall. The original front door-stone, retrieved after a thoughtless removal has been placed where it belonged.

### DERRYFIELD

The town, chartered in 1751, was destined to remain for years one of the smallest in New Hampshire. From 1765 it dropped back some 12 polls in voting population. There was no straggling street to bind the three older portions of the settlement together and Derryfield by the Falls remained aloof, the "Center" being two miles off, where a church frame had been put up in 1758, though the building was not completed for many years. When "pew ground" was sold by auction, John Stark, Jr. got No. 1 on the right side of the door, but it was 1790. Oc-

casionally Matthew Patten crossed over from Bedford to hear the word of God, recording the event, with the text, in his book. In that country "Sacrament day" was held once or twice a year, townspeople going for miles to be present at whatever spot was chosen, the rite being considered the most solemn obligation. Often a great concourse necessitated that the ceremony be conducted out of doors. Under such conditions the children of Archibald Stark and Eleanor grew up and better ones did not come during the early years of John Stark and Molly. Not until 1784 when John Stark was 50 and past was there a school house; that year the town having the job of laying out four districts (Potter. 515). Mothers like Eleanor Nichols were not expected to write and few could make anything but "marks". The education of the children, was at the "mothers' kneel", spelling and reading and a little cyphering, but mainly the "three R's" remained, in those isolated and poor country districts, for the future. In 1775 Derryfield's population was but 285, Bedford's 495, Dunbarton having outstripped them with 497, while Concord (Rumford) was twice as large (1052). The Scotch-Irish towns of Londonderry and Chester showed the wealth of their agricultural land, due to the unexampled industry and thrift of the people, so much had been accomplished in the first fifty years. But the bulk of the population of New Hampshire was still in the seaport towns, Portsmouth 4590, Dover 1666, Exeter 1741, with other places, near by, in proportion.

#### JOHN STARK'S PERSONAL ITEMS

He had his share, as an active buyer and seller of land and lumber and the produce of cultivation, in law-suits, both as plaintiff and defendant, both winning and losing, usually in unimportant and featureless cases. (N. H. Hist. Soc. "Court papers") Squire Patten was a persistent borrower and always noted down his little transactions with his friend, John Stark. Two cases are found more significant of the tenacity and stubbornness that Stark may have inherited from his father, though all men were prone, once in a dispute, to carry it to unreasonable lengths, and still are. Perhaps a hang-over from the war if "Abraham Oothout of Schenectady, County of Albany," be any indication, a note signed by Daniel McNeall and John Stark at Derryfield, July 19, 1766, to James Karr or Abraham Oothout for £16 "& ninteen shillen" and "with enterest til Payed" is in the files, and thereby shows it was liquidated and that Stark was not the beneficial maker (or the illiterate writer) but had to take it up. A case where Stark was apparently forcing Ensign David Gilman to hand over part of the wages of soldiers in Stark's company in the 1759 French and Indian campaign, was tried in Portsmouth in 1767. Gilman's receipt was given for 15;11;0 at Stillwater, June 13, 1759, "which I am to pay Capt. Stark's Co. agreeable to directions". Nine papers in the case (17516, N. H. Hist. Soc.) show that Stark lost and lost again on appeal and, of course, had to bear costs and his lawyer's fees, which must have irked him, leaving us to wonder what it was all



about, a *prima facie* action against Gilman. In Stark's old vellum-bound "account book" two Gilman signatures are partly rubbed out, apparently of this period. Generally the court and diary items are too much lacking in significance to chronicle. In 1760 the Selectmen of Derryfield recommended "The Honorable Quarter Sessions" of the Province of New Hampshire to give Capt. John Stark permission to "keep a public house of Entertainment" but it is doubtful if he ever availed himself of the right, even if it were granted.

### ROBERT ROGERS

On his wide swings Rogers must often have passed John Stark's door. It is presumable their relations were not unfriendly. Rogers bought and sold land in Stark's vicinity. Rogers, after Montreal surrendered, was sent by Amherst to receive the surrender of Detroit, Niagara, Fort deBoeuf, Presque Isle, Venango and Pittsburgh. He turned up in New York in February, 1761, alone, going to Portsmouth to present his old claims for back pay and expenses. His mother and some of the family still lived on the old farm, "Mountalona", in Dunbarton. But Stark and he do not appear to have had any dealings together. In Portsmouth his fame being outstanding and he at 30 a glamorous figure despite his bold eyes and enormous nose, his attentions to Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the Rev. Arthur Browne, Rector of St. John's Church, resulted in their marriage June 30, 1761. In six days he was gone, by Amherst's orders, to fight Indians in South Carolina, his wages £ 560, Sterling. By November he was back in Portsmouth. Now he ran into debts and law-suits, tried to get 25,000 acres on Lake George and when unsuccessful, bought a share in a saw mill in Pembroke, near Derryfield. Father-in-law Browne, now quite disheartened, made him give up the title to a farm of 500 acres lying between Concord and Bow, on the river road, because of an unpaid loan of £1000. After these performances and affected by dissipation he asked to be allowed to go to England, having retained his Majority, so as to win promotion in the Colonial service. He accepted an assignment under Capt. Dalyell and from Albany hurried to Venango by way of Lake Erie to cope with Pontiac and after the successful siege ended he came east, having aroused the suspicions of Sir William Johnson. At Johnson Hall he surrendered (in Jan. 1764), his precious commission and, somewhat under a cloud, he reached New York, "escaping" to Connecticut, almost a fugitive. Then, dining with Rev. Mr. Walker at Concord in February, he remained in the vicinity of that town, Dunbarton and Derryfield, engaged in dubious land transactions his residence (given in deeds) being "Portsmouth". He saw his wife but seldom. They had a son, Arthur. With his brother, James Rogers, there were speculative doings, 20,000 acres near Lake Champlain, 3000 acres near Readsboro, Vt. At last in March, 1765, Rogers sailed for England and his sturdy figure soon became a familiar sight in London and in October John Millan in Whitehall printed for him

his famous "Journals" and also a curious poem in blank verse entitled "Ponteach" (which Allan Nevins re-printed) but which only produced derision in London. From the moment that Rogers obtained the appointment of commander, or Governor, of Michilimackinac, Sir William Johnson became his nemesis. To his post Rogers took his wife who suffered gross indignities and worse. Corruption of the Indians, drunkenness and duplicity of every sort followed, until, detected by one Roberts, a sort of controller put there by Johnson, Rogers was arrested at the Fort on a charge of treason, Dec. 6, 1767. His trial in Montreal collapsed for want of presented evidence and after some months Rogers sailed for London with money obtained from British General Gage. He secured the intercession of Ministers of the Crown and was actually presented to the Sovereign, kissing the royal hand of George the Third. Getting some money he soon found it swallowed up by his debts and he was put into the Fleet prison. From 1773 till 1775 little is known of the life of Rogers, who may have got out of jail to fight as was alleged for the Bey of Algiers, but in September, 1775 he got the ear of Congress in Philadelphia and then began those chameleon journeys when he was Tory one day, Patriot the next. In October, after suffering from some disease in New York he reached Albany, then his brother in Kent, then was in Hanover and finally in Portsmouth. He must have seen John Stark more than once passing by, but the canny Scot, probably blaming him for the Amherst fiasco, would have nothing to do with him.

### THE GROWING TENSION

The story is too well known for rehearsal, of the coercion and oppression that slowly produced the American Revolution. The Government of George the Third continued to tighten economic pressures. The colonists along the narrow Atlantic seaboard became more and more indignant and then alarmed. From the very beginning the nature of Captain John Stark, hearing very soon of the measures taken, was mentally alerted but, from his location exerted only a local influence, for he had taken no position of prominence in public life, dominated as it was in New Hampshire by active men in the larger towns on the sea coast. He must, during the ten long and anxious years from 1765 to 1775 often been agitated and worked up, beginning in the former year when import duties were ordered and the Stamp Act was passed. The "stamp master" at Portsmouth early got himself into hot water over enforcing his duties. Only a year elapsed before the obnoxious provision that invalidated all legal transactions in writing save those written on stamped paper was repealed.

On the night of the 29th of October, 1771, Portsmouth people might have witnessed a strange sight for an unknown group of men took away a cargo of molasses, in defiance of a new import duty. This antedated by more than two years the "Boston Tea Party" of Dec. 16, 1773, a performance, partly because of spectacular Indian disguises and part-

ly because it was Boston, stands emblazoned in big letters in history. Its Portsmouth prototype is little known.

The winter of 1771-2 saw the attempted enforcement of the law calling for the seizure of all logs suitable for the King's navy, that did not bear the "Broad R". John Stark's saw mills do not seem to have been involved in this but Derryfield owners of more than a thousand logs, cut without stamping, were summoned to Portsmouth by the Surveyor General. He was Stark's neighbor and friend, Samuel Blodgett of Amoskeag, the sutler who was stripped and nearly killed in the French war. In April, 1772 his Deputy was beaten and run out of town in Weare, a neighboring town. The climax came when the import duty of three pence a pound was put on tea payment being refused in every port, including Portsmouth. In Pembroke, near Derryfield, tea was taken from a store and burned in the street, the same being done up in the Coos, at Haverhill.

During this period John Stark showed few tendencies toward a career based on the suffrages of his fellow citizens. He was not of a kind to solicit personal favors. Asking anyone to vote for him would have been repugnant. Undiscriminative "treating" would go against his Scotch instincts when so many worthless and improvident scamps would be the immediate beneficiaries. He was "friendly to the industrious and enterprising, severe to the idle and unworthy" (Caleb Stark, 1831). But Capt. Stark had been the first Grand juror from Derryfield when in 1771 the new county seat was opened at Amherst.

#### CAPTAIN STARK ASSUMES LOCAL LEADERSHIP

When the rebellious spirit called for a "Committee of Safety", one met at Exeter on July 1, 1774 "to take into consideration the alarming state of the country", Stark serving on it. No records were kept, nothing let out that the Royal Governor could take action against. It was the beginning of organized opposition. When Paul Revere rode into Portsmouth on December 13, 1774 to warn the patriots that the powder and stores in Fort William and Mary in the harbor should be taken, some 400 men assembled, John Sullivan and John Langdon among the leaders. On the night of the following day they removed, without resistance, 97 barrels of gunpowder and 60 muskets on gondolas, to a secret place. On the night of the 15th more powder was taken and 16 small cannon. The Royal Governor fulminated over the plundering of his Fort. Not long afterward the British flag was pulled down from its staff in Portsmouth, for the first time in history and that old ensign of loyalty became conspicuous by its absence, for a moment. In weak reprisal the Governor cancelled a few militia commissions, of Sullivan as Major and of Langdon as Captain, and removed two or more Justices of the Peace. He had offered commissions, of the rank of Colonels of militia, to several men, Nathaniel Folsom being one who accepted. Had Stark done so, when offered, (Stickney, 1810) he might not have been "jumped" quite so easily when the



plausibility of titles was used against him. Stickney was not supported by Caleb Stark, Everett or Potter in the yarn that Stark suggested that his dog "Boobear" receive the appointment. In the first place the dog "Beaubier" was owned by William Stark in the old French War, a wolf hound, credited with being in many fights and it was said that Captain William "returned him on his pay roll and drew pay and rations" for him.

### JOHN SULLIVAN AND NATHANIEL FOLSOM

When Delegates to a proposed Congress of the Colonies to sit at Philadelphia, were chosen July 21, 1774 two men of standing in the coast communities were favored, John Sullivan and Nathaniel Folsom. The 85 men making the selection present from the various towns in New Hampshire as to who could most fittingly speak for the Province, were then, unwittingly, beginning something that was to have a marked influence on the life of Captain John Stark. The personalities of the three men were to interact in important ways during the next fifteen years. Of Folsom personally not even the family genealogy has an adequate description. Of Sullivan his grandson, long afterward, gave this engaging picture:

"About five feet six inches or seven, erect, well formed, hair and complexion dark, cheeks red, hospitable, fond of display, prodigal of money, honest, generous. His mother was small, beautiful, vain and had a violent temper."

Another description is that by Headley ("Washington and his Generals", 1875);

"Somewhat corpulent, swarthy, black eyes and curly black hair, easily excited, 'rash as a storm in his rage' but not revengeful and a kind and generous word would disarm him at once. He was unpopular as a general; it is hard to say why; somewhat ostentatious in manner."

Sullivan was destined to become a very indifferent general but an influential public man. His military preferment was a blight on Stark's career in that it kept him from becoming a Major General. Sullivan had every advantage over a man like Stark except in the all important one, as a military leader. Sullivan had education, address, versatility, ability to give and take, to mix on terms of equality with the leading men of the colonies, to appear to advantage in any company and to write ably and speak volubly. The personal relations between Sullivan and Stark appear to have been perfect and to have endured without evidence of unfriendliness, as far as correspondence and the records go, throughout the long war.

When a "congress" was called to meet on Jan. 16th, 1775 at Amherst John Stark was chosen to be the representative of Derryfield, other towns in Hillsborough County sending delegates. The town paid his expenses (2£, 8 sh.) The January meeting was followed by another in February. In March the choice of Derryfield was Stark again, for the county meeting at Amherst on April 5th, 1775.

### THE RAPID MARCH OF EVENTS

Little did the Delegate, Captain John Stark, realize as he jogged his horse over the familiar road, through Bedford to the next town, talking with groups of men as he watered his horse at the Inns, giving and receiving opinions, noting that the latent feelings of resentment and of growing determination were fully as strong as his own, that in less than two weeks an unexpected encounter of forces at Lexington and Concord would lead to his being elected, by an excited throng of armed men at Medford Colonel of a large regiment.

At Amherst some 30 delegates met and deliberated, choosing a Committee; Captain Stark of Derryfield, Paul Dudley Sargent of Amherst, Captain Blood of Temple, Captain Lovewell of Dunstable (Nashua), Jonathan Martin of Wilton, Dr. Jonathan Gove of New Boston and Daniel Campbell of Amherst. The next day the body adopted Resolutions to "form companies for training and discipline" because "one regiment would put to flight ten that are not disciplined". The sentiment was so like Stark that he may easily have been the one to put it into words. But it was agreed that "riots and licentious attacks on persons or property" should be avoided and a Committee of three (Stark, Sargent and Campbell) were "to draw up a remonstrance to the good people of Massachusetts and Insert the same in the Essex Gazette and one of the Boston papers". A third congress was called to meet at Amherst on May 24th, 1775. Before that date arrived John Stark's modest legislative career had come to an end.

## REVOLUTIONARY WAR OPENS

The night of that astounding day of Lexington and Concord saw the first of the trickling streams of musket-bearing men, approaching the inlets, rivers and bays from which could be seen the shining lights of Boston. Already the city of 15,000, which did not occupy even the whole of the small peninsula, was shut up and was to remain so for nearly a year, the state of siege was so complete. There in Province House, Governor Gage, also the General in command, who had been for twenty years in America and had married an American wife, controlled 3000 British troops. In the harbor a small but efficient fleet had been assembled to overawe if not to control the people of the town and country. The very presence of the army and navy was inflammatory.

The incoming minute men having been drilled on village greens, armed with their own muskets, in units smaller than full militia companies, remained in knots and groups till, finding no likelihood of combat impending, they were taken in by hospitable families for the night or slept as they might in taverns, barns and sheds, on their arms. The immediate uprising betokened that doubts had given way to decision. The stage was set for whatever of drama would be played.

During the night the news of the Lexington and Concord encounters was carried by nameless Paul Reveres almost incredible distances, another courier taking on where one had to stop. From near by places uncounted numbers of men left their homes the next morning, some equipped for a stay of a few days or more, others unmindful, but all armed and determined. Into this scene Captain John Stark came and at once found himself. His dynamic force gave him summary leadership. There were few to dispute his fitness as the immediate head of a force representing New Hampshire. Around Medford hundreds somehow got word that the rendezvous was to be there. A regimental unit was seen to be necessary. A unit mostly of New Hampshire men was rallied and Stark was elected Colonel. It was no time for delay or for waiting uncertainly for orders. Had Stark failed to start for as short a space as forty eight hours another man would have been Colonel, not he. From Exeter the Committee of Safety would have had time to assume direction. When the long arm of authority was ready to act the popular acclaim of John Stark as Colonel was seen to be too strong to be affronted.

## AT THE MEETING HOUSE IN BEDFORD

He was obliged to set down a longer account of the proceedings of the day, Matthew Patten in his Diary, little thinking that his simple story would be thrilling in printed form 173 years after the quill was laid down that night and the tallow dip extinguished. For he had told of what, in similar scenes, thousands had experienced and what would illustrate the effect of the news, that the blood of patriotic men had been shed.



"20th I recd the Melancholy news in the morning that General Gages troops had fired on our Countrymen at Concord yesterday and had killed a large number of them our town was notified last night generay (generally?) met at the meeting house about 9 of the Clock and the Number of twenty or more went Directly off from the Meeting house to assist them.

21st our john and john Dobbin and my bror Samuella two oldest sons sett off and joyned the Derryfield men and about six from Goffestown and two or 3 more from this town under the command of Capt john Moor of Derryfield they amounted to the No of 45 in all Sunkook men and two or three others that joyned them marched in about an hour after they to 35 there was nine more went along after them belonging to Pennykook or thereabouts. 22d I was wakened in the morning by Mrs. Chandlers comeing with a letter from the Comitee of the Provincial Congress for calling another Congress of the Province immeadeatly and I went with it as fast as could to john Bells but he was gone to our army and both the others also.

#### JOHN STARK'S IMMEDIATE RESPONSE

It is unfortunate that dependable accounts, in a historical sense, are not to be found to support and extend Patten's entries of the 20th and 21st of April, as applying to the first local actions of the volunteers. As Stickney wrote in 1810, when his father-in-law's mind was furnishing the ideas if not the exact words, his account, somewhat longer than others, should be given precedence and quoted. It is doubtful if Caleb Stark ever saw the Stickney "Biographical Sketch" printed in the New Hampshire Patriot and re-printed in the Essex Register. His relations, of what Stark did, and those of Col. Potter, contain too much of easy assumption, based on the simple fact that when advised of the encounters of the minute men and the British troops, he was at work in his saw mill. After that what happened, expecially as to timing, is obscured by conflicting stories written down long afterward. In the 1831 book Caleb Stark had only this; "Upon the news of Lexington battle, he mounted his horse and proceeded to the theatre of action encouraging as he passed along, the volunteers of N. H. to rendezvous at Medford;" In 1860, having seen Potter's "Manchester;" of 1856, he included the saw mill. That Stark did not wait to gather men, but pushed ahead as fast as a man with reasonable regard for his horse on a sixty mile journey, seems a reasonable conclusion. That he travelled alone but overtook and was overtaken by others similarly minded is also reasonable, about twenty having left Bedford on the other side of the Merrimack during the forenoon of the 20th. It may be assumed (from Stickney) that Bedford got

the news first, which is possible.

"When it was told in Bedford, Goffstown and Litchfield that a battle had been fought - that the Regulars were driving all before them and were within a few miles - a few that first rallied dispatched a messenger immediately for Stark to lead them. He was found at work in his saw mill at Amoskeag Falls; he stopped his mill and went to his house, took his musket and three dollars in his pocket and without any coat that he might not be encumbered, he went off to meet his little band - who like that of Leonidas at the straights of Thermopylae, were determined on victory or death. They went from town to town, expecting at every step to see the enemy, for the information was the same - everyone told them they expected to see the Regulars every moment. Their numbers increased as they advanced till they arrived the next morning at Lexington, where they saw small limbs cut from a tree by musket balls, as the first evidence they received more than flying report they first heard.

After the people told them what had happened they resolved to go on to Cambridge; there Stark presented himself to the Committee of Safety of Massachusetts with his motley group of heroes of the woods, more than 1000 in number, who had left their families at a moment's notice, without any previous arrangements, to give themselves up to their country. (Stickney, 1810)

As no one else has mentioned the "small limbs cut from a tree by musket balls" and Potter in 1856 did not quote this interesting bit, he probably never saw it but somehow got Medford, which Stickney didn't mention. The main presumption is that Stark either rested his horse and himself one or more times enroute during the night, or travelled very slowly on account of the increasing entourage. From Lexington Stark would go to Cambridge, where the Committee was meeting, that day being the 21st. "The following morning their leader received a Colonel's commission and enlisting orders. In less than two hours he enlisted 800 men." (Stickney) but Kidder's "1st. N. H. Regiment", (1868) has the actual commission as of the 26th. For his history Potter doubtless had family stories but four years later Caleb varied and did not follow, except as to the saw mill. "He returned immediately to his house - a mile distant - changed his dress, mounted a horse, and proceeded toward the theatre of action."

"Stark was at work in his saw mill at the head of Amoskeag Falls when he heard this news and without a moments delay

he shut down the gate of his mill, repaired to his house, took his gun and ammunition, mounted his horse in his shirt sleeves as he came from the mill and rode on to meet the enemy. As he journeyed on he left word for volunteers to meet him at Medford and without delay made the best of his way to Lexington. On his entire route his force continually increased so that the following morning when he arrived at Lexington he had at his command a large force of "backwoodsmen".

(Potter, History of Manchester, 1856)

"Changed his dress" is far more plausible than "in his shirt sleeves" but better is Stickney "without any coat that he might not be encumbered", which doubtless meant no great-coat (overcoat to us) but having a good shirt and a jacket, little enough to ride to Lexington with, and Stark had common sense and Molly was there to help him and give him all the cash there was in the house. One of the many stories of doubtful worth is that in Green's "Pioneer Mothers of America" (Putnams) having Molly start after him, because he had left his pocket book behind, staying overnight with him at his destination.

That Stark, with his considerable number of volunteers, was assured by the committee at Cambridge that, under Massachusetts control, he should be named Colonel, until New Hampshire authorities acted, is without much doubt or that next day in the hall of the Tavern, shortly named New Hampshire Hall (still standing) he was elected by the volunteers present, receiving his actual commission under date of the 26th. four days later, is the order of events. In 1860 Caleb Stark printed a foot-note, having received the item directly from its relator in person;

"The late venerable Jonathan Eastman, senior, informed the writer that the election took place in the hall of a tavern, in Medford, afterward called New Hampshire Hall; that it was a hand vote and that he held up his hand for his friend, John Stark"

At the same time Isaac Wyman of Keene, a Tavern keeper, was elected Lieutenant Colonel and Andrew McClary, another Tavern keeper, of Epsom, was elected Major. There were so many wanting to join Stark's regiment that he was overwhelmed and he had to make up fifteen companies in all. At first the New Hampshire regulations were nine companies a regiment, seventy men each, but later there were fifty each, still later 59 men and 3 officers, 10 companies to a regiment. The camp, was in a state of flux like the others but the leaders were able, by quick decisions, to organize the men. It was impossible to keep them all in their respective commands, many demanding leave to go home for clothing or, temporarily, to attend to urgent duties. French found it all, "The amazing gathering of a formidable force." Caleb



Stark (1860) stated that "when reduced to a tolerable state of discipline, as the Colonel left home at ten minutes notice, he returned to arrange his affairs." There was some confusion as when (McClary's letter) "five or six hundred men marched off inconsiderately for home because Gen. Artemus Ward had indicated (which Ward denied) that Capt. Espey's New Hampshire men were no longer needed. Kidder's history of the 1st N. H. Reg. added to the Stark story;

"Capt. James Reed from Cheshire County and Paul Dudley Sargent from Hillsborough County also received commissions as Colonels, which were given and accepted with the condition to continue 'till New Hampshire should act'. Col. Stark, having a high reputation as an officer soon raised 14 companies while Reed and Sargent only enlisted four companies each for some weeks."

Even though Ward was annoyed by men leaving regiments, he had printed enough forms for the enlistment of twenty. So rapid was the assembling of volunteers from all directions that by the 22nd, three days after Lexington-Concord, Gen. Thomas wrote to his wife that he had 6000 men and thought that Major General Ward had about the same. But in a few days Thomas had only 2500 and Ward's own forces were so "thin" he would send no more to Thomas. May 2nd, Capt. John Moor's company or part of it was undergoing training at Derryfield (Patten's diary). On the 15th the Massachusetts Bay authorities arranged for "barracks for Hampshire companies under Col. Stark or Col. Sargent, if properly equipped" but for others, no such provisions; they were allowed to go home. Even though he had the largest regiment before Boston, Col. John Stark's command was handled with more than ordinary efficiency.

John Hancock and Samuel Adams had left for Philadelphia immediately after the clashes at Lexington and Concord, without waiting to see what followed, afraid to be late for the assembling of the Congress at Philadelphia, leaving only Dr. Warren and William Heath of the Committee, Warren was for immediately besieging Boston. Pickering on his arrival expressed a hope of compromise; marched his men back to Salem. But it was decided that a cordon around Boston, as far as land forces could make one, was needed and troops were assigned to the Chelsea and other areas.

### ARNOLD, ALLEN AND TICONDEROGA

The very secret plan, but perhaps known to Stark, to get cannon from Ticonderoga worked with amazing swiftness, Arnold, with a Colonel's rank from Massachusetts Bay (he was 34 and had come from New Haven with 50 men) meeting within two weeks at the Catamount Tavern at Bennington with Mott, Allen, Easton, Warner and Herrick, composing their differences temporarily, May 7th, 1775, took the fort with its little

garrison of 47 men and its commander, Capt. LaPlace, "In the name of God and the Continental Congress". Then Warner got 50 cannon from Crown Point. Congress delayed until protests from New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut became loud, about not letting the guns go to the army and finally insisted that both forts retain their guns, under Gen. Schuyler's supervision.

### MADAM VASSAL'S CHEST OF MEDICINES

Moses Emerson, Commissary at Medford (Report, June 28, 1775) showed Stark's control of one of the minor features of logistics (a big word he never knew but which Carrington defined as "The practical art of bringing armies fully equipped into the field");

"Before I arrived Col<sup>o</sup> Starkes borrowed a large Chest of Medicin of Massachusetts which, with that brought by Doct<sup>r</sup> Adams & a small one sent by Doct<sup>r</sup> Cutter is thot to be a pretty good supply for the present."

Stark had acted early for on May 13 New Hampshire's Committee voted that "The provisions and Chest of Medicines of Madam Vassal, now under the care of Colonel Starkes, be stored as Colonel Starkes may direct, till further orders."

Arnold did not come back at once but made a foray into Canada and had a falling out with Ethan Allen, followed by Allen's fiasco, upon which Massachusetts sent three commissioners up to force Arnold's return, superceding him with the mediocre Hinman. Then Arnold's brilliant plan for a Canada invasion with 2000 men appealed to Congress, but was stymied by naming Gen. Schuyler to head it.

### COL. STARK'S VISITS HOME

In the nearly two months between Lexington and Bunker Hill, John Stark must have made more than one brief trip to see his family and to supervise his farming interests, planting season having arrived, preceded by the heavy work of land preparation. He had a good manager, his wife, Molly Stark, then 37, though child bearing had taken an invisible toll. The children were young, Caleb had been living at his grandfather Page's, John the next boy being only 12, but busy with a hundred chores. Working at the mill was over. It is said that logs left on the carriages rotted during the long war, where Stark himself had locked them on. Few farm hands could be hired. Visits home would be brief, only long enough to dispose of urgent problems. To his wife and help-meet there would be the unburdenings of the heart. John Stark, all his life, had characteristics of strength coupled with sensitiveness and pride. To his sagacious partner he could pour out his troubles; they were of the spirit. After every visit and after her visits to the camp, he must

always have been the better man. At home there were four little girls to greet him Eleanor, 8, Sarah, 6, Elizabeth, 4, and Mary, 2. There were many tales to be told, some parental, some childish, as they clung about their father, "or climbed his knee the envied kiss to share."

## UNIFORMS AND THE FLAG

As colonel he had to have a new uniform, though no record exists. The finer cloths were locked up in Boston but Salem, Portsmouth and a few other towns could furnish some of the blue, and possibly the buff for facings. Always mindful of his rank, but never a stickler for dress, Stark's coat and waist-coat and the insignia of his rank, were necessities. For the regiment doubtless some flag was had, hardly for each of the companies. Until the so-called "Grand Union" flag was unfurled by Washington at Cambridge, (the British ensign modified), the records of what were used are silent.

## ISAAC ROYALL'S MANSION IN MEDFORD

Col. Isaac Royall, son of a Dorchester carpenter, amassed wealth in Antigua, bought a house in Medford, finished successive enlargements in 1737, with handsome outbuildings and large slave quarters. When he died in 1739 his son Isaac (1719-1781) and his wife, Elizabeth McIntosh (married 1730, died 1770) maintained a notable establishment, until, just before the Lexington-Concord encounter the owner fled (Gen. Gage called him timid) first to Salem to get to Antigua, then to Halifax, finally to England. Fekets large oil (after "Bishop Berkeley" by Smibert, Yale, 1729) could have been 1741, (though unlikely) shows Isaac, a young man, and three ladies and a child. Whom Stark found to deal with when he looked for suitable headquarters, is a question. He wanted a few rooms for himself and a small staff. The child of the painting was probably Miriam, later wife of Thomas Savel, but there were Mary, about 30 and Elizabeth, 33 (not marrying Dr. Charles Russell until 1798) but the wife of William Pepperell Sparhawk, who had several children since their marriage in 1767 probably resided elsewhere. The large and elegant mansion, one of the finest in the colonies (now maintained by a patriotic society, as Medford's pride) could easily satisfy and protect the ladies of the household and some servants and still afford adequate accommodations for a quiet and unpretentious New Hampshire colonel. His tenancy could have been only from the third week of April till Gen. Charles Lee arrived early in July, 1775. It was much too short a time after boy Caleb arrived, the day before Bunker Hill, to warrant this pardonable pride in his son Caleb;

"And when, referring in after years, to this period of his life, the subject of this memoir has frequently acknowledged the advantages derived from the inter-



course it was then his privilege to hold with this amiable and interesting family." (Memoir, Caleb Stark, 1860p348)

#### EXIT STARK, ENTER LEE, WASHINGTON, SULLIVAN

Lee was promptly told by Washington that he was too far from his corps, so he had to depart from "Hobgoblin Hall", as he sourly termed the abode of beauty and wealth. Just when Washington discovered the advantages of Royall's house as a sort of secondary headquarters is not ascertainable, but he probably did it when visiting Lee. The Summer, Fall and part of the Winter passed, a matter of seven months with only one item to show Washington's presence. An item of Aug. 13, 1775, concerned two deserters who swam over to Malden and were "carried to Royal's General Washington's headquarters." On Feb. 15, 1776 Washington wrote Sullivan an autographed letter (Sull. Papers, I. 184);

"Dr Sir I am a little surprised and concern'd to hear of your moving to Col<sup>o</sup> Royals House - I thought you knew that I had made a point of bringing Gen<sup>l</sup> Lee from thence on Acc<sup>t</sup> of the distance from his Line of command - at least that he should not sleep there - the same reasons holding good with respect to yourself, I should be glad if you would get some place nearer, as I think it too hazardous to trust the left wing of our Army without a General Officer upon the spot in case of emergency - I do not wish you to return to your old House - any other tolerably convenient will satisfy me, as I know you would not easily forgive yourself if anything wrong sh<sup>d</sup> happen for want of your presence on any sudden call."

#### STARK'S FIRST LETTER TO HIS AUTHORITIES

It seems that all the volunteers who enlisted in his regiment did not have muskets. Perhaps some took them back home where they were needed and returned without any, expecting them to be supplied. Whatever may have been thought at Exeter about Col. Stark and his attitude, his letter was a model of correctness; date, May 18, 1775;

"Gentlemen - About the 29th of April last a Committee sent from Provincial Congress of the Province of New Hampshire to the Provincial Congress of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, having discretionary instructions from said Congress advised to raise a Regiment from the Province of New Hampshire as soon as possible under the Constitution or Establishment of Massachusetts

Bay; but to be deemed as part of the quota of men of the Province of New Hampshire and the New Hampshire Congress would establish said measures. In consequence of which a number of officers from the Province of New Hampshire conven'd and made choice of their field officers for said Regm't., who have raised the same, 584 of whom are now present at Medford, exclusive of drummers and fifers, and the remainder are hourly expected; and as a great number of those already here (who expected when they enlisted to draw arms from the Provincial stocks are destitute of the same and cannot be furnished as no arms are to be procured here at present) must inevitably return from whence they came unless they are supply'd from some quarter speedily; I humbly pray that you would maturely consider our defenceless condition and adopt some measure or measures whereby they may be equipped. In confidence of your immediate compliance with the above request I am, in the Country's common cause, your most obedient and devoted humble servant.

John Stark"

N. B. The gentleman who presents this to the convention, can give you particular information as to our present situation."

### TRAINING BEFORE THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL

The raw volunteers, many of them under age but including a few veterans of the old French war, were put through their drilling by the Captains and subalterns under the supervision of Col. Stark. He was not a technician but had a sufficient knowledge of army organization and routine to see that the manuel of arms was taught properly. Some of the recruits had never seen a soldier in uniform and even when the battle came the American side showed, it is said, but one company equipped. But older men had been in militia musters, had taken part in formations and had marched, and now, to willing and observant youngsters, they gave evidence of whatever training they had received. If at other times there was slouchiness, indifference to authority, idle quarreling and the relaxations due to the boredom of camps, the demands of a trained army brought every one into line and obedience to orders was found not so hard after all. It was in the nature of John Stark to sanction just enough discipline to inculcate order and co-operation. For dress-parading he had little taste.

Inability to have target practice with whatever weapons the colonies supplied, due to the extreme lack of gunpowder, was not to be disastrous for even the youngsters were far from novices. From earliest

youth they had vied with each other in acquiring skill with guns of all kinds, beginning when steady aiming required as much strength as practice, the barrels were so long. The striplings had hunted wild animals in field and forest and had come to feel that deadly confidence that only experience can give.

## THE PROVINCES GIRD THEMSELVES FOR A STRUGGLE

Col. Stark's letter was presented (the day after it was written) at the forenoon session on Friday, the 19th. In the afternoon "Hon. Joseph Gerrish Esq. and Col. Ebenezer Sawyer", Delegates, bearing a letter from Dr. Joseph Warren, President, pro-tem of the Bay colony, were presented to the New Hampshire body by a select committee, the President and Messrs Folsom, Bartlett, Whipple, Cutts, Stearns and McDuffie. A Union of the Colonies was proposed and New Hampshire was asked to "raise their proportion of men and do all they can to procure the approbation of that Colony to our assuming government." The next day (Saturday) it was voted that New Hampshire should "preserve our most darling rights and Inestimable Privileges.....immediately defending them by arms." In addition to those enlisted, 2000 more men were to be found, to serve till December first, on the same basis as the soldiers of Massachusetts Bay. Three important Committees were appointed and the Convention adjourned until Monday afternoon, to allow Delegates to go home over Sunday. The all-important Committee of Safety was; Thornton, Bartlett, Whipple, Folsom and Ebenezer Thompson. Two other Committees were on Supplies, and to write to the Continental Congress. The vote on Stark's letter showed full and prompt co-operation;

"That the Selectmen of the respective Towns where the Persons Inlisted under Col. Stark, who are destitute of fire arms belong, be desired to procure the same and forward them to the Persons so destitute, and if such towns can not furnish them, Coll. Stark or any of the officers under him are desired to purchase the same and upon a just acct thereof being rendered to this Convention it shall be allowed and paid - and Coll. Stark is desired as soon as circumstances will permit to transmit to this Convention what shall be done in consequence of this vote, and every soldier supplied as afres'd is required to give a Receipt for such fire-arms that he will at his dismissal from the service return the same or have the value thereof deducted out of his wages."

The two adjoining Colonies were to stand squarely together. Formal and definite co-operation had begun. The die cast by the Delegates soon became known in every settlement in New Hampshire. The spread



of the news on that Sunday and the discussion of the issues facing the country, did much to clarify sentiment and to set apart more definitely those who were to be called Patriots and those deemed "Loyalists."

### TRouble FOR STARK DEVELOPS

At the Monday session, Muster Masters ("Major Samuel Hobart and Mr. Enoch Poor") were ordered to Cambridge to muster Stark's men, "if able Bodied Effective men". Some powers like those of rejection seem implied, the muster masters being the servants of the Provincial authorities, tending to limit the authority of Col. Stark, such as might, with arbitrary natures, provoke discussion and conflict. Routine as its nature was there was something explosive in the mission, due to feelings at Exeter.

Col. Folsom was made President, pro-tempore, the session not largely attended, the Secretary being absent. Next day Folsom was appointed to take "General Command of the men that may be raised or are already raised in this Gov't for this session." As Folsom, for a brief period a Captain of militia late in the old French War, had no military experience fitting him for the top position in the Colony, (for the appointment as Colonel of raw militia by the Royal Governor for a short interval, added nothing) the action was not to Stark's liking, knowing as he did Folsom's domineering nature. Trouble was not long in developing.

### GENERAL WARD GIVES COL. STARK A TASK

The Bay Committee of Safety resolved on May 14th and 15th. to get the live stock off the islands (Noddle's, hog and snake) in the harbor of Boston and the regiment 'now at Medford' (Stark's) was to be used by the selectmen of Medford, Chelsea and Lynn. The town authorities were slow in co-operating. Gen. Ward had Stark take a small escort to see to "the practicability of erecting a battery on Noddle's Island.....to annoy the British shipping" ("History of East Boston", Gen. Wm. H. Sumner, 1858)

"He was accompanied on this expedition by Major McClary who a few days after did valiant service in the battle of Bunker Hill.....A slight skirmish took place on the Island between Col. Stark's company and a party of the enemy which landed with the intention of intercepting the return of the company to the main land. After exchanging a few shots the British retired."

This was John Stark's first experience in fighting against his former friends.

Gen. Sumner had the advantages of having been born in 1780, had known many eye-witnesses, his own family having land holdings on

the islands, and he did not need the notice of the little encounter that Caleb Stark had in 1831 to post him as to Stark's reconnaissance, dated April 26th or soon afterward. Stark's report must have been favorable, for on Saturday, May 27th. Gen. Ward gave orders (verbal, no written order being found) to Stark to drive the live stock off Noddlets and Hog islands, taking advantage of the ebb tide which normally left a knee-high fording possible between the two. Sumner wrote "This detachment composed of Massachusetts and New Hampshire men, numbering from two to three hundred, by some account, and six hundred by another, was led by Col. John Stark, afterward Gen. John Stark of Bennington fame."

Saturday afternoon "between five and six o'clock", nothing but the tide causing Stark to wait till that hour, he was driving some 400 sheep off, killing what animals that could not be transported, when British regulars approached "firing by platoons" across Hog Island where Stark had left most of his force. The engagement ended before night-fall and when landing was made on the main land at Chelsea "reinforcements were sent for", but whether Stark's force remained in the vicinity or marched back to Medford is uncertain. Accounts like Gordon's (Amer. Revol. II), French's ("First Year") and Sumner's (Hist. E. Boston) differ and all are sketchy.

Gen. Ward ordered Col. Nixon to the scene. Gen. Putnam himself, came as the day waned. Amos Farnsworth's diary of May 26th has, "At night I and about 10 of our company with a party of betwixt two and three hundred.....(were) headed by Col. Nixson....We marched through Mistick Moldin and to Chelsea." The British sent to the Winnisimmet ferry-ways a schooner and an armed sloop. The schooner drifted to shore and was burned by Capt. Isaac Baldwin, using bundles of hay against the stranded hulk. Sumner declares that Putnam "wading up to his middle in mud and water" caused (by firing of his men) the sloop with its 12 pounders to be disabled. In the darkness, "she had to be towed off by boats". No one was killed of the American forces and but three or four were injured, though exaggerated reports immediately spread, including the digging of a hole 25 feet square in Boston for the British dead. The "battle of Noddle's Island and Chelsea" was hardly a serious affair.

## GEN. ISRAEL PUTNAM AND HIS PROMOTION

Tarbox in his Life of Putnam tells how his hero "Wet and covered to the waist with marsh mud" and without stopping to re-dress, went to tell Gen. Ward and Committeeman Joseph Warren of his night's work, expressing the hope that the troops might have something of the kind every day, there being so little danger from cannon balls. "Warren smiled and said nothing" while Ward replied that "as peace and reconciliation is what we seek for, would it not be better to act on the defensive and give no unnecessary provocation?" But when the stories got to Phila-

delphia something like politics may have served to include the Connecticut man, Washington being made Commander-in-Chief, Ward, Lee and Schuyler with Putnam as Major Generals, in that order.

## STARK AND HIS EXETER OVERLORDS

It would be superficial to conclude that recalcitrancy and even contumacy were characteristics that were inseparable from John Stark. At times there was friction but for the most part it was harmony and co-operation, interspersed by short periods of stress and strain, tension and confusion. The great conflict in which the colonists started ill-prepared smoothed out many cross purposes and misunderstandings when tempers flared and patience became frayed. If Stark consistently stood up for his rights against odds that a prudent or a truckling soul would have eliminated or reduced, the instances were few in which his country was the loser. The basis of his contentions must always have been that he was the soldier in the field, to risk the lives of his men and his own as exigencies should cause his judgment to direct him. The authorities were to support and sustain the military with a minimum of interference and petty supervision. Stark was neither always right nor always wrong but had he been more diplomatic he would have fared better personally though his troops might have fared less well.

On the other side, the members of the Provincial Congress of New Hampshire were, by and large, the most level headed and competent citizens in their respective towns. They brought to the deliberations a broader conception of the independence movement, especially in scope in co-operations, than any single mind, especially one possessed by a distant military leader. As men of English descent, over a long period of soldier domination they had the natural caution against letting their servants become their masters. In turn the legislative committees that were formed to find the ways and means to support the war, to supply the equipment of the men and their subsistence, to minister to their health and comfort, were the most sagacious and energetic and the most experienced of the membership. At times the paid executives were sometimes overzealous, officious and lacking in discretion. There is no question that Stark lacked tact and was not a "good mixer". His executive ability leading him to make quick decisions and to take positions the possible effect of which he was not inclined to take time to think out, was shortly to involve him in one of the worst situations of his entire career. A born fighter, caution was something to be exercised in the face of the enemy, not in dealing with the "Exeter crowd" which he felt was partly composed of men who sometimes, at least for a time, felt more concerned about their property and their trade. Residing in one of the least important towns in the interior Stark had never aspired to enlarge his acquaintance or to cultivate the friendship of men of influence in order to be considered of importance. His raising a regiment with immediate Massachusetts recognition, his undeniable popularity with the rank and



file, made him suddenly a man to be reckoned with and perhaps he felt it himself. At Exeter he may have seemed a mettlesome steed requiring a curb bit but the choice of Folsom was unfortunate.

### STARK SUMMONED TO EXETER

On May 26th a letter was sent to Stark. Its text has never been known. In his reply on the 29th he said "according to your request I have transmitted to the Committee of Safety a regimental return of the men who have enlisted under me into the service of the Province of New Hampshire and who expect to be paid therefrom". Stark asked for money to pay the men" as neither officers, nor soldiers can subsist much longer without some". A sutler or sutlers, armourer's tools and a chest of medicine, were other requests in the temperate and respectful communication. In view of subsequent events the disappearance of the Regimental Return of May 29th. has an ominous look. Did Folsom keep it or was it given to the Muster Masters?

At the meeting of the Provincial Congress on May 31st. dividing the field forces of New Hampshire into three regiments as "equally as can conveniently be done", was resolved, on recommendation of the Safety Committee. At the same meeting it was voted;

"That Coll John Stark be sent for, that he is desired to attend this Congress and to give account of his conduct, relative to the army, to this Congress as soon as may be, in order that the same may be properly commis<sup>d</sup>"

The Editor of State Papers added a note (VII. 493) that the record of the vote was mutilated and crossed in the original, but for what reason or by whose authority he could express no opinion. The House could not have received Col. Stark's Return, dated May 29th. which may have accounted for the rather testy wording. At any rate when it came to writing Stark a more tactful communication was prepared;

"As some difficulties have arisen in settling the Regiment under your command the Congress, as you will see by the enclosed vote, have thought proper that you should immediately, without loss of time, repair to this Town, to receive their orders and to give a more particular account of the state of the Troops under your care."

To Major General Ward no hint of internal dissensions was allowed to appear;

"In order to commission the officers belonging to the New Hampshire regiment, the Congress have thought it absolutely necessary that Col. Stark should appear before them,

therefore should take it as a favor that you'l grant him leave for that purpose."

At the Saturday, June 3rd., session Stark was confirmed as Colonel, Wyman as Lt. Col. and McClary as Major of the First New Hampshire Regiment, thus beginning officially the unit having the longest service of the war in any of the colonies. Appointed was;

"General Folsom as Brigadier General and chief Commander of the New Hampshire Army, to be allowed the same wages as a Brigadier General shall in the Massachusetts service and that he have no particular regiment of his own but equally command all the New Hampshire forces."

The action was not disturbed on Monday, there being no quorum, but on Tuesday the egregious wages for a man of Folsom's limited attainments, were reconsidered and he was voted only the wages of a Colonel "and such other allowances as this convention may think proper." The members of the colony had come in from all over and for the time being Folsom and his friends had over-reached themselves.

The subject not being mentioned in either 1831 or 1860 by Caleb Stark and by Potter only to say (1856) "Upon this he went to Exeter and matters were arranged mainly to his satisfaction" the status of what Stickney wrote in 1810 and Farmer & Moore's "Collections" printed in 1822, must be considered a highly colored and apocryphal story.

"Large bets were made between those acquainted with him and others who were not, respecting his daring to appear at Exeter. But he was there without loss of time and presented himself before the Legislative body much to the confusion of some of its members. The members employed themselves in business of little moment for hours till at length Stark arose and addressed the Speaker, telling him if he had any business with him it was necessary he should attend to it immediately for his regiment required his attention at Cambridge. 'Luck' says the Speaker, 'I had forgotten all about it. We have agreed to raise three regiments and have appointed Folsom to command the first and appointed him Brigadier General, Poor his Lieutenant Colonel and you to command the second regiment.' Stark asked if they had any way of making a child that was born to-day older than one that was born six weeks ago; and no answer being given he left the House. They sent a committee after him to endeavor to prevail upon him to come back; but in van. He told the committee that if they could not arrange the

business he would bring a committee in three days that would do it effectually. The committee made report and Stark was appointed to command the first regiment."

### AT THE FRONT

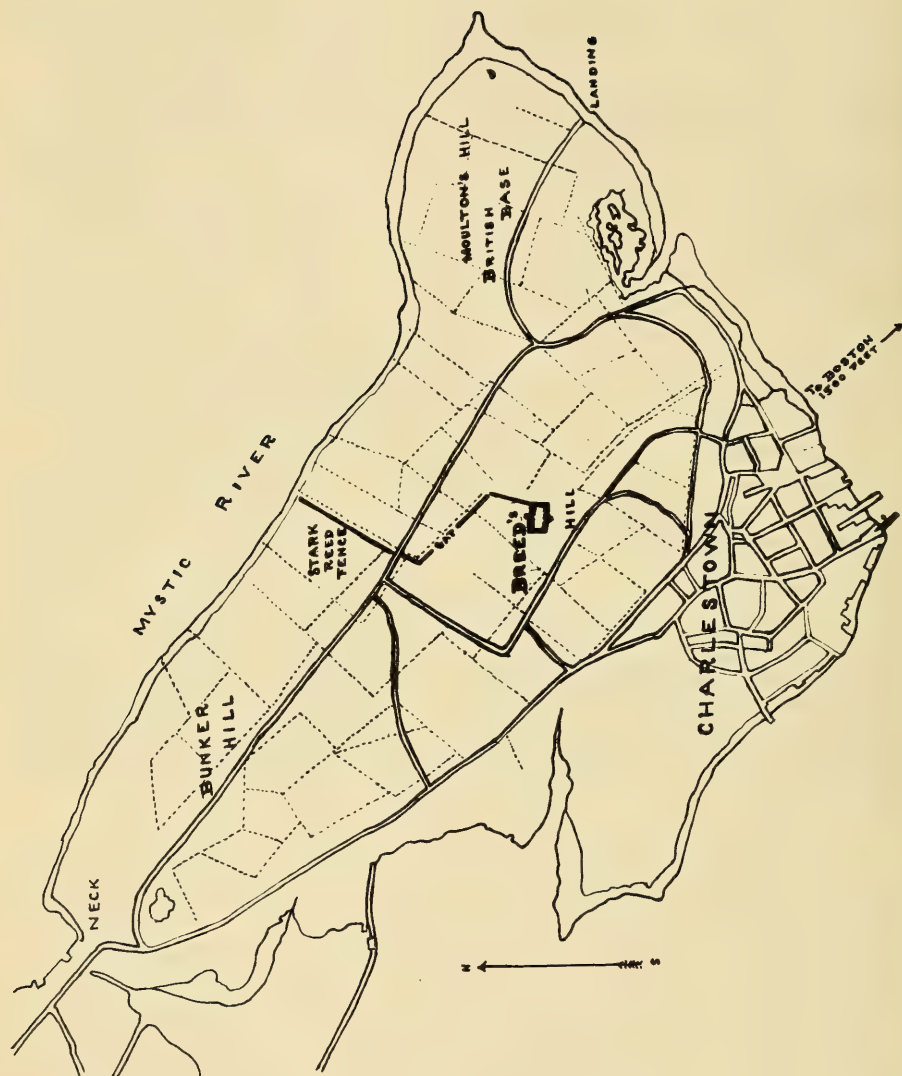
On June 6th. an exchange of certain prisoners took place at Charles-town, appropriate middle ground. Col. Stark was still at Exeter. Warren and Putnam had the Wethersfield (Conn.) company as escort, said to have been the only one in uniform at the time, to meet British Major Moncreiffe. As "the greatest humanity" was mentioned and "all possible care by the Provincials at Medford" it is possible that Stark's regiment had the keeping of the British prisoners, an incident made much of by French. Until the day before the unexpected battle on the 17th. routine and relatively unimportant matters occupied the army. Capt. Dearborn got one of Col. Stark's earliest recorded orders, one of guard duty, the signature, Stark's;

"Medford, June 8th, 1775. Capt. Henry Dearborn; You are required to go with one sergeant and 20 men to relieve the Guards at Winter Hill and Temple tomorrow morning at nine oclock, there to take their place and orders but first to parade before the New Hamp<sup>s</sup> Chamber." John Stark. Coll."

(Maine Hist. Soc. Gen. Dearborn's Papers, Mss.)

On this day the local Committee ordered the collection of a huge reserve, 600 bbls. pork, 100 tons bread and flour, 12000 flints, 1500 gall. rum, &c. &c. At Exeter on the 12th. Gen. Folsom, by favor of his mentor, John Sullivan, accepted the services of 23 year old Alexander Scammel, law student at Durham, Harvard 1769, as Brigade Major on his staff. Thus began a career cut short by Scammel's untimely death later in the war.





## BUNKER HILL

## Synopsis

Col. William Prescott was given about 1000 men and after midnight piled up a soft earth breastwork on a low hill, afterward called Breed's Hill, adjoining Charlestown village, not to be confused with Bunker Hill, a half mile back near Charlestown Neck. At day-break (June 17th) British war ships began to cannonade the earthwork, usually called "the redoubt". Col. John Stark placed his regiment and that of Col. James Reed (who was not present) back of one of the rail fences, squarely facing the British army after they landed at Morton's point, Charlestown peninsular, opposite Copp's Hill, Boston. Stark hastily put up a low stone wall under the Mystic river tide-bank, to prevent the British by-passing him. Their first move attempted it. Failing they made a full and direct attack on the rail-fence. Foiled with great slaughter they repeated it; same result. The British re-formed for an assault on the redoubt, now thinly manned, and also a "gap" between it and the rail fence. They overwhelmed both, causing a precipitate retreat, the Stark-Reed regiments covering it and the battle was over. Time about 1-1/2 hours, beginning 3:00 P.M.

## THE STORY IN DETAIL

For generations John Stark has been rightly recognized as "The Hero of Bennington". He should, however, have been equally acclaimed "Hero of Bunker Hill". In the elements of heroics his action at Bunker Hill exceeded that at Bennington. To glorify his earlier exploit would not detract from the lustre of the name of Prescott. Both were heroes in every true sense. The credit to one does not involve discredit to the other. Unfortunately for Stark the historians of Massachusetts, many and able writers, in lauding Prescott and Warren in their earthwork have overlooked, quite uncritically, the equal if not superior claims of Stark behind his rail fence. New Hampshire historians, unopposed in the Bennington accolade, have been singularly ineffective in securing recognition of the stamina and valour of Stark and the fact that New Hampshire had more men on the fighting lines than both the other colonies, Massachusetts and Connecticut. The credit for the selection of position and its maintenance must, as will be seen, go to John Stark.

Owing to the mass of literature on the subject (in one library alone no less than 55 titles were found under "Bunker Hill") confused by early partisan contentions, the resifting of source material has been a long and difficult task.

That the intrenchments were a challenge, albeit an impulsive one, to the British across the way in Boston, is at this day plain enough. From every point of view military it was a mistake. Yet it had the unexpected value of building up Colonial morale, as perhaps nothing else could have done. No one contributed any more to this (as he later and similarly did at Bennington) than Colonel John Stark. In sheer intrepidity he was not even second to Col. William Prescott.

The masses of Colonial troops which had been for nearly a month beleaguering Boston were accumulating stores, particularly powder, which was the hardest to procure as the British Government had long since prohibited any of it going to America. Organization work proceeded more or less steadily while the Committee of Safety and General Artemus Ward considered means of bringing pressure. Resolutions of the Committee show what was in their minds. On May 10th a letter to the respective Colonels of the army;

"As we are meditating a blow against our restless enemies we therefore enjoin you, as you would evidence your regard for your country, forthwith on receipt of this order to repair to the town of Cambridge with the men enlisted under your command."

There is nothing to show that Col. Stark received this summons. Apparently it was not intended to apply to him; he was already at Winter Hill. Two days later, on May 12th, the Committee ordered breast works built on the road, Cambridge to Charlestown, and "a strong redoubt to be raised on Bunker Hill with cannon planted there". This resolution, of course, was secret. It remained so for over a month at the end of which time the Provincial Congress itself voted (June 15th) that "The militia hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice" though this may not have meant the regiments under close command at Cambridge and Winter Hill.

At the May 12th meeting of the Committee some one had persuaded them to take the action noted "to annoy the enemy coming out of Charlestown, also to annoy them going by water to Medford". The long oval summit of Bunker Hill itself (110 feet above mean low water) would have been suitable for this "annoyance" (hindering) though it was vulnerable to bombardment by the warships and of doubtful defensibility by land, Ward having no heavy cannon or mortars to place for use against the forces of Admiral Graves, the British commander on the sea. Immediately nothing was done about it except that on the following day (May 13th) General Israel Putnam of Connecticut led some 2000 men "to Shoe themselves to the Regulars" by marching over Bunker and Breed's Hills (the latter usually called, if anything, "Charlestown Hill", until after the battle). Did Putnam thus exult in the forward looking action of the Committee? In any case he led the men through Charlestown village and then they "warhooped" at the Somerset ("British man-of-war")



as she lay near enough to have blown wide gaps in their ranks, if ranks they had, and had orders been available at the moment. No harm was done by this bit of pure braggadocio, barren of strategic value. Perhaps it gratified the conceit of the rank and file and added to the satisfaction of the leader on whom the chief responsibility seems to be fixed for the fateful project which took shape in a little more than four weeks, on the night of the 16th of June.

That there was effective espionage is evident from the fact that the plan of the British became known at Cambridge headquarters, though the text of Howe's letter of June 12th to his brother, Lord Howe, did not become available until years later.

"In my last of the 13th, I mentioned the General's intentions of occupying Dorchester Neck or Charlestown heights. And it was determined that the former should be seized, as on Sunday last, the 18th at daybreak, the tide serving well for that time. Everything was prepared accordingly. But on the 17th at daybreak the Rebels were observed at work in great numbers upon those heights."

During the month which elapsed while Gen. Gage developed his plans and was about to execute part of them, the "leak" of information to the American camps occurred. The placing of Reed's half organized regiment at the entrance of Charlestown Neck was belated unless the "leak" was itself late. The period after May 13th, was one of watching and waiting the whole length of the cordon about Boston but that nothing was done about occupying Charlestown peninsula is an indication that the Committee and Gen. Ward recognized the fact that such would be devoid of military value just then. Taken into account were the shortages of powder, the lack of heavy guns (two came down from New Hampshire too late for the battle) and the difficulty of throwing up adequate earth protection under the guns of the British fleet. But when the imminence of British occupation became evident the authorities were somehow influenced. "By whom and how?" Suddenly something happened in the high command. It is no longer doubted that Gen. Putnam, no calculating careful planner, no master of strategy, pleaded to be allowed to dig a defence on Bunker Hill. He changed the location, the little earth-work was thrown up and the battle came on overnight. There was nothing else for the British to do but destroy it. In the sarcastic phrase of our day Putnam "asked for it."

Sometime during the 16th of June, Lt. Col. Israel Gilman of Reed's regiment (another indication that Col. James Reed was absent or ill) wrote the New Hampshire Committee of Safety a letter which had this "P.S.",

"It is a still time with the Regular troops at present. We expect they will make a push for Bunker's Hill or Dorchester neck very soon."

Within 24 hours Gilman was doing his duty at the rail-fence.

The popular mind has never appreciated the overnightness of the Bunker Hill battle. Indeed from the spade work on the redoubt at midnight until the battle was over about five o'clock, only 17 hectic hours elapsed. Close timing by distant observers shows that from the first musket shot to the last only one and a half hours were required to end the contest.

A modern and critical review came in 1868 when the Editor of the "Historical Magazine" placed every student since that date under obligation. The personality of Henry B. Dawson was unique. He looked more like Rip Van Winkle than Joe Jefferson, the actor, ever could, but he gave a masterful and penetrative analysis of the battle in 36 double-column pages, completely annotated. There was a reprint of documents by American newspapers and commentators, the full correspondence of the 1815-1818 controversy, both sides, 85 pages in all, a mass of assembled facts greater than everything before, all embalmed in a magazine now to be found only in a few large libraries, his medium ceasing with his own early demise. Incidentally Editor Dawson laid the ghost of General Putnam which had stalked during the first half of the century.

Since then some British documents have come to light. The "First Year" of French, a monumental work, furnishes material for nearly completing the subject. The comparatively early stories like those of Col. S. Swett's (1826), following the controversial Dearborn-Putnam period, were partisan. "The objective at Bunker Hill", Col. Horace H. Fisher (1908) extenuated Ward's lack of activity, flatteringly defended Putnam, though in spite of it Putnam's presence at the fighting front seems limited to short visits during the long lull, after the two determined assaults on the rail fence. In 1853 "The Farmer's Monthly Visitor", (Vol. XIII) at Manchester, N.H., made a reprint, with amplifications, of the New Hampshire participation of the battle. Major Joseph Dow of Hampton Falls contributed "in the winter of 1818" the basis of that story. Potter's Manchester (1856) and Caleb Stark's Memoir (1860) threw some light on the scene. The make up of the New Hampshire soldiers in the battle, intelligently dealt with by state authorities, will be reviewed in Notes on Bunker Hill. Maps and their uses will be likewise handled. Lt. Col. Wyman's case, and the evidence as to Col. James Reed, will be given separate consideration. The story of the battle is confusing enough and the flow of the narrative would be impeded by the inclusion there of lengthy ancillary material.

Why Colonel William Prescott of Pepperell was selected is not known. He was about the age of Major General Artemus Ward (1727-

1800) and like him had seen some service in the French war, was personally brave and pugnacious but nearly destitute of military judgment, as it proved. For the night's work, and for the probable defence, he was assigned certain forces. Of their identity we have to depend on his letter to John Adams, leading Colonial, later President, who wrote asking Prescott for an account of the battle. Dated Aug. 25, 1775, two months after the event, it is found disappointing in its details and was evidently intended to depict only that part of the battle in which Prescott took part. Of his force he said;

"About 1000 men consisting of 300 of my own regiment, Col. Bridge and Lt. Col. Brickett with a detachment of theirs and 200 Connecticut forces commanded by Capt. Knowlton."

The "Prescott Manuscript" a family story of uncertain dates (History Groton, Mass. and also Historical Magazine, 1868) gives the regiments as those of Bridge and Frye, and the men under Knowlton as 120, not 200. It does not mention Brewer's as a regiment, yet the Hon. William Eustis (1753-1825) "who was in the redoubt" told General Wilkinson (whose 3 Vol. "Memoirs" are interesting if not always reliable) that "Colonels Prescott and Brewer commanded there" (Hist. Mag. 416). Historians have variously estimated Prescott's force as from 1000 to 1200 and even higher figures are found such as Stark's inadvertent 2500 (letter after battle) and the Rev. Wm. Martin (Rev. Ezra Stiles Diary, Yale Univ.) who gave Prescott 1500, of whom a third did guard duty, off and on, a statement not confirmed by anyone. On the low side Dawson (Hist. Mag. 1868) summarized;

"About 1200, in which Mr. Frothingham agrees (Siege of Boston, 122), General Dearborn's account, less than 800, in which Gen. Washington (letter to Geo. Wm. Fairfax, July 25, 1775) evidently agreed with him, and Judge Tudor 'Life of Otis, 470' who still more diminishes the number. John Warren, brother of Dr. Joseph Warren, in his manuscript Diary said that the insurgents who went on the hill on Friday evening numbered only about 700 and Governor Trumbull of Connecticut (Letter to Baron der Capellen, Aug. 31, 1779) considered there were no more than about 600."

Col. Prescott makes note only of withdrawals, not of accessions. We can place in his force on the night of the 16th, only those units he himself enumerates. If there were any others, Massachusetts historians have not discovered them. It is known that Col. Frye was indisposed and so Lt. Col. Brickett was in command. It is not known how the 500 contributed by Frye and Bridge was made up. Some have, for con-



venience, considered the detachments as of 250 each, obviously no better than a guess. Stark's report mentions no contribution to the night's work. One thousand men, more or less, would have been ample for the throwing up of a suitable earth-work, to forestall any attempt by the British to take possession, had time permitted.

#### AN ERROR IN PSYCHOLOGY.

Was it a stupid blunder to assume that erecting an earth-work under British man-of-war guns would not be such an affront to British pride as should not be followed by immediate reprisal? British mentality seems to have been overlooked by Ward, Putnam and the Committee of Safety, though all of them were of British descent. Because of underestimating the nature of British reactions (briefly like "the rebels must be humbled, taught a lesson!") Major General Ward lost a battle. The bravest of brave men were sacrificed. Ward has been excused on the ground that General Gage's proper plan, in any attempt to break the encircling grip of the rebels, would have been to smash the main American position, the Cambridge camp. In furtherance of this Gage should have landed his expedition up Willis' creek, where the Lexington-Concord force had successfully started on its foray, Cambridge from thence being but a short march. But when the British showed definite evidence by cannonading the redoubt, and by noon landing at Morton's point in force, where was Ward? He was miles away in Cambridge, where he staid. Had he even moved his directive headquarters half-way, say to the triangle of roads near Charlestown Neck (near fort No. 3, "the red house") he would have come close to mastering the situation. If Cambridge had been the objective of the British then Ward would have been near enough to get behind his own earth-works at Cambridge, quickly. Ward completely misconceived the British incentive to dislodge the impertinent Americans. Ward, not of a general's calibre, was further, most of the time, in the presence of agitated members of the Committee of Safety, to whose amateur demands he may have been improperly subjected. It is even possible that both Ward and the available Committee members may have felt like "playing safe" and that as it was Putnam's affair; the latter should be compelled to extricate himself and the men (Prescott's) he had asked for. It was known that before the battle Putnam was urging his horse on to Cambridge headquarters more than once. The first response was a ridiculously minor one, of having 200 of Stark's regiment ordered to help Prescott, followed by the late order for the whole of Stark's regiment and the available portion of Col. Reed's. What Ward had in mind, if any plan he had, no one has found out.

## BUILDING THE "REDOUBT".

The force given Col. Prescott at Cambridge started on its way in the evening preceded by two dark lanterns. The men were not told their mission. Besides their usual arms they had taken a day's rations, some run, but, it is said, little or no water. An obscure item in a letter of Isaac Lothrop, member of the Provincial Congress, dated June 22nd read "Their intrenching tools not coming up in season it was 12 o'clock before they began their work" (Hist. Mag. 1868) Every story of the battle has had to take cognizance of the "mistake" of intrenching on Breed's Hill, as it rose just back of the village. It is generally agreed that Ward (and the Committee?) meant Bunker Hill. Prescott's letter to John Adams said "I received orders to march to Breed's Hill in Charlestown" which doubtless referred to his final orders, received from General Putnam. French points out that;

"Ward could not have expected the rash changing of his plan. But he did not count on Putnam. A General by commission 'Old Put' was not general by nature. His idea of fighting was shown at Chelsea, wading into the water to get at the enemy. He led but he did not plan and in advance of a fight he put no thought into the strategy which should make it succeed. His son credits him with conceiving the idea of the battle. If so he looked no farther than to make sure it should be a bloody one."

It is significant that Putnam and his friends never undertook to place on Prescott the responsibility for the choice of Breed's Hill.

Not until the late dusk of a June evening did the party silently cross the narrow Neck leading to the Charlestown peninsula. Before reaching the Neck it was necessary to pass through a "street" of houses, not compact. Since the 13th of June this thoroughfare had been patrolled by the regiment commanded by Col. James Reed of Fitzwilliam, N. H. There, no doubt, the usual countersigns had to be given. For Reed's long Reports see N. H. State Papers (VIII, pp. 518-19). As the road down the Neck ran up over Bunker Hill, Prescott took his men there. By a process of elimination French found that Gen. Israel Putnam (1718-1790) was the only general officer present; that he influenced the decision, the opinions of Gridley, the engineer, and Prescott, being unknown. While the leaders went into a huddle, the wondering men stood and lay around for hours, resting from their march. The decision was to go over to Breed's Hill, elevation 62 feet above mean low tide, about half the height of Bunker Hill.

About midnight, it being clear and starry, the dirt began to fly at the hands of the hardy young farmers, working as silently as possible along lines laid down by Gridley, lines forming a rectangle with sides a little over 100 feet long. One man reported it was 10 rods by

7 rods. Regardless of that, the Charlestown side had a zig-zag in it, that is, a redan. The walls were piled up at least head-high. Fresh from General Stark, who had retained emphatic ideas, Stickney's description (1810) was;

"A redoubt was thrown up in the course of the night but was so unskilfully done that they would have been better without it. It was a mound of earth about five feet high and a level on the top of about eight feet wide, upon the summit of the hill; so that it made a complete cover for the British troops as they ascended the hill - for the musketry within the redoubt could not be made to bear upon them unless they stood upon the top of the mound of earth. Gen. Stark has always called it 'a pound' from its nearer resemblance to that than a fortification."

To Bentley (1810) Stark referred to the redoubt as a "pen", a distinction without much difference, seeing that the men were more or less helpless inside. The elderly engineer, Gridley, did not stay through the digging or he might have been more mindful of the principles of Vauban. The men in the earth-work could see Boston and the British ships but due to the flat top they could not see all of the ground sloping down before them. The Montresor-Page map, Note "D" shows that some of the British took a position "covered by the rising of the Hill from the Fire of the Redoubt".

Before daybreak Prescott went down to the shore to listen for the "all's well!" on the ships and came back satisfied. Recently found British accounts, however, show that the work of the Americans was being observed, without much suspicion. Soon after day-light, shots from the ships, which had the earth-work well within range (a fact that should have been ascertained before a shovelfull of earth had been moved) began to play in that direction, a firing that was kept up, off and on, to the dismay of the workers with spade and pick-axe, as soon as one of their number was killed. The courageous Prescott then realized how "close-in" he was and he began to watch anxiously for the reinforcements he had been promised. A little calculation will show how even 800 men would be awkwardly crowded, leaving for each less than four-by-four feet, if evenly distributed over the whole interior. What Prescott could have done with double that number is problematical. The thing was vulnerable to assault on two if not three sides. No sooner was the rectangle finished than it was discovered that a long breast-work would be necessary because of the lay of the land to run northerly as far as possible, as a protection against flanking. During the forenoon one was thrown up. As to embrasures and gun platforms in the redoubt, testimony is conflicting. Time did not admit of much. True only as to earth, was Frothingham's statement (Hist. Charlestown, 1875) that the troops "made platforms of earth and wood to stand on."



On June 3rd, William Tudor, writing to Stephen Collins, Merchant, Philadelphia said, (Hist. Mag. 1868);

"I was in the intrenchment at 8 o'clock Saturday morning at which time our people had got the breast-work finished but the embrasures were not cut nor the platforms for the cannon prepared; only two field pieces, four pounders. . . I came away, being unarmed and only a spectator."

The northerly breast-work may have been only 132 ft. as Peter Brown thought or as much as 20 rods (330 ft.) as Prescott afterwards guessed it. In front of it the ground sloped rather steeply to lower ground where there was marshy soil, perhaps even a shallow pond.

#### REDOUBT AND BREAST-WORK, BEFORE THE BATTLE.

The soft and dusty walls of the redoubt having been finished, the men formed a hord of exhausted and thirsty volunteers. Prescott's force had suffered insidious depletions. Thoroughly tired out "they worked" says French, graphically, "with growing hunger, fatigue, doubt and, at last, suspicion". The reinforcement promised had not shown up. Prescott is said to have doggedly refused to send for any; that the men who built the earth-work would defend it. Yielding to entreaties finally, Major John Brooks (afterward Governor of Massachusetts) went to General Ward at Cambridge. The timing is very obscure and Gen. Putnam may have been involved. The order for Stark's and Reed's regiments (the order has never been found, if it was a written one) is believed to have resulted. Defections that began during the night, continued during the forenoon when men left singly and by twos or threes. While the northerly breast-work was being thrown up, Prescott wrote "About this time the above field officers" (Bridge and Brickett, for Knowlton did not show up until "about two o'clock") "being indisposed could render me but little service and most of the men under their command deserted the party." "Many left the diggings" after the British cannonading was resumed, wrote Peter Brown to his mother in Newport. Prescott's stout heart must have sunk to its lowest depths of apprehension. His account is fragmentary and so we do not know what parts of any regiments of Brewer, Bridge and Frye still remained. Their aggregate killed was so much less than in Prescott's own regiment as to verify the suspicion that more than half of their men had retreated long before Prescott made a misguided decision, that he could help matters by having "my Lieut-Col. Robinson and Major Woods" go out "to flank the enemy", though this was when the battle had begun, away off where Stark's men and Reed's were bracing themselves against the first charge of the British Regulars.

## A REINFORCEMENT THAT WENT ASTRAY.

One of the curious things about the battle is what became of the 200 men that Col. Stark detached to go to the aid of Col. Prescott by Gen. Ward's orders during the early forenoon. On April 19th, Stark made his report of the battle to his state authorities;

"Upon which I was required by the General to send a party consisting of 200 men with officers to their assistance, which order I readily obeyed, and appointed and sent Col. Wyman commander of the same."

This is the only known order of Gen. Ward for help to Prescott. It was pitifully small but had it reached Prescott and staid to fight it would have doubled the final number Prescott said he was reduced to. But according to Stark's statement in 1810 to Stickney, this was what happened;

"Early in the morning of the 17th, Stark detached his Lieutenant Colonel with 300 more, and himself with his Major went forward to view the pound. Soon after they arrived there the British cannon began to play upon them from Boston. They saw their whole regiment would soon be wanted and they immediately returned to their encampment at Winter Hill. On their return they found Wyman and his party in the Valley between Winter and Ploughed Hills, lying down to rest. They were again put in motion but went to the right where Stark saw no more of them until after the action."

## PUTNAM AND PRESCOTT.

Some time late in the forenoon, as the northerly extension of the redoubt was not finished till then, General Putnam appeared before Col. Prescott and demanded the intrenching tools. His object is believed to have been the throwing up of some breast-works on Bunker Hill to afford a momentary defence at least in case the redoubt should fall, a contingency he must by that hour have envisaged. He also had begun to realize the consequences of his folly. In the ensuing four or five hours any actual digging, and there was some, was of little consequence. Prescott demurred, not to the taking of the now useless tools but to the fact that men to carry them to Bunker Hill (Putnam having brought none for the purpose) would not return to him. Prescott did not relish further depletions of his already much reduced force and had found that Gen. Ward's promise of reinforcements was subject to a most dangerous delay, at least. But he finally let his men go and realized his fears. The men did not return to him. If tools for only five to eight hundred men,

the carrying of them would prove heavy burdens to at least one or two hundred men. Prescott did not inform us. No doubt many of the tired and thirsty, if not hungry men were glad of an excuse to trudge over to Bunker Hill, nearly half a mile away from imminent danger. Most of the diggers had misgivings as to the construction of the "fort", the desertions and withdrawals indicating their unwillingness to have its defensibility tested. Putnam, ineffective in everything he did that day, may have attempted to reassure Prescott as to reinforcements. Did Prescott let the men bearing tools go because he was told that the New Hampshire troops were coming? He was unable to hold the men of Frye's and Bridge's regiments. His generalship may be guessed by his sending out two futile detachments; the Calendar-Knowlton and the Robinson-Woods. The former took away perhaps 100 men and the latter may have depleted him by some 200, else the gesture must have been ridiculous. He was left, in his own words, "with about 150 men". Were there actually so few? Could Prescott have realized how impotent such a small garrison would be to check a determined assault? Standing three feet apart his 150 could man only three sides and he would have in reserve none at all. The only explanation is that Prescott was confident of receiving in ample time the full number of reinforcements that he needed.

#### JOHN STARK'S INITIATIVE.

The firing of cannon at intervals, from daylight into the forenoon, could undoubtedly be heard at Stark's headquarters at Winter Hill. It was characteristic of him to find out for himself what was going on. Responding to Gen. Ward's order for a small reinforcement of Prescott would make Stark only the more anxious to know and hence to be better prepared to act intelligently. His trip with Major McClary, now his second in command, both down and back would not consume an hour. It was all to the good and, on the way they encountered Lt. Col. Wyman and his men, whom they "put in motion". There is as much historical creditability in these things as in most of the accounts already published about the battle. French appears to have overlooked them, as well as the letter Stark wrote, July 28, 1801, to Dr. Joseph Warren's brother, later referred to, which proves that Stark made a second visit, this time to the redoubt and saw there, it being the time of Stark's arrival near the rail fence with his regiment, Dr. Warren, but could not say whether he was carrying a gun or had side arms. The main thing was that the patriot was there in the midst of Prescott's depleted force, supporting him. There is nothing to show that Stark and McClary on their early reconnaissance went as far as the redoubt. Indeed it is probable that from the top of Bunker Hill "They saw that their whole regiment would soon be wanted and they immediately returned to their encampment on Winter Hill."



comparatively few sizes. The "10 o'clock orders" were either those when Wyman and his 200 men were detached, or they referred to anticipatory preparations by Col. Stark after he and Major McClary returned from their quick look at the field of battle.

#### MEDFORD TO THE RAIL FENCE.

Minus the two hundred sent off with Wyman, Stark had his entire regiment in marching order when "at two o'clock an express arrived with orders for my whole regiment" (Stark to Exeter authorities after the battle) everything in readiness including ammunition. There were fifes and drums, but whether a flag, is unknown. The pace was steady. "I was the first regiment that got to the lines although I received my orders one hour later than the other troops and had two miles further to go." (Petition and Remonstrance, 1776 - Stark). The moving column of uncouth figures were clad in homespun, hardly a uniform among them. They had some pride in their appearance as they approached Charlestown Neck where there was a motley assembly of militia and civilians, as the ranks gradually came to a halt. Of this phase, "The Farmers Monthly Visitor" description was;

"A regiment of our people stood there at a halt. We passed on and a Frigate and batteries opened their fire, which threw the dirt and dust about us in every direction but did us very little injury."

Dearborn's company was in the lead with Col. Stark marching by Dearborn's side. The incident, dramatic and characteristic of Stark, was related by Dearborn;

"At Charlestown Neck we found two regiments halted in consequence of a heavy enfilading fire thrown across it of round, bar and chain shot from the LIVELY Frigate and floating batteries anchored in Charles River and a floating battery laying in the river Mystic. Major McClary went forward and observed to the commanders if they did not intend to move on he wished them to open and let our regiment pass; the latter was immediately done. My company being in front I marched by the side of Col. Stark, who, moving with a very deliberate pace I suggested the propriety of quickening the march of the regiment that it might sooner be relieved of the galling cross-fire of the enemy. With a look, peculiar to himself, he fixed his eyes on me and observed, with great composure, 'Dearborn, one fresh man in action is worth ten fatigued ones' and continued to advance in the same cool and collected manner."

## AT WINTER HILL, MEDFORD.

During all of March and April preceding the battle, powder and ball were so precious that the former was "too valuable to be trusted to new levies until they went into action" (HG Register, Gen. Derby, 1877). Reed's regiment at the Neck, being on sentinel and guard duty, would hardly have had sufficient doled out for a serious engagement. Stark's regiment's experience is clearly related by Gen. Henry Dearborn in Port Folio, a Boston Newspaper, reprint in May, 1818 in the Patriot, Concord, N. H.;

"Col. Stark's regiment was quartered in Medford distant about four miles from the point of anticipated attack. It then consisted of thirteen companies and was probably the largest regiment in the army. About ten o'clock in the morning he received orders to march. The regiment being destitute of ammunition it was formed in front of a house occupied as an arsenal where each man received a gill cup full of powder, fifteen balls and one flint. The several captains were then ordered to march their companies to their respective quarters and make up their powder and ball into cartridges with the greatest possible dispatch. As there were scarcely two muskets in a company of equal caliber it was necessary to reduce the size of the balls for many of them and as but a small proportion of the men had cartridge boxes the remainder made use of powder horns and ball pouches."

Tarbox in his Life of Putnam (1875) quoted Reuben Kemp of Richard's Co. Stark's regiment, in an affidavit (not dated) "We sorted our bullets as well as we could". All the guns at Bunker Hill were smooth bore muskets, often called "fusees" in the old French war. When possible bullets were rolled in a paper with the powder, the men carrying a number for quick use in "cartouch boxes"; cartridges, in a rough way. Ordinarily powder was dropped down the barrel of a gun from a powder horn. Then the bullet, as close a fit as possible, was dropped in. Then wadding was pushed down and rammed "home". Major Dow noted long afterward that during the height of the battle "we did not take the trouble to return ram rods but dropped them by our sides as we reloaded." At Bunker Hill the reloading of the smooth bores was rapid and as the human targets were close the execution was deadly. When the new rifles came into use there was criticism that they took much longer to load, fire, clean and reload, though they were, in ordinary hands, considerably more accurate because of the slightly spiralling inside grooves in the barrel. At Medford trying balls in the barrels would consume a little time even if bullet-molds and guns had

Though French did not identify the two regiments one of them was that of Col. James Reed. As he was not present, a hesitation to take the lead in crossing the Neck was evident. The two New Hampshire regiments then formed one line, Stark leading. Amos Barnes, when an old man (of Hopkinton but of Conway when making the statement) said (Gilmore's Report to Gov. Tuttle, 1891 - partly reprinted in Tarbox' Life of Putnam) he was a private in Capt. Joshua Abbott's Co. and that he was third man from Col. Stark, a fact of which he was evidently proud, when the Neck was crossed and the rising ground of Bunker Hill was encountered. Qualifying his words "as near as I can recollect it at this distance of time" he said that Gen. Putnam told Stark "when we passed him" (and where that was Barnes did not say) "to urge on his men as fast as possible". Stark afterward declared that Putnam "gave no directions" which, of course meant as to where to go and what to do. Lt. Col. Israel Gilman headed Reed's regiment. The Major was on the sick list two days before. But a week or two had elapsed since two companies had been taken from Stark's and put in Reed's, companies that for months had been trained in Stark's regiment. The other regiment, waiting at the Neck could not have been Gerrish's for that corpulent Colonel was found flat on the ground near Putnam, completely done up by his exertions. Barnes' statement included "When we arrived at Charlestown we passed Gerrish's regiment". Gerrish was with Putnam on Bunker Hill most of the time; he was later cashiered.

Stark's men, with Reed's following, found that the open road led up over Bunker Hill, with its grassy top. French says;

"On Bunker Hill they found Putnam, but New Hampshire owed no submission to Connecticut nor was the obstinate Stark ever the man to give it. From that height, surveying the field below, he needed no one to tell him what should be done."

The choice of position taken by Col. Stark, late a rusty Captain, was his own, and his alone. A man not born to command would have thought that his whole duty would be completed by bringing his men to the redoubt. But Stark and McClary had seen the weakness of Prescott's position. Stark's statement (1778, Petition and Remonstrance) was "I took my post on the left wing and could have kept it if it was not for the right wing which gave way and the left of the Regulars almost surrounded me before I retreated."

The taking of the position along the rail fence was preceded by a halt to enable Col. Stark to speak with those in command in the redoubt, a very brief delay as the British were forming in front of their landing place. As is well known, newly created General Warren deferred to Col. Prescott and did not take command. In the "Monthly Visitor" article was the following;



"Our Colonel soon returned and gave orders to take up one of two fences which ran parallel with the river, forming a line in our front, pass the rails through the other and hang upon them the hay which lay in cocks and winrows on the ground before us. This sham breastwork gave confidence to the men, although in fact it was no protection."

Gen. Dearborn, when a Major General of the United States army, referring to the period when the enemy had landed and was drawn up, wrote in the "Patriot" article of May 5, 1818;

"At this moment the veteran and gallant Col. Stark harrangued his regiment in a short but animated address, then directed them to give three cheers and make a rapid movement to the rail fence."

It is the only indication of the customary remarks by a commanding officer, but as Dearborn was a truthful man and was present the item should be classed as authentic.

#### THE RAIL FENCE.

It was a long line that the Stark and Reed regiments were to take up, a thin line to oppose platoons of seasoned troops, armed and equipped better than any fighting men anywhere. The Montresor-Page map indicates it was between 850 and 900 feet long. Even so every man could not have had working space directly behind the fence, so that there must have been a second line in part, or there were reserves stationed behind the line to take the places of fallen or disabled men. If the grass had been cut the day before, there were probably winrows but not cocks. The hay would (in June) have remained semi-green so that being twisted by the sinewy hands and arms of the New Hampshire boys, it would retard a partly spent bullet, the doubling of the rails making those nearly bullet proof. At best, however, there was more fancied than real protection. Montresor's Map, called by Page "from an actual survey" has every fence and roadway on the whole peninsular, with all their angles and curves, reflecting, as to fences, property lines of long standing. Credibility is far greater than in the De Berniere sketch. Both have their inaccuracies, obvious to a student. One of Page's curios is the name he gave to the rail fence "a hedge being part of the rebel's defences only musketproof", applying this word hedge both to the Stark-Reed portion and the angle connecting it with the end of the earthwork extending from the redoubt. Was Page subtly building up the strength of the American position?

## THE SCENE.

From the long rounded top of Bunker Hill the vista was one of natural beauty, as yet unspoiled. The houses of the village of Charlestown, nearly emptied by this time, except for some patriotic musketeers, were grouped near the end of a long street. The firing of them by hot shot or the torch had not yet occurred. Among the houses were many a century and a half old, showing their primitive construction. Small gardens, with fruit trees and berry bushes were, in the rear, enclosed by fences.

## A LOOK BACK.

Somewhere, not far from the landing place, opposite Copp's Hill, Boston, had been a lonely abode, at Mishawum, Indian name of the locality. In 1628 the Sprague brothers of Salem, exploring the peninsula, saw it "a neck of land full of stately timber." They found "but one English pallisadoed and thatched house wherein lived Thomas Walford, a smith." It was soon to be the setting of a great picture. In the summer of 1630 the ships bearing the settlers of the Massachusetts Bay colony anchored. The high authorities of the future Puritan Commonwealth took possession. Much of the stately timber went into structures there and across the way at Shawmut (Boston) where Walford could see his neighbor, William Blackstone. Over on Noddle's Island (East Boston) Walford had another lonely neighbor, Samuel Maverick. A century and a half was to pass and another and more dramatic scene would claim the stage.

What burst on the sight of every man and boy from New Hampshire each remembered to his dying day. The roofs and spires of Boston, the largest town in North America, except Philadelphia, shone in the distance. Beyond the intervening fields of grass and pasture, with a number of cross fences, was a little hill by the waterside. On the hill (Morton's or Moulton's) were the resplendent troops of his Majesty George, the Third, drawn up in battle array, waiting.

To many a brave boy came the paling cheek and the quick rush of blood from the heart and back again. To stiffen their morale Col. Stark had shouted a few words, long since forgotten; then the cheers helped. With renewed confidence in their officers and their mission, the march was resumed down the public road straight toward the enemy. At the quick orders of the Captains the column quitted the roadway and wheeled to the left, trampling over the hay that was standing grass the day before, to take their places, one by one, behind a common split-rail fence, like many they had helped build back home. The long stretch is manned confusion gradually ceased and the men faced those silent phalanxes, some 2,000 feet away, whose arms and accoutrements glistered so in the sun. It was nearly or quite three o'clock of a hot June afternoon.

To prepare for a better understanding of the battle two items may be advanced. Nearly a year passed, till the day after the evacuation of Boston on May 17, 1776, and Col. John Stark, this time accompanied by Col. James Reed, led young James Wilkinson over the ground. Forty years afterward General Wilkinson wrote details. In a letter from Germantown, on October 27, 1815 (Hist. Mag. 1868) writing to Major Caleb Stark he first told that,

"On the morning after the evacuation of Boston I accompanied your father and Col. Reed to the field of Battle (seeing) the vestiges of the post and rail fence and a breast work of stones which your father had ordered to be thrown up on the beach of Mystic River."

Wilkinson then, in 1818, gave further reminiscences of what had been told him, for he was not in the battle himself; The bank had,

"eight or nine feet of perpendicular height. Stark had cast his eyes down upon the beach and thought it was so plain a way that the enemy could not miss it. Under his orders 'his boys' jumped down upon the beach and with stones from the adjacent walls they soon threw up a strong breast work to the water's edge" (Coffin, 1831, Battle of Breed's Hill.)

Wilkinson, to refresh a faded recollection, had asked Major Stark thirteen questions, because substantial alterations might have occurred during the year of British control. Major Stark's reply (Stark Papers, Lib. Congress, MSS Div.) answered about half of the questions without adding materially to our knowledge or becoming of much use to Wilkinson.

What "the beach" was in 1775 was probably a narrow shelf of mud and stones though somewhat more than a space between high and low tides. The contingency that the British might attempt to march along it was an instant recognition by Col. Stark. He detached one of his best companies to build up the low breast work of available material. Stark knew and had confidence in the men from Derryfield under Capt. John Moor. Potter's Manchester has a list of the members of this company. It was a perilous position for 60 men, even in a "triple row" behind the encrusted stones; but they held it. Both Dawson and French derive the incident from Wilkinson (I. 345) though Potter (1856) had;

After arriving upon the ground Stark's men threw up a sort of breast work of stone across the beach to the water, and continued the rail fence down the hill to the stone wall or breast work. This wall served a most



excellent purpose as the sharpshooters from behind it could take the most deadly aim at the advancing enemy. Here was posted Capt. John Moor and his company from Amoskeag. And it is a well established fact that the British troops in front of this wall were almost completely annihilated."

Singularly Gen. Stark did not mention this to Stickney, for to the latter, the battle of the rail fence formed his description. Yet eleven picked companies of highly trained British soldiers were almost decimated in front of the breast work. There was greater concentration in the attack there than on the grassy slope in front of the long line of rail fence.

### STARK'S STICK IN THE GROUND.

There is no contemporaneous coroboration but there is too much to be presented to be limited to French's generalizations;

"Stark, Putnam and Prescott are all credited with the same practical thought; the men must not fire too soon nor fire too high. Marks may have been set or distances measured; and it seems certain that the old maxims were given to the young soldiers. 'Wait till you see the whites of their eyes - pick out the officers - aim low; fire at the crossing of the belts'."

As to Col. John Stark there was definitely something more to it. Potter had become an authority on Revolutionary lore, had talked with survivors of the battle and was familiar with the many local and family traditions. In his "Adjutant General's Report", which became the standard work of the records of service of both officers and privates, based as it was on official documents in the state archives, he had (p. 434);

"After the completion of this wall" (the one across the beach) "and the British were advancing, Col. Stark stepped in front of the line, thrust a stick into the ground about 80 yards distant and remarked to his command 'There, don't a man fire till the red-coats come up to that stick, if he does I'll knock him down.' The killed and wounded were all betwixt the stick and the line, showing with what coolness Stark's troops obeyed his orders."

"The line", of course, was the long rail fence, not the short stone wall at the beach. The matter was fresh in Col. Potter's mind. In December, 1855, he was in command of the patriotic company of Manchester, called the "Amoskeag Veterans", when they made a formal trip to Wash-

ington, where they were met by Washington's adopted son, G. W. P. Custis (1781-1857) and conducted to Mount Vernon. At 75 Custis was in full vigor and in showing the house and grounds and the old tomb, he expatiated eloquently of the scenes of his childhood and youth and told stories of Washington, one of which had become embedded in his memory, that of the stake at Bunker Hill. On January 10, 1859 Potter wrote Lossing, engaged on the history and biography, who gave (p. 64) the substance of the anecdote. A contemporary historian, George Bancroft, in 1858 probably knew nothing, his now outmoded account of the battle being silent. Other historians have left the local tradition much as French did, "Marks may have been set" &c. without elucidating the reference.

Distances are seen to vary when reduced to feet, accounts being "80 yards" (240 ft.) "8 or 10 rods" (138 and 165 ft. - 148 average) and "30 or 40 yards" (90 and 120 feet, 105 average) but are not more diverse than the usual estimates of witnesses and, after all, what is a maximum variation of 150 feet when it comes to the effect of volleys of musket balls? It is characteristic of John Stark that he could see the greater effectiveness of a mark set in the ground as against any sort of admonition about the "whites of their eyes" or "the belts" or the "gaiters as they come up the hill". Anything like these would inevitably result in desultory firing.

Wilkinson (Memoirs, 1816) seems to have been under the impression that Stark had, after the battle, told him of a double admonition, a

"mark in the bank at 8 or 10 rods distance, and those on the bank immediately under his eye were directed to reserve their fire until they could see the enemy's half gaiters which, from the form of the ground would bring them within the same distance."

#### WHAT FILLED "THE GAP" AND WHAT FOLLOWED.

For no better word such may be called the space that de Berniere shows between the northerly end of the earth-breast-work of Prescott and the long straight rail fence of Stark and Reed. de Berniere labelled it "The rebel breast work". To indicate something to fill the remainder of the gap (on his map about 550 ft. in all) he put three L-shaped things which French defines as "flechcs", a military form of detached defence. Page was not as clever and filled the whole space (to him about 600 feet) with the same kind of defence as he showed the long rail fence to be (a full 900 feet on the excellent lay-out of Montresor, which he used). Thus, to Page, there was 1500 feet between the end of the earth-breast-work of Prescott and the Mystic River, all forming (with one angle a little greater than a right angle) a continuous line. It is very doubtful if the hurrying defenders could have made it continuous. During the

hectic time between one and three o'clock the American troop movements are confusing because the stories do not hang together, as affecting this "gap". The words "rail-fence" became used indiscriminately and included the whole 1500 foot stretch. Thus when survivors, nearly 60 years after the event, were asked, it became evident that General Putnam was here, there and everywhere. He would not be concerned about the Stark-Reed sector (900 feet) after those troops took position because there were men enough and Stark knew his business and Putnam knew Stark. Capt. Knowlton himself did not arrive at the gap sector until about two o'clock, with his men, three companies originally, according to Connecticut Archives. Prescott (to Adams, Aug. 25th) wrote;

"About two o'clock in the afternoon, on the seventeenth, the enemy began to land a north-easterly point from the fort, and I ordered the train with two field pieces to go and oppose them and the Connecticut forces to support them, but the train marched a different course, and I suppose those sent to their support followed."

As Prescott had received no known reinforcements, his military capacity may be judged in depleting his command by making so small a gesture as two field pieces with 120 men in defiance of a huge attacking force of picked British troops. Here was a case of a man of great bravery unable to think clearly in an emergency. But the artillerists disobeyed him and skulked to the rear, to the protection of Bunker Hill, and Knowlton's little detachment followed them. But Knowlton came back to some position along the "gap". As Gen. Putnam had authority over the Connecticut men (though he never ordered his own regiment into the battle, as a whole) it is to be presumed that Knowlton came back to fight at Putnam's order, and (according to some accounts) accompanying them but going off before the actual fighting. The whole situation had, as to Putnam, become suddenly desperate. It was out of hand. As to Knowlton's men, French, trying to unravel the strands of the conflicting stories, concluded;

"Here they rested though the place was not strong and Knowlton's 200 men, even though aided by the cannon, could not properly man a fence of over 200 yards."

It is a question if they were aided by any cannon. The Page military notations do not indicate any, though two cannon are shown at Stark's left, next Mystic River, a most unlikely place. When the final assault came on the gap sector there were British field pieces close up and partly enfilading it, five in all, the three most advanced firing, according to the dotted lines. The nature of the "fence" Knowlton's men stood behind has been often confused with the common "rail-fence" of Stark and Reed.



It appears to have been nothing of the sort, from Lt. Dana's description as remembered by Capt. Chester when he wrote his quoted letter, much depended upon, addressed to Rev. Joseph Fish of Stonington, Connecticut (Siege, 389-91). The last sheet is missing. The letter is a tissue of incidents. Indeed, French observed "Chester was not at the rail fence and probably never saw it but he talked with Lt. Dana who was there." With all due respect to French, the most careful student of the battle, the fence at which Knowlton lent his very necessary support and to which Lt. Dana came late in the battle but just before the British, having failed in their two charges against the Stark-Reed sector, were directing their best efforts, at the same time attacking the redoubt, was this, as what Chester remembered of what Lt. Dana told him;

"Behind a fence half of stone and two rayles of wood. Here nature had formed something of a breast-work or else there had been a ditch many years ago. They groundd arms and went to a neighboring parallel fence and brought rayles and made a slight fortification against musket ball."

This was, quite evidently, no common field fence, entirely of wood, and across open country. No mention is made by Dana of hay stuffed between. On the contrary Chester stated that, after passing through a melee of retreating and disorganized men from the Neck on,

"We joined our army at the right of the centre, just by a poor stone fence two or three feet high and very thin so that the bullets came through. . . . we fought standing about six minutes my officers and men think" (here the letter ended, one or more sheets missing.)

Chester, having come from Cambridge, was so late that his company had time to fire for only six minutes and then (presumably) had to retreat. Then followed the enfilading of the "gap" sector and the rout of the defenders, who had come in from many sources to help man a weak position, 600 feet long, where the ground was so uneven that de Berniere put detached "fleches" to help fill up the space. Chester's company from a big unsettled farming town, Ashford, had the only respectable uniforms in the three colonies "wholly blue turned up with red". When Chester wrote from personal knowledge his account is dependable. On their way across the Neck and toward the fighting they met in retreat hords of men and one company going off, "rank and file", which he stopped and tried to reverse. He saw, "frequently twenty men around a wounded man when not more than three or four could touch him to advantage".

## BRITISH TROOP MOVEMENTS.

The exact make-up has been learned from British material, purchased and now deposited in this country. French states it;

"The ten eldest companies of Grenadiers and the ten eldest companies of Light Infantry, with the 5th and 38th, regiments, were to march to the Long Wharf, the remaining grenadiers and Light Infantry with the 43rd and 52nd regiments were to march to the North Battery and there await embarking orders."

General Thomas Gage, Governor and commander-in-chief, remained at his headquarters, Province House, Boston, opposite the Old South meeting house. Gen. William Howe was to command in Charlestown. Two trips were necessary as the boats could carry but 1100 at one time. By his own account, Howe took over 1550 infantry.

As French significantly remarks, "By the time he had formed his men he had seen the situation change before his eyes". What he had seen was a regiment or more marching toward him from distant Bunker Hill and then line one of the fences. Howe's plan had been to attack and capture the redoubt on Breed's Hill by going around to the North of it, a flank movement to be aided by the level ground. At the same time, though the grade was steep, he was to advance between Charlestown village and the redoubt. As to the former intention we have proof on Lt. Page's map (flap, "No. 1 position") showing the columns of troops athwart the beach and the land next to it, with the legend "the order our troops would probably have attacked in had our Light Infantry been able to penetrate".

The outstanding fact is that had not Stark's position spoiled this plan, Prescott's redoubt (at the time the only fixed defensive in sight) would have fallen, sooner rather than later. The great importance of Stark's immediate and tactical move should be recognized.

Howe did not, however, see fit to change or modify his scheme. He had supreme confidence that his Light Infantry could "penetrate" the Colonial line extending to the river bank. But he saw he had more of the enemy to cope with and so sent for his reservers and had to wait for them. When on hand the original plans were set in motion and the battle began.

## WHAT GAGE THOUGHT OF STARK.

Curious and similar stories are told as to both Col. Stark and Col. Prescott.

"General Gage surveying the scene of action from the cupola of the Province House just before the attack,

remarked to one of his staff, who inquired whether he thought the rebels would await the assault of the royal troops 'that if one John Stark was with them they would fight; for he was a brave fellow and had served under him in 1758-9 at Lake George'." (Caleb Stark, 1831 and 1860).

His reference was to the disastrous campaign of Gen. Abercrombie before Ticonderoga in July 1758 when Stark was under Rogers but both were under Lord Howe who was there killed and whose brother, Gage was then sending into the Charlestown fight.

In 1827, only four years before, Col. Swett printed a strikingly similar story but it applied to Col. Prescott. In George Bancroft's own copy of Swett's book (in the New York Public Library) is the annotation that Col. Timothy Bigelow was the authority for the story:

"Gage handed his telescope to Willard, a mandamous counsellor" (brother-in-law of Prescott), "Will he fight? Yes, depend upon it to the last drop of blood in him, but I cannot answer for his men."

Analysis and comparison disclose that the stories are not contradictory and permit a conclusion that both may be true.

### THE FIGHTING.

Any condensed account of a battle about which so much has been written and debated for nearly 175 years must prove unsatisfying from some point of view. No phase has been neglected, but the part played by John Stark and all the New Hampshire soldiers is now given as fully as possible.

The British began the battle. The first move was to push the field artillery from in front of the three rows of lined-up troops on Morton's hill side, to a position about one-third of the distance between the combatants. Cannon firing was directed at the whole American position, except its extreme left where, along the narrow beach or tide-flat, the attacking Light Infantry expected to find a sheltered approach. The state of the tide is doubtful. According to Swett it was in flood at 9:30 A.M. but an old Almanac indicates it was high at 3:00 o'clock. In any case there was room enough for the eleven companies to advance, probably not less than four abreast, making a compact column, a dense mass. In the lead was the "Welsh Fusileer" flank company of the 23rd Regiment. Page gives the other ten companies in the following order; 4th, 10th, 52nd, 43rd, 65th, 47th, 35th, 38th and the 5th. It is an erroneous impression that the New Hampshire troops faced the whole Welsh Fusileer Regiment, not long before victorious on the hard-fought field of Minden. Harold Murdock points out ("Bunker Hill", Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1927) that the mistake arose because certain companies in the line had head-dress similar to the Fusileers.



It is well known that the Granite State sharpshooters, with their smooth bores of no special precision, inflicted the greatest slaughter that British soldiers ever suffered in modern times. With the high bank on one side, the muddy slope under foot, a steeply shelving edge washed out by the tides on their right, the crack troops received a sudden check in their steady, unhurried advance. French, best of all the writers, describes it;

"The long summer afternoon was yet young; the sun, still high did not dazzle the men on either side. The Americans were strangely silent and motionless as the head of the column came nearer; did they not intend to fight? The regulars must have been almost at the point whence they could charge, when the dull barrels before them steadied at a level, some Yankee voice twanged, and the muzzles roared and flamed. Death struck so surely, there on the beach, that, one by one, the companies melted away. Officers fell, sergeants and corporals fell, the leading privates dropped and the rest shrank back. As the broken lines of each company gave way, the successor pressed forward, only in turn to be shattered. Officers shouted and tried to lead the way; the men tried to follow. But the hail of bullets still mowed them down, and it was too much to be faced for long. The column broke at last and the men rushed back along the beach."

#### THE ATTACK ON THE RAIL FENCE.

It is doubtful if the disastrous result on the beach was realized before the wide attack on the rail fence began; accounts are not clear. Howe said that the fields in front of him were "open, except for the trouble in getting over some very high fences of strong railing." Montresor has no less than six of these fences, enclosing grass or pasture land. The Grenadiers, imposing fellows, chosen for their size and strength, were encumbered with knap-sacks and the accoutrement of their heavy marching order, including their bayoneted muskets. After approaching in column, or columns, nearly the full distance, the troops were deployed, spread out in a double row and behind that more double rows. Not until Stark's stake was reached did the farmers' guns belch in one long continuous roar. Major McClary's stentorian voice, in a few hours to be stilled in death, was said to have been heard above the tumult, "Fire low, aim at their waist-bands" (Potter). The Grenadiers began their firing after the Americans stopped for re-loading. Regulars fired in volleys, not with individual aim; first one row then another. The aiming was bad, much too high, trees being found after the battle riddled as to leaves and small branches but with few bullets in their trunks. This saved the lives of many of the Yankees. "No troops could stand

such deadly fire" as the thin line behind the hay-blind continued to pick out officers and the more prominent soldiers. The British advanced a little further, then halted, wavered and then broke, retreating without formation. So many officers were killed or wounded that no rallying was possible. Nervously the New Hampshire men loaded and reloaded as rapidly as possible, the cooler marksmen getting in more shots but using up their powder faster. There came quickly a recovery of spirits; it was so astonishing. Slackening fire while the regulars got out of range there ensued a long period of watching and waiting. It is said that a few daring spirits, out of powder, crossed into the field in front and took it from the enemy. There were wounded and a few killed on the American side. It is doubtful if those who bore off the former returned to the front, but there had been no desertions before the battle. General Dearborn said he did not see a man leave the field.

### THE SECOND ATTACK ON THE RAIL FENCE.

Gen. Howe retained the direction of the Light Infantry. He was a specialist in the tactics of that arm and had written a treatise on it. He reformed the remains of the Grenadier companies and of the Light Infantry, out of close musket shot. He was amazed at how the raw Colonials withstood the advance of seasoned battalions. He had given the command of his left wing to Brig. Gen. Robert Pigot. It was the latter's task to take the redoubt. He began by taking shelter behind a stone wall but soon moved forward to a position under and out of fire of the redoubt. On the battle side of the compact village of Charlestown, snipers had been worrying the British. The menace to a successful charge was thought serious enough to warrant firing the town. Hot shots were fired from across on Copp's Hill, Boston, and soon the whole village was ablaze from end to end.

Howe, "dogged and persistent as never again in his life" (French), having reformed his force, made a second and equally determined effort to overwhelm the rail fence. He lost as many men as before and remained defeated. A contemporary British writer said of both the Grenadiers and the Light Infantry that they,

"lost three fourths and many nine tenths of their men. Some had only eight or nine a company left, some only three, four or five. On the left Pigot was staggered and actually retreated. Observe, our men were not driven back; they actually retreated by orders."

No comprehensive story of the battle as a whole was written within several decades. By that time errors had crept in and some partisanship had been stirred up. It is now fairly certain that two advances were made by both Howe and Pigot but, probably, not at the same time. Traditions grew up that there had been three assaults on the rail fence,

probably due to the turn Howe gave his attempts. Having found after two assaults that the Americans behind the rail fence could not be dislodged, he directed a few cannon shots to the "gap" positions. He had sent to Boston for reinforcements, not to be confused with his reserve, which he had before beginning the battle. He was afraid that, in the words of French, "the cloud of Provincials still hanging on Bunker Hill might at last get courage to sweep down to the defenders of the American works." The reinforcements did not arrive in time to be of any use. The effectiveness of British cannon was greatly reduced due to the fact that balls of wrong sizes had been sent over.

### SUCCESS COMES TO THE BRITISH.

The dreadful fortunes of the day were at last to be changed. It was finally realized that the packs on the shoulders of the heated, tired and beaten troops should be removed. Accordingly they were ordered thrown down for the ensuing movements. To keep immobilized the Stark-Reed forces at the long rail fence, a feint charge was begun by some of the Light Infantry while the grenadiers and some other units were shifted to face (1) the weak center of the American position in the "gap" where Knowlton and a miscellaneous collection of patriots were, (2) the earth-breast work, (3) the redoubt itself, and some short improvised position extending from it toward the burning village, Charlestown. British Major Pitcairn, (of Lexington, "Disperse, ye rebels") was killed. Just before this Gen. Clinton, observing the battle from Copp's Hill, came over and helped rally and form Gen. Pigot's men, for the attack on the redoubt. Gen. Burgoyne remained in Boston, without an assignment, chafing and critical.

First the middle sector, the "gap", was forced after the artillery had been moved closer and had softened it up, a short maneuver. The timing of the final phase of the engagement is obscure, but the charge of the British with fixed bayonets on the redoubt itself was accomplished in short order.

Howe had waited in vain for help from two armed gondolas he had asked Admiral Samuel Graves, before the battle, to transfer from near the mill dam, where they played across the Neck, to a position in the Mystic River where he desired that the rail fence be raked. The gondolas were unweildy, the tide, though it seems not to have been unfavorable, had some adverse effect. The boats never arrived while the engagement was on; else John Stark's fate might have been different.

### PRESCOTT OVERWHELMED.

The final scene in the redoubt was tragic. Prescott reduced to about 150 men had almost no powder left when the British swarmed over the dirt top of the loose earth work. They approached from three sides. Before consenting to give up, Prescott awaited the result of a last vol-



ley. The fire was delivered with effect, staggering the foremost assailants for the moment, but the powder was gone and Prescott gave the order to retreat. Some of the men fled precipitately but others fought to the last with stones and clubbed guns. Prescott had declared that he would never be taken alive. It was said that he did not run "but stepped long with sword up" and that he parried attempts to kill him, "his coat and waistcoat pierced". It was then that most of the redoubt losses occurred, 43 killed and only 46 wounded. It was then, during the start of the retreat, that Warren met his death. There was great confusion.

#### A SCRAMBLE OF FLEEING MEN.

Disheartened, disappointed and disillusioned, but in many with the fierceness of animal instincts unsubdued, the disorderly rabble sought safety. Retaliation for wrongs long nursed had steeled many a heart during the combat but now there was nothing but headlong escape for most, though some dogged souls were stubborn still. There was very little pursuit but some results from shooting in the back. So they stumbled along bitterly chagrined over the loss of comrades, revengeful in spirit over the outcome, proud, immensely proud of the deadly punishment given the best troops that King George could send over to cow them.

How many of the tired, timid and in a measure betrayed young volunteers had already gone to the rear on one excuse or another, some carrying intrenching tools for Putnam, will never be known. Men were easily to be prevented from leaving the long rail fence over the open fields but there was much activity, coming and going in the middle and redoubt sectors. Eventually most of the men doubtless bragged at home of having been in the Battle of Bunker Hill. Local town historians could hardly fail to so record them, especially if their units were known to have been present or near. Writing of conditions just following the battle, Harold Murdock's fine lines (Bunker Hill, 1927) sum it up;

"Beyond Bunker Hill and the Isthmus were the hundreds, perhaps thousands of stragglers who had failed to meet the test. They were called cowards in their day though we judge them more kindly now. But those mightier souls who found strength and joy in battle - their achievement forms the most impressive fact in the story of Bunker Hill." "Bunker Hill", 1927, Houghton Mifflin Co.)

#### COLONEL STARK'S ORDERLY WITHDRAWAL.

During the indecisive period when the British were re-forming their lines, preparing to carry the redoubt, Col. Stark watched the course of the battle "from a small eminence a little in advance of the line, where he had a view of his regiment and the pound" (Stickney).

His men had twice repelled the enemy with great slaughter. A paragraph by Caleb Stark (1831) may easily have been inspired by his father, who was present, no doubt with an eye on the Colonel.

"While the British were storming the redoubt it was with difficulty that these troops could be prevented from abandoning their position and attacking the enemy's rear. But their Colonel had witnessed such scenes before. He foresaw the fate of the redoubt, knew that the men had no bayonets and but little ammunition remaining and therefore considered that any attempt to succor the right of the line would be the height of madness and folly."

The Stark-Reed regiments were intact, despite their losses. They were able to cover the retreat of the men in the redoubt and along the middle sectors. In 1831 Caleb Stark had:

"When the fort was carried and retreat became inevitable, Col. Stark drew off his regiment in such order that they were not pursued. The men were unwilling to quit their ground as they had repulsed the enemy so often as to consider themselves as entirely victorious."

"So often" was perhaps pardonable, but, historically, it was probably only twice. In 1810 Stickney wrote; "Gen. Stark has told me he was the last man to leave the field." Potter (1856) wrote "Stark's men were the last to leave the field and retreated with the order of veteran troops."

Owing to Col. James Reed's absence (see notes on Bunker Hill) Lt. Col. Isreal Gilman was in command. Major Nathan Hale was probably not in the action, being "ill" in the Report of the 15th. Col. Stark was, therefore, senior in authority along the whole line of the rail fence, his personality and reputation making his leadership beyond question. His own Lt. Col. (Wyman) was not there but Major McClary was a host in himself. He was a large man with an animating presence. The conduct of the First New Hampshire Regiment at the rail fence and in assisting covering the retreat of the few hundred men from the redoubt and middle sector, added materially to the acclaim of the fighting qualities of these troops. Kidder "History of the 1st N. H. Regiment" (Munsell, Albany, 1868) found that its enviable record included the longest service of any, eight years and eight months (April 1775 to January 1, 1784). John Stark was its first and greatest Colonel.

#### PRESCOTT AND PUTNAM.

Angered through and through by what he had been subjected to that day, his soul tried by desertions, his patience exhausted by the

denial of reinforcements, (that existed in plenty back on Bunker Hill) chagrined by the lack of powder, Col. Prescott's bravery and stamina in retreat were without a parallel. His military judgment, limited as it seems to have been, must have approved of the protection of his flank by Col. Stark's men from New Hampshire. It has needed no Bancroft to point out;

"Prescott's men would have been effectually cut off but for the unfaltering courage of the provincials at the rail fence and the bank of the Mystic."

Prescott knew whom to blame for not sending him a few hundred men with full powder horns. When he reached the protected slope of Bunker Hill he proceeded to exercise his moral rights. To Gen. Israel Putnam on his horse, surrounded by a large throng of cowardly recruits, Prescott's tongue found utterance;

"Why did you not support me with your men according to our agreement?" "I could not drive the dogs up" Putnam replied. Prescott answered "If you could not drive them up you might have led them up."

There seems but little doubt of there being some such colloquy. Even Swett quoted it without disparagement. The exact words of Prescott's ravaging arraignment do not matter. Years afterward two clergymen, friends of Prescott, made a joint statement over their signatures, embodying the question; charge and answer quoted. They were the Rev. Daniel Chapman, D.D. of Groton and the Rev. John Bullard of Pepperell; (Hist. Mag. 1868) Putnam's vicinity on Bunker Hill appears to have been a rendezvous of stragglers and a stopping place for late-comers, except for determined Capt. Chester. Putnam may really have found himself unable to "drive the dogs up", especially when too late in the afternoon to change the fortunes of the day, but there was something ineffectual about Putnam.

Col. William Prescott went from Putnam direct to his superior, Gen. Artemus Ward, at his headquarters in Cambridge. He begged for two regiments so that he could go back and beat the British. But Ward, whose prudence seems to have been his outstanding quality, prudently declined, perhaps rightly as his remaining regiments were reported to be woefully undermanned, none having over 500 men and most of them less than half that number (French, 264) and with but few bayonets, powder supply depleted, British on the alert. Whatever Prescott may have lacked, it was not pluck.

The British did not follow up their advantage. Their forces were so completely demoralized that further punishment might easily have been severe. Putnam joined the broken ranks of retiring Americans and got off the Charlestown peninsula, making no stand, for all his desire for



intrenchments on Bunker Hill, He too, apparently had enough. The British took over his intrenching tools and hoarded them for themselves. Major Caleb Stark, replying to Wilkinson's inquiry, 1815 said;

"Your account of Putnam was what I have always understood of his conduct that day. . . . My impression is that he had" (in addition to intrenching tools) "some tent poles and other camp equipage."

After their first night sleeping on their arms the British proceeded to improve Gridley's "redoubt", enlarging it and changing its shape. On Bunker Hill they constructed real defense works against any assaults from the Neck side. Thus matters stood for about a year.

The American forces withdrew to the adjacent hills. Putnam energetically directed his Connecticut troops in raising breast works on Prospect Hill. Stark's men went back to their old camp at Winter Hill. A few days after Gen. Nathaniel Folsom of New Hampshire ordered Stark to detail 70 men to dig a protective work there. The like was to be done by Reed's men, 50 required. The Cambridge regiments remained behind their original intrenchments. The large army in Roxbury and vicinity, commanded by Gen. Thomas, had not been directly affected by the day's work at Charlestown. The impression began to be entertained that General Gage was timid. The fact was that the overseas reinforcements Gage later received no more than made up his losses at Bunker Hill. The "Rebels" still outnumbered him two to one, perhaps three.

#### STARK'S SITUATION.

There was to be no great acclaim of Col. John Stark. Normally he would have been made a Brigadier General by New Hampshire. Had it been done and promotion in due time in the Continental army followed, more than one Bennington might have come to the credit of a man proven to have been born to command and to be a prompt and effective tactician. But Folsom was high in power and Stark was outside of the circle at the seat of government. Sullivan would soon discard the toga for the sword and for most of the war block, by his position as Major General, advancement of John Stark. Soon, too, the new commander-in-chief, George Washington, would come to Cambridge, where Stark would be no more than equal in rank to 22 other colonels, and under the orders of many Brigadiers and no less than five Major Generals.

#### POWDER ON THE WAY; TOO LATE.

On June 17th, the day of the battle, the Committee of Safety of New Hampshire was sending to the front 600 pounds of powder, probably consigned to the Massachusetts Bay Committee. It was added to

Ward's reserve stock. A day earlier at Bunker Hill it would have meant something, in the barrels of the guns of Prescott and Stark.

#### REPORTS OF THE BATTLE.

Prescott's was made verbally to Gen. Ward and such of the Committee as may have been in Cambridge. Nothing further came from him except his letter to John Adams (Aug. 25, 1777). He was asked about the battle and appears to have given details only as to the part he himself played in it. There was probably no intention of belittling the prominent part the New Hampshire troops played;

"There was a party of Hampshire in conjunction with some other forces lined a fence at a distance of three score rods back of the fort partly to the North."

Hon. Henry M. Baker in his Address (Concord, 1902) took occasion to observe;

"That unfortunate sentence seems to have been the first of sundry statements ignoring, unconsciously let us hope, the great service of our men, who saved the day from a fatal and disgraceful rout."

The only other officer who made a Report was Col. Stark, who addressed his superiors as follows on the 19th of ~~April~~ <sup>June</sup>, 2 days after the battle. A laconic statement;

Medford, June 19, 1775.

Sir,

I embrace this opportunity by Colonel Holland to give you some particulars of an engagement which was fought on the seventeenth instant between the British troops and the Americans. On the 16th at evening a detachment of the Massachusetts line marched by the General's order, to make an intrenchment upon a hill in Charlestown called Charlestown Hill, near Boston, where they intrenched that night without interruption; but were attacked on the morning of the 17th very warmly by the ships of war in Charlestown River, and the batteries in Boston. Upon this, I was ordered by the General to send a detachment of 200 men with proper officers to their assistance; which order I promptly obeyed; and appointed Lieut. Colonel Wyman to command the same. At two o'clock P.M. an express arrived with orders for my whole regiment to proceed to Charlestown, to oppose the British who were landing on Charlestown Point. Accord-

ingly we proceeded and the battle soon came on, in which a number of officers and men in my regiment were killed and wounded. The officers killed were Major McClary by a cannon ball, Capt. Baldwin and Lieut. Scott by small arms. The whole number including officers killed and missing, 15, wounded 45. Total, killed, wounded and missing 60.

By Colonel Reed's desire I transmit the account of those who suffered, belonging to that portion of his regiment, who were engaged. Killed 3, Wounded 29, Missing 1, 33. Total in both regiments, 93.

But we remain in good spirits, being well satisfied that where we have lost one the enemy have lost three. I should consider it a favor if the Committee of Safety would recommend to the several towns and parishes in the Province of New Hampshire, the necessity of their detaining and sending back all the soldiers belonging to the New Hampshire Line, stationed at Medford, whom they may find at a distance from the army, without a furlough from the Commanding Officer.

I am Sir, with great respect,

Yours, and the country's to  
serve in the good cause

JOHN STARK.

To the Hon. Matthew Thornton, Esq.

Exeter.

#### THE CASUALTIES.

When General Gage reported to London, some 8 days after the battle, he gave the British totals as 226 killed, 828 wounded. French, after minute comparisons, sustains the figures. At the rail fence and beach alone Murdock figures there were 465 casualties out of 700, about 70%. Stark, after the battle, said that the dead "lay as thick as sheep in a fold."

The American losses, in the various reports, differ strangely. On the low side was, "115 killed, 30 missing (mostly prisoners, many of whom died) and 304 wounded". One report had as high as 140 killed. The Committee of Safety Report, Ward's orderly book, and Washington's report to Congress, may be consulted.

To account for casualties in American units not known to have been engaged as such, it should be remembered that there was firing from early morning, till the several charges by the British troops entailed cessation temporarily, by the four warships; Somerset, 68 guns, Cerberus, 36 guns, Glasgow, 24 guns and the Lively, 20 guns. Even if only a few shots actually hit soldiers there must have been some killed and wounded all over the place for there were few areas on the penin-



sula, and certainly none on the Neck, safe from the cannon of the war-ships and the armed barges. As an example of probable losses in regiments not actually in the fighting as units, there was what Peter Brown wrote his mother (Siege p. 392) "One cannon cut three in two on the Neck". In addition wild and high shots of musketry would carry distances beyond expectation. The field pieces of the British were served by experienced cannoneers and undoubtedly did some execution, even if oversized balls had been sent for part of that ordnance. So the few killed and wounded in some units may be accounted for by sporadic firing.

Murdock, slighting some of Stark's work nevertheless felt impelled to declare that Stark had "prevented a great American disaster". Bell (1891) pointed out that the true explanation of the British losses lay in the marksmanship of the Americans, their "exact aim", and that their bullets "went true to their marks". Adding that "it has been generally considered that the vitally important service the New Hampshire troops rendered at Bunker Hill is wholly attributable to the destructive efficiency of their fire". A British letter, with the old impulse to explain a defeat, went to extremes as to the rail fence. "It was found to be the strongest post ever occupied by any set of men." Judged by results, yes. Was the writer blind, not to see that it was the men who were strong and that, essentially, the post was weak?

#### THE AMERICAN STRENGTH AT BUNKER HILL.

Under "Notes on Bunker Hill" will be found studies of the troops of the three states involved. When Washington arrived to take command the story of the battle was in the mouths of everyone but sufficient time had elapsed to sift most of the wheat from the chaff. Washington made careful inquiries. It was necessary for him to be sure concerning the numbers as well as the behavior of the troops. It had been the first pitched battle. Fortunately his conclusions are preserved, in a singularly indirect manner; his letter to George William Fairfax dated July 25, 1775, (Sparks "Writings of Washington", III.38);

"Nor had we, if I can credit the most solemn assurance of the officers, who were in the action, above one thousand five hundred men engaged on that day."

Strange to say French sets this figure completely aside and remarks, "This seems impossibly low." and "The total thus engaged can never be known, but it seems not wrong to estimate that besides the original 1200, perhaps another 2000 were on the field." What influenced French in thus cancelling out a serious statement of the General of the army, made at the time, appears to be that because nineteen regiments (which he names) show losses, those regiments, or parts of them, must have been "engaged" in the battle. As most of those regiments show

very small losses (five of them no deaths at all) to bring in so many men and place them on the firing lines, seems stretching a point.

General Henry Dearborn wrote in his holographic biography (Maine Historical Society) covering 1775-1783, "We found General Putnam with nearly as many men as had been actually engaged in the battle", referring to the aggregation on Bunker Hill and immediate vicinity. It was certainly not what French meant, but taking half of his total, 3200, obviously a mere guess, the remainder would be substantially what Washington found, if we credit Dearborn's statement, also obviously a rough estimate.

It is best to eliminate (a) those who had been at the lines and left them, (b) those who arrived too late to get into the fighting actively, and (c) those who had not been at the front and who were prevented, voluntarily or for one reason or another, from going there.

Frothingham's *Siege of Boston* (1849) has a list of losses in Massachusetts regiments. Carrington's *Battles of the American Revolution* (1876) makes some corrections. French comments on the differences in the various totals of killed and wounded as shown by Ward (margin of *Orderly book*, June 17th), by Report prepared by the Committee of Safety (assisted by three Clergymen) which mentions, apparently by some design, but three individual deaths, and by the Report Washington sent to Congress. The lack of comprehensive and detailed account of the units engaged has rendered all calculations of numerical strength a matter of great difficulty. Massachusetts was not interested in New Hampshire and vice-versa, while Connecticut with small participation was never in a position to have an incentive to master the subject. Even French seems to shy away from definite estimates. He refers to the studies of Frothingham (1849 and later) of Whitmore (1889) and of Murdock (1927) but to no New Hampshire authorities.

As the relativity of New Hampshire's fighting men, especially under Stark, is important in his biography, an exceptionally long examination, as free from bias and challenging possibilities as the difficult situation permitted, resulted in these conclusions, details being found under Notes on Bunker Hill;

The dependable top limit of 1500 men (Washington's finding) acts as a brake on all extravagant presentments. It is reasonable and even necessary to adjust unit figures so as to keep them within justifiable proportions of that. Carrington may have had better evidence than he has revealed; "The total force which eventually participated in the battle did not exceed 1400 men". His opinion, historically and professionally, is important. But Washington's figure is less assailable.

Sifting really significant evidence from a mass containing some hopeless contradictions (when carelessly written letters or biased affidavits are contemplated) has resulted in the following;

Connecticut men (details under Notes), not over 200 in the fighting, mostly under Captains Knowlton and Chester. Massachusetts forces in the redoubt when fighting began, Prescott's own statement, 150 men. These included the residue, after the depletion of the night and the morning digging, of his own companies and those of the Frye and Bridge detachments, also the Brewer men, though Prescott himself mentioned no Brewer force in the redoubt. Prescott had sent out Knowlton with the "train" (two cannon) and had sent out to "flank" (probably at the earth-breast-work connected with the redoubt and, on the other side, on a "cart road" in the direction of Charlestown) the few men he could spare, probably not over 50 each (who could stand 3 feet apart for 150 ft. each). The very fact that it was necessary indicates how few troops were coming from outside. Hence in and around the redoubt were about 250 men. Except for Gen. Warren's arrival there is little indication of accretions within the redoubt itself. But on the long "gap" sector with its undulating surface (see Gen. Sumner's report of survey with Gov. Brooks and Col. Swett, HG. Reg. XII, 231) a space of fully 600 feet, there was a dearth of support. Knowlton's 120 men were the first to attempt to fill it. Arrivals here, were the units of Col. Little (80 men) Whitcomb companies (50 men) and Febiger, of Gerrish's Reg., (30 men). Major Willard Moore (40 men-Bancroft) and some of Wheeler's Co. (Doolittle's regiment) probably fought here, perhaps a hundred men. These are all the regiments that show killed. Those that do not show killed must be left out as having too little significance. They comprise forces of such regiments as Nixon, Woodbridge, Scammon, Paterson and Gardner. Only nine regiments show Massachusetts deaths and in one of these (Prescott's) one whole company was made up of New Hampshire men. Though one writer believed that not over 150 men came in to (1) support Prescott and his immediate command, (2) to fill the breast-work of earth, and (3) the "gap" positions, the number may well be increased (by the above computations from all accounts) to a total of 260. Hence in the redoubt area (250) and the rest of the lines (260) a Massachusetts total of 510 men and officers, is indicated, as in the battle at any one time. No whole Massachusetts regiment was ordered out or reached the battle. It would be futile to pad a list with (a) tired, sick diggers, (b) the hord carrying away intrenching tools who did not return, (c) the artillery units, here and there and who did practically nothing, and (d) last but not least whole regiments included by careless writers when only one or two partly filled companies acted. The entire scene was in flux, helter skelter, a botch work, without a plan and with almost voluntary execution, that is, except the Stark-Reed sector of the long rail fence, full 900 feet in a straight line, where stood 887 men of the New Hampshire regiments, immovable and static from beginning to end.

As the New Hampshire forces are dealt with in more detail in Notes on Bunker Hill, only the Stark total (506 officers and men) and the



Reed total (405 officers and men) 911 in all, there need be given some 200 from Connecticut and 510 in the Massachusetts regiments (which included some New Hampshire men) to make a grand total of 1621 soldiers as the fighting force on the American side in the battle. The figure is but 121 greater than the 1500 Washington found after careful inquiry and is, in the nature of things, confirmatory.

## NOTES ON BUNKER HILL MAP OF CHARLESTOWN PENINSULA

The essential features of the Montresor map are reproduced for this work, minor topographical details omitted, including shadings to indicate elevations, because depressions were not shown. Montresor surveyed the fences and road with apparent exactness (reproduction of original map - see Frothingham) but Lt. Page, adding the military features from memory may be in error as to the location of the Stark - Reed rail fence. For what it may be worth, the author's opinion is that the fence should be the one nearer the British position than the one marked. It had the advantage of leaving a shorter "gap".

### STARK'S REGIMENT

On May 18, 1775, Stark wrote the Provincial Congress that he had "584 men present at Medford, exclusive of drummers and fifers, and that others were hourly expected". On May 29th. he sent his full Regimental Return to Exeter, a document that has disappeared; circumstances suspicious. On June 12th. five days before the battle Stark ceded two companies to Col. James Reed; those of Jonathan Whitcomb of Swansey, 59 men, and Capt. Philip Thomas of Rindge, 46 men, all "fit for duty" as shown by Reed's return of June 14th. three days before the battle. Stark was left with 13 companies, as shown by Folsom's report to Exeter on June 23rd.

Within five days following Lexington-Concord no less than 366 men began earning their wages (State Papers XIV). Travel allowance was one penny a mile; Samuel Richards' company, from Goffstown, New Boston and Weare, averaged 60 miles. In Cap't John Moor's Derryfield Co. wages began April 24th, distances 46 to 70 miles for 61 men. Ages are not available for Stark's but are for several of Reed's companies. The volunteers were not boys. Capt. Hutchins' Co. (63 men) had 44 husbandmen (farmers) with only 9 under 19, probably husky fellows, two being over 50 and one 49. Other occupations were carpenters, shoe-makers, tailors and a mariner, a turner and a miller. Each of Stark's companies had a drummer and a fifer. Stark's staff, May, 1775; Lt. Col. Isaac Wyman, Major, Andrew McClary, Chaplain, Wm. Fessenden, Surgeon, Calvin Frink, Mate, Obadiah Williams, Adjutant, Abiel Chandler, Serg. Major, James Gray, Quartermasters, John Caldwell and Serg. Patten, Armorers Rich. Cresy and Robert Mack.

### STARK'S COMPANIES IN THE BATTLE

Just after the battle and before any changes had been made following it, the Quartermasters were feeding 13 companies. Parkinson's rations issued to Stark's regiment, (11 dates from July 1 till August 4th.) show 825 men, but as John Moor was promoted to Major, the company

becoming McLaughlin's and 49 names should be deducted, making 765. On July 1st, the 13 companies totalled 794 men, including "Col. Stark's mess", 12, "Moore & Hutchins' mess" 10, "Scott's mess" 4. Companies were those of, - John Moore, (McLaughlin) Gordon Hutchins, George Reid, Henry Dearborn, Isaac Baldwin, Archelaus Towne, Joshua Abbott, Daniel Moore, Samuel Richard, Elisha Woodbury, William Scott and Aaron Kinsman.

Stark had detached "200 men" under Lt. Col. Wyman, who "went to the right." A simple way would be to deduct 200 from 794, leaving 594. But it is not as simple as that. Though the make-up of Wyman's contingent has never become known the companies can, inferentially, be arrived at. They would be Styles's company from Keene (Wyman's home town) 54 men, Archelaus Towne's Co. from Amherst (his home town and vicinity) 56 men and William Scott's company, from Peterborough (his home town and vicinity) 39, men total 153, including Scott's mess of 4 men. George Reid's large company (68 men) from Londonderry and vicinity, was not in the action, definitely because claims for guns, clothing and equipment (State Papers VII, 586-602) show there were few losses. Martin Montgomery claimed for a gun lost (Reid's Co.) but a gun might be lost anywhere and anytime. Stark's other companies lost 30 guns, from one to eight per company. Reid's Company is somewhat conspicuous by its absence through a more significant showing, the number of men making claims (27,33,2,15,14,9,14 and 12) and the number of pounds (even figures) £,28,45,4,12,23,19,25,10, paid out of the State funds to the men. As prompt action was required it is likely that in making up the 200 men for Wyman, a part of Reid's company was included, the remainder being left on guard duty. The histories of Londonderry and vicinity and all annals and traditions are silent, but Reid's company had no men killed on the 17th. of June.

#### WHERE DID WYMAN AND HIS MEN GO?

Apparently Wyman was no officer to hurry his troops, even though orders, to join Col. Prescott were peremptory. Certainly when accosted by Stark and McClary on their return from viewing the scene, there can be no doubt as to what directions were given. Was there a misconception of orders?

There were such cases. Col. James Scammons of Saco (formerly of Haverhill, Mass.) had a regiment recruited in the District of Maine and hence under Massachusetts Bay. He should not be confused with Col. Alexander Scammel, a protege of Gen. Sullivan. Scammons was brought before a court-martial after Bunker Hill, on testimony which showed that he had marched his men to "Lechmere Point" and on being again ordered to "the hill", went to Cobble hill, though some of his men finally got to Bunker Hill, too late. He claimed he had carried out his orders "as he understood them". He was not found guilty. Mansfield was ordered to Charlestown but marched to Cobble hill and



undertook to protect Gridley's artillery. Tried, Mansfield was cashiered. To Swett it was "an error only, arising from inexperience", but that was like Swett's partisanship. Scarborough Gridley, son of the engineer, ordered to Charlestown stopped at Cobble hill to fire his cannon at the Frigate, Glasgow. Tried for "breach of orders" his case was left with Washington on account of his youth, (and his father?). Capt. Callender's "disobedience of orders and alleged cowardice" caused his dismissal and Washington's approval of it. But Callender had better stuff in him and later became a brave officer, from a private.

Stark to son-in-law Stickney was explicit as to the second orders given to Wyman, that "they were again put in motion but went to the right where he saw no more of them until after the battle." Had they reported, as ordered, to Col. Prescott, as a reinforcement, Prescott would have welcomed them and, probably, have mentioned it. Some 200 fresh troops with ammunition were something he stood badly in need of. Griffin's painstaking history of Keene (1904) endeavoring to do justice to a prominent citizen, Isaac Wyman (afterward for 30 years keeper of the leading tavern in town) was unable to place him anywhere;

"That Col. Wyman did good service somewhere that day is evidenced from the fact that he was recommended for promotion by Gen. Folsom, who stated that he had behaved prudently, courageously and very much like a gentleman."

But Griffin did not know of Folsom's difficulties with Stark and that in building up Wyman that Folsom was actuated by the most intense desire to have Stark superceded. When a year later many Colonels received recognition (June 30, 1776) Wyman was made a regimental head. In the mean time, to show Folsom's fitness to command, Sullivan, (March 24, 1776) charged Folsom with "Malicious endeavors" and "Insulting and abusive language." Possibly Stark harbored something against Wyman for his singular disappearance at Bunker Hill. "Saturday, Aug. 31, 1776, Col. Isaac Wyman head Col<sup>o</sup> of this regt. put under arrest by Col<sup>o</sup> Starks." (Diary, Johathan Burton of Wilton) AT that period Stark was Brigade Commander under Gates.

As to Styles' Keene company, Griffin found that "one half had not joined the regiment and so was not mentioned by Col. Stark, the other half being on guard duty of a Tory property, 'Ten Hill Farm', "near enough for some volunteers to get into the fight, notably Fifer Bassett who "arrived late", making an affidavit in his old age. Going or coming or at the front, Asahel Nims of Keene was killed, "tradition says at the rail fence". The latter possibly because it was so commonly known that Stark's and Reed's regiments were located there. Some of Scott's company were in the fighting, for Scott was wounded and made

a prisoner and three of his men were killed, Paul Caldwell of Londonderry, Jonas Howe of Marlborough and William French of Packersfield.

### PAUL DUDLEY SARGENT'S NEW HAMPSHIRE MEN

Geography doubtless had something to do with the relinquishment of the companies of Styles, Towne and Scott by Col. Stark to augment the Sargent regiment. Parkinson's mess stopped feeding them between the 7th and the 10th of July, 1775, and the record says "see Mass. Rolls". Sargent was unable to make up a full regiment then or later and was finally assigned to the District of Maine by Massachusetts Bay. He died in Maine in 1827 at the age of 88, surviving Stark by five years.

### THE REGIMENT OF COL. JOHN STARK IN THE BATTLE

Col. Stark marched to Charlestown Neck from Medford, after giving off Wyman's contingent, with some 500 men at his back. Reasonable calculations from the Revolutionary Rolls printed in the State Papers, Vol. VII, 1873 and Vol. XIV, 1888, prove that Frothingham's list of ten Stark companies erred, and Caleb Stark in reprinting the list without investigation of the unprinted Rolls likewise erred, in including George Reid's company in the battle. Both Stark's and Reed's regiments were healthy (Reed's showed less than 4% sick at the time) and there would be few absentees. The nine companies showed men paid and men fed with but little variation, 549 paid and 563 fed, before and after the battle, the average being 556. Of course the fed list did not include the 15 men killed or missing, making a true total 578, raising the average to 563. If 10% of the regiment had been left to guard the tents and the belongings of the officers and men at Medford camp, a liberal figure, Stark's men in the battle would have approximated 506 men.

### THE REGIMENT OF COL. JAMES REED IN THE BATTLE

On June 14th (three days before Bunker Hill) Reed's Return showed "fit for duty" 488 officers and men. The total number listed was 637 but 149 were "sick, absent, Unfit or on Command". On June 21st (four days after Bunker Hill) there were in his Regimental Return 458 officers and men "fit for duty", only 30 men less available than on the 14th. In the meantime the regiment had lost 14 men killed or mortally wounded, so that 502 is the figure on the 17th of June.

Reed did not have all of his regiment on Charlestown peninsula for he was charged with the duty of guarding the approaches to the Neck, the two roads from Cambridge and Winter Hill (Medford) converging there. He probably remained in command, sending Lt. Col. Israel Gilman to head the main body of his force, halted at the approach to the

neck when Col. Stark arrived with his regiment. There was an emergency, growing hourly, for in no time a seething mass of volunteers and small detachments were milling about with sightseers, bystanders and the curious. How many men Reed kept to care for the situation is a problem, perhaps 20%, or as many as two full companies. So from 502 a deduction of 20% would leave 405 men and officers to go to the rail-fence with Stark. That the whole of Reed's regiment was not along is clear from Stark's report of the battle, referring to Reed's regiment, on the 19th of April, "such portion of his regiment as were engaged."

### NEW HAMPSHIRE MEN AT THE RAIL FENCE

Of the calculated total of 911 (Stark 506, Reed 405) it may be said that no estimate can be more than approximate. On the morning after the Evacuation, a year after the battle, and in a moment of boastful minimums, as it were, a remark that Wilkinson may have attributed to Stark was that both regiments "amounted to about 700 men half organized and wretchedly equipped." (Wilkinson's *Memoirs of My own Times* 1844, 1816, and also see *Historical Magazine*, 1868.) Stark and Reed were making use of their first opportunity of surveying the late battle field together, and the youthful Wilkinson was along and has added his, somewhat late, recollections. Major Joseph Dow of Kensington and Hampton Falls, (*Farmers Monthly Visitor*, 1853, re-printing an article in the *Patriot of Concord*, N. H.) used the expression "making our force nearly a thousand muskets." All officers carried their guns except the Colonels, Lt Colonels and Majors, so there may have been but little exaggeration.

### COLONEL REED'S ABSENCE

That Col. James Reed of Fitzwilliam, N. H. (commissioned only 17 days before) was absent from the Battle of Bunker Hill, hardly admits of a doubt. Several historians have assumed him to have been present because most of his regiment was at the rail fence and fought creditably along with Stark's men. There were "Col. Reed led his men" and "Col. Reed of New Hampshire arrived with his men about two o'clock and took position at the rail fence" &c. "In the battle he proved his duty without display but with fidelity and quiet courage". "Col. Reed who was fighting and commanding beside them". &c.

Caleb Stark's direct statement (foot-note, p98, "Memoir", 1860) is "Col. Reed was not in the action." In Nov. 1815, Major Caleb Stark, who had been in the battle at the rail fence, as a boy, replied to one of Gen. Wilkinson's queries, "answer delayed owing to extreme domestic affliction and sickness", as follows:

"I believe that neither Col. Reed nor Col. Poor was in the action nor about the army at the time. I believe that they



together with their field officers were in the interior preparing recruits. I believe General James Reed (though doubtless a brave man) was never in action during the war."

Major Stark's long letter gave the usual evidence of his care in making statements. He was correct as to Col. Poor, whose regiment was not filled and who was about Exeter on that work at the time. He could hardly have been mistaken about the absence of Col. Reed and he was also correct about the absence of the third in command, Major Nathan Hale of Rindge, N. H. who was on the "sick" list, in the Report of the 15th. of June. He should not be confused with Nathan Hale of Connecticut (1755-1776) the patriot, who was hanged as a spy by Sir. Wm. Howe, and regretted that he had but one life to give to his country. But Lt. Col. Israel Gilman of Newmarket, commanded the Reed regiment in the battle, though Major Stark overlooked him as a "field officer."

There is corroboration as to Reed's absence. He was not far away, perhaps ill in his camp. On the day before the battle Gilman signed the Report, though Reed was accustomed to do such things, including orders. (State Papers VII) On the 19th, after the battle, Col. Stark, reporting to his authorities wrote;

"By Colonel Reed's desire I transmit the account of those who suffered belonging to that portion of his regiment who were engaged."

If able, Reed would have made the Report himself. Coupled with the reference to the "portion of his regiment who were engaged" the inference is inescapable that the whole regiment was not at the rail fence. It is, however, no disparagement of Col. Reed that he was absent or on other duty at the time. Ward on June 12th ordered Col. Reed to "Quarter his regiment in the houses near Charlestown Neck and keep all necessary guards"&c. Next day Reed marched to the spot and posted a guard of 40 men under a captain and 2 subalterns. On the next day, the 14th. he made a Return of his regiment (State Papers XIV, Rev. Rolls I, 38) only one sick, Major Hale. On the 15th. Reed posted his guard with 50 men and provided for sentries, passes and countersigns. Incidentally he had 7 drummers and 7 fifers. The very remarkable losses claimed after the battle by Reed's regiment are accounted for in Nesmith's article in the Granite Monthly, June 1879, which stated that packs, extra clothing, &c. had been placed in a building near Charlestown Neck and were destroyed by fire resulting from a shot from the enemy's shipping. Else on that very hot day, the 17th. how could 103 blankets, 133 coats, 218 shirts, 99 haversacks and 36 guns, 5 swords, 3 pistols, one fife and 3 drums all be lost? There were also enumerated "Breeches, Stockings, Shoes, Trowses, Hatts, cartridge boxes and 1 bagonet". Major Stark's statement should be accepted, except as to exactly where Col.

Reed was during the fighting, even though not at the rail fence. Caleb knew Reed well and his subsequent career and his referring to him as General Reed shows it. His statement reflected a now forgotten action of a marplot Congress. After Bunker Hill and the Evacuation, Col. Reed, as well as Col. Stark, was in the brigade of Gen. John Sullivan. They were both a part of that enterprise next year against Canada, which had a military collapse as well as suffering the fearful scourges of small-pox, dysentery and fever. Following the retreat from Sorel, Reed's regiment reached Ticonderoga on July 1st. 1776, after Col. Reed was taken down by fever at Crown Point. From lack of proper medical assistance the poor man lost the use of his eyes and as a consequence he retired from the army. Congress, aware of his misfortune, saw fit to make James Reed a Brigadier General in the Continental army, on August 6, 1776, possibly believing that Col. Reed had fought actively at Bunker Hill. The action could hardly have been taken without the approval of Gen. Sullivan, perhaps of Gen. Washington. That it became one of the bitternesses of John Stark, six months before Col. Poor was made a Brigadier, Feb. 21, 1777, is one of the hidden things in a war that included many injustices. But Gen. Reed's retirement removed an outward and visible irritation. He lived for 31 years, blind, mostly in Fitzwilliam, his home town, partly in Keene, dying in Fitchburg at 83, where his monument may be seen. He was a valuable and patriotic man, his three sons also serving in the Continental army. Gen. Reed was granted half-pay by Congress for life.

The historians who took Reed's presence at the rail fence for granted were wrong, but not the only time in Stark's career. At Bennington, because John Stark reported to Gen. Gates that he had "lost a horse in the action", the historians asserted; "Stark's horse sank under him" (Headly), "The General's horse was killed in the action" (Edward Everett'), "The General had a horse shot under him" (Irving). Actually the horse, a beautiful brown mare, five years old, was stolen (Stark's advertisement, October, 1777, and more fully noticed under Bennington).

#### LOSSES IN STARK'S AND REED'S REGIMENTS

In his Report to Exeter on April 19th. Stark gave his "killed and missing" as 16, Reed's killed as 3. He noted that McClary was killed by cannon shot, while Captain Baldwin and Lt. Scott were killed by small arms. That Scott was not killed but made a prisoner by the British, Stark could not have known at the time. As "Lt. William Scott of Peterborough" he was on the list as living, but wounded, in September, 1775, (British prisoners). Bell extols him as a "mighty hunter" who had been in the French war under Goffe and that at Bunker Hill he was shot in the leg but began to trim bullets to fit the guns of the men, until four wounds caused him to faint. A British soldier spared him from the bayonet. Eventually taken to Halifax he managed to escape, undermining the wall of his prison, using gimlet, bayonet and knife. Kidder's history (1st.

N.H. Reg. 1868) devotes 4 pages to the subsequent deeds of Major William Scott, who served throughout the war and afterward; dying in 1796, before his time, at 56. David Scott, private in Towne's Co., Reed's regiment, was killed at Bunker Hill but Col. Stark did not mean him. William Scott he knew well. None of the three "missing" after the engagement have been identified. They probably turned up later or were "deserters".

A grave discrepancy exists between the number reported killed in Reed's regiment, as reported to Stark for transmission to Exeter, two days after the battle, and the actual number shown to have been killed, in State Papers, XIV. The error was, unfortunately, extensively copied. Whereas Stark's regiment lost 12 men killed, Reed's lost 14 men, all killed or dying of their wounds, on dates showing, all in June except one, July 15th. The inference arises that Reed's men were nearer the greater intensity (to the defenders) of the battle, being on the end of the rail fence nearer the "gap".

Three men listed by Hammond, giving up Nesmith (XIV.43) as killed in Reed's regiment seem not to have been killed. One, John Davis of Chesterfield, was in Stark's regiment and did not begin service until June 29th. Benjamin Parker of Swansea ("B. Parker") was paid full time for service, long after Bunker Hill, and personally signed for his coat money on Oct. 4, 1775. Jesse Lund of Dunstable, of Spaulding's Co. was also paid full time and signed for coat money. Reed's men, (fatalities) numbered 14 in addition to these three.

The killed in Stark's regiment were, Major Andrew McClary, Capt. Isaac Baldwin, Henry Glover (McLaughlin's) John Manuel (Kinsman's) Reuben Kemp (Richard's) Moses Poor and Thomas Collins (Woodbury's), George Shannon (Hutchin's) William McCrillis (Dearborn's) Caleb Dalton (Richard's) and William Mitchell (Abbott's). James Reed of Henniker, not listed must have his modest bit of reknown. Cogswell's Henniker (1880) said of him, (a tradition) "as he passed out of town that morning he stopped at Capt. Aaron Adams's and took a huge drink of cider. He never returned to town, having been killed at Bunker Hill". The killed in Reed's regiment were: J. Patten, Parker Hills, Joseph Farwell, James Hutchinson, Isaac Adams, David Carlton, John Davis, John Melvin, John Cole, George Carleton, Jonathan Lovejoy, B. Parker, Jesse Lund, Joseph Blood, Ebenezer Blood, Paul Clogstone and Jonathan Gray.

#### CALEB STARK, 16, AT THE RAIL FENCE

At one stage of the battle, after some of the platoon firing by the Grenadiers, young Caleb Stark, son of the Colonel, was reported killed. The 1831 story, written during the life time of his father, is given by Caleb Jr., repeated in 1860.



"In the heat of the action someone reported to Col. Stark, that his son, a young man of 16 who had followed him to the field, had just been killed. He remarked to the informer that it was no time to talk of private affairs while the enemy was in force in front and ordered him back to his duty. The report proved groundless. The son is still living and was a staff officer during the remainder of the war."

After packing a small valise secretly young Caleb had left his grandfather Page's house in Dunbarton, where he had lived from a child, and had ridden the horse his grandfather gave him, early in the morning of the 16th of June "with a musket on his shoulder" (sic) and arrived at the American camp of his father.

"Upon the arrival of the youthful patriot at the regimental headquarters, his father's first greeting was 'Well, son, what are you here for? You should have remained at home.' The answer was 'I can handle a musket and have come to try my fortune as a volunteer.' 'Very well,' said the Colonel; and addressing the Captain George Reid he continued 'take him to your quarters. Tomorrow may be a busy day. After that we will see what can be done with him.'"

(*'Memoir'*, 1860)

Facts are stubborn things, proverbially, and the name of Caleb Stark and his brother Archibald (born May 28, 1761) appear on the pay roll of Capt. John Moore's company of Derryfield, as receiving wages continuously from date of enlistment, April 24th, 1775, for three months and 15 days, the same as nearly all the members of that company. Their gross wages were 7:1:5 to which 56 miles travel money was added, and after apparently having collected "stoppages" (part payment) of 3:16:0, they were credited with receiving 5:6:1, or lawful money at a set rate in dollars. How this record can be squared with the traditions must remain a mystery. (State Papers XIV.59) Were the pay rolls padded and who got the money if the boys didn't? Capt. Moore, who was the hero of the stone wall at the Mystic, was succeeded by Lt. McLaughlin. It would be hard to believe that they, or any one countenanced a fraud on the Colony, the captains being responsible for the pay rolls. Like many others in Stark's regiment furloughs were frequently granted for necessary duties at home, from time to time, and it is possible one or both these young men may have performed useful labors both before and after the battle of Bunker Hill. Caleb remained in the service for nine years, Archibald became a Lieutenant, was with his father in 1778 in Albany, joined Gen.

Sullivan's "6 nations" expedition and died in 1791 at 30, unmarried. Both boys were in McLaughlin's Co. on October 10th, 1775, Caleb signing for his "coat money" with 43 others, McLaughlin undertaking to deliver the money to Archibald and seven others.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE MEN IN PRESCOTT'S AND OTHER REGIMENTS

Prescott resided in Pepperell, Mass. but his farm overlapped into Hollis, N.H. and after Lexington-Concord his neighbors enlisted in his regiment, one whole company being that of Reuben Dow of Hollis, 59 men and officers. In the list of claims, "in the late engagement at Bunker's Hill in Charlestown" no less number than 28 of these men showed losses, 48%, some for guns, but nearly all for knapsacks, jackets and tumplines, which were straps to cross the forehead to aid in carrying packs. Captain Dow was wounded and six of his men were killed: Nathan Blood, Peter Poor, Phineas Nevins, Isaac Hobart, Thomas Wheat and Joseph Boynton, all of Hollis, N.H. Two New Hampshire men, both of Hollis, were killed in the Company of Capt. Moor (misnamed Mann, XIV. 44) of Prescott's regiment, Thomas Coleman and Ebenexer Youngman. Hollis, a farming community lost more men than any town in the colonies. It must have gratified Prescott that his neighbors stood by him to the last. In Frye's regiment one New Hampshire man, Simeon Pike of Plaistow, was killed, and two were wounded.

Commissioner Gilmore (Geo. C. Gilmore, 1891, appointed by Gov. Hiram A. Tuttle of New Hampshire) after examining all source material, reported that 210 men were in the Bunker Hill fight enlisted in regiments of Massachusetts and 317 men not in the fight. Gilmore's figures of total number engaged, 1651, is on the high side, his totals of Stark's regiment, 842, Reed's 599, making no allowances.

## NOTABLE ESTIMATES OF BATTLE PARTICIPATION

Beginning some 70 years ago serious articles or addresses by prominent New Hampshire historians, writers or public men, were published, in part designed to show the numerical importance of the troops of the State in the actual fighting at Bunker Hill. There had undoubtedly been and there still continued to be a sense of frustration in the vogue of Massachusetts's authorities, all of high historical reputation, in tending to acclaim a preponderance of their state in stories of the battle. But little was said about New Hampshire and still less of the fact that nearly two thirds of the men engaged were from that state. But after the publication of the series of State Papers, known as the Revolutionary Rolls (volumes one to four) the subject began to clear. The disclosure of factual material encouraged one after another to assemble data and write or speak. Invariably in the best spirit, the

quality of the output commanded the attention, at least within the state, that the character and standing of the authors and speakers deserved. Only such portions of the articles as bear on the numerical estimates will be dealt with. In 1876 in the *Life of Israel Putnam*, I.N. Tarbox said that "New Hampshire had not less than 960 men on that field". The first paper was by Elias Hasket Derby of Massachusetts, son of Gen. Derby of the Salem family who resided in Derry, N.H., where in 1824 he entertained Gen. Lafayette. The list of seven of the most important essays follows, with very brief notices;

1877,	Elias Hasket Derby,	1000,
1879,	Hon. George W. Nesmith	1137,
1882,	Hon. Samuel T. Worcester,	1225,
1885,	Isaac W. Hammond, M.A.	1230,
1891,	Hon. Charles H. Bell,	1125,
1891,	George C. Gilmore, Esq.	1651,
1903,	Hon. Henry M. Baker,	1145.

In the *Register* of the N.E. Historic-Genealogical Society (XXXI,44-48) Derby estimated that Stark's 13 companies comprised 630 men, which combined with those of Reed made up 900, and that with 100 of Prescott's regiment, the total of 1000 was two thirds of the total that General Washington, the Committee of Safety and Bancroft, the historian, found.

Judge Nesmith in the *Granite Monthly* presented his results, Stark 582, after deducting 50 for sick, on guard, furloughed, &c; Reed 488 "effectives" June 14th, with 63 in Prescott's regiment and 4 in Capt. Sawyer's Co. of Frye's regiment; 1137 "reasonably certain to have been engaged".

Worcester's Paper, (N.H. Historical Society, Annual meeting, Proceedings, I.353-364) showed Reed, 486, Stark 739. Of these 400 of Reed's and 550 of Stark's (950) were "presumed to be present in the battle" in those two regiments. These and others brought up his total to 1225. See also Worcester, *History Hollis*, 1879, 394p)

Mr. Isaac Hammond, Editor of *Revolutionary Rolls of the State Papers of New Hampshire*, took most of his data from the voluminous archives in his care, found 616 men in Stark's ten companies, Reed having 539 men. He added the usual number in Prescott's and Frye's regiments, and obtained a total of 1230.

Hon. Charles H. Bell, historian of Exeter (1888, 469p) and other works, addressed the Bunker Hill Monument Association in the Old South Church, Boston, on the anniversary of the battle in 1891; published (26 pages) as "an impartial narrative". He found Reed, 488, Stark 637, total 1125. He had Stark with 13 companies, otherwise Gov. Bell's process was clear and convincing.



Henry M. Baker of Bow, well informed locally, in a carefully prepared Address to the Sons of the American Revolution (N.H.) at Concord, (Rumford Press, 23p.1902) took Reed's strength at the usual 488 and found Stark with 657, making 1145 men. Stark's companies were computed, 13 in all, as averaging 52-1/2 men.

The principal sources of New Hampshire opinion have been noted. One and all failed to take into account the problem of what became of Lt. Col. Wyman and his 200 men. Not one of the eminent compilers deducted the 200 from their totals.

### THE MASSACHUSETTS FORCES

Prescott's regiment had the greatest losses. The night before he had taken "300 from my own regiment". Protected by the soft earth walls of the redoubt, few were to become casualties until the final assault by the British. At that juncture Prescott wrote he was left with but 150 men. During the capture and the immediate pursuit 43 were "killed and missing". It was a large proportion. The 46 wounded indicated many in the desperate rear action. Prescott was able to retain, in loyalty to himself and the cause, from a hundred men to a hundred and fifty. Of the scenes in the besieged redoubt where Warren, Prescott and probably Brewer and other gallant officers, inspired the tired toilers of the night, no description would be adequate.

The regiment of Col. Jonathan Brewer of Waltham, had 12 killed and 22 injured. How many he brought and when they arrived is obscure. That he and Prescott "commanded in the redoubt" lacks proof as to Brewer. He ranked Prescott in the official list of 37 Colonels, after the order became established, and of course Lt. Col. Brickett, Frothingham's "Charlestown" (1845) is not to be relied on as to regiments present and their strength (Brewer, 300 Nixon, 300, Woodbridge 300, Major Moore, 300) though he had followed Swett (1826), for the added up 1200 total; obvious guesses. George Bancroft (1800-1891) who began early to collect his materials for his monumental history of the United States, and may have had especial information, credited Brewer with 70 men in the battle. With casualties of 50% and sustaining injuries himself, Brewer (1726-1784) merits a biographer. The latter would be handicapped in lack of material. After his service, latterly as a junior Captain in the French and Indian War, he had, from 1770, kept the Waltham tavern, to become in his 50th year a defender of the liberties of his Colony. He was probably not given orders until late in the forenoon, if he had any, and did well to march the longer distance to strengthen the redoubt, during the anxious waiting. Loescher (Hist. Rogers Rangers, 1946 gives prominence to probable ill feeling between Lt. Brewer and Capt. Stark in 1757, which culminated, but did not end, when Brewer locked Stark up, preventing his sailing for Louisburg, Stark just recovering from the small pox.

The two redoubt-digging regiments of Frye and Bridge are assumed to have been of 250 each, as the sum, 500, is necessary to bring up to 1000, Prescott's total. He more than implies that the majority of the night toilers became worn out and deserters, but his mention of the leaders, Lt. Col. Brickett (for Frye was not present) and Col. Bridge may convey a wrong impression. Frye's regiment had 10 men killed and 38 wounded. Of these one killed and two wounded were Plaistow, N.H. men. As to Col. Ebenezer Bridge, his regiment having 5 killed and 8 wounded, "he was wounded on the head and neck by a sword cut and was one of the last to retreat" (Hazen's "History of Billerica".) A court martial tried him but he was acquitted "on the ground of indisposition of body" (ill?) being up for "misconduct in seeking too cautiously the cover of the redoubt", which may be commended as an example of understatement. Prescott said that these men, "being indisposed, could render me but little service and the most of the men under their command deserted the party". But the men who remained to fight in the redoubt were the residue, probably only a third of the total who had dug, sweated, were fired on by the ships, who had thirsted and feared, but who finally became heroic in their valor.

The Newbury regiment of Col. Moses Little (another 50 year old) had 7 killed and 23 wounded. Bromfield's letter, already mentioned, said "Mr. Little of Turkey Hill, who I have heard is lately made a Colonel, showed great courage and marched through two regiments afraid to advance". They got to the hill "after the retreat began", helped to cover it. He was spattered with blood from a man killed on each side of him. Currier's "Newbury" has Little lead two companies over the Neck under fire but places them indifferently as "part at the redoubt, part at the breast work, and part at the rail fence" and has a fourth company arrive "after the battle began". Obviously some reconciliation is necessary (as to where and when) but the stamina of Moses Little, substantial and prominent citizen of his community, speaks for itself. The resolute man had no difficulty in leading his three companies, Perkins', Wade's and Warner's (Frothingham), a contrast as to Gen. Putnam.

Col. Asa Whitcomb was elderly. Bancroft does not place him in the battle but the regiment "had at least 50 privates but with no officers higher than captains". Frothingham believes there were "a few companies", Burtt's and Wilders' among them. But Nourse's History of Lancaster says that "Tradition among old families is that one or more companies crossed the Neck toward the battle after the retreat began, though others had marched to reinforce Prescott earlier". As Nourse found only one killed (David Robbins) and one a wounded prisoner, (Robert Phelps), who died in Boston, and one wounded (Jacob Davis) who recovered, Whitcomb's reported casualties, 5 killed, 8 wounded and 2 missing, cannot be easily verified. When Washington organized his army Col. Whitcomb was removed (due to age) and Col. Jonathan Brewer given the command. The men and officers resented the re-

tirement of their Colonel and Brewer generously offered to resign in favor of Whitcomb. When it was done Washington appointed Brewer barrack-master "until he could further promote him" and his action was made known to the whole army in general orders. But, Col. Asa Whitcomb was not through for, commanding the 6th reg. of foot, he went to Ticonderoga and Crown Point and on Dec. 25th, 1776, he was insulted and assaulted by Lt. Col. Craig of the 2nd Penns., called "a damned old scoundrel", had his ear pulled, was cut, yet received Craig's apology and sat down to a fat bear reconciliation dinner. He died a citizen of Princeton, Mass., in 1804 at 84, having been a wealthy resident of Sterling, who lost his fortune in the war and quit the world a bankrupt. In his modest station he was one of the obscure founders of the Republic.

The regiment of Col. Samuel Gerrish of Newbury was with Gen. Putnam on Bunker Hill, and the three killed and 5 wounded in the battle might be accounted for because the Adjutant, Christian Febiger, a Dane (afterward frequently assigned in Orders of the Day to important camp duty, showing his capacity) late in the fight, left his regiment and led a few brave spirits into action. Febiger enlisted for the Arnold expedition into Canada. Fat Col. Gerrish, found on the ground near Putnam was heard to "bellow, Retreat, Retreat, or you'll be cut off!" (letter of June 21, 1775 attributed to John Bromfield of Newburyport, Mass. Hist. Soc. II.226-7). Tried, as were some others after the battle, Col. Gerrish was cashiered.

Ephraim Doolittle's regiment was commissioned on June 12th; only 7 companies. For some reason he and his Lt. Col. were absent on the day of the battle. Frothingham's *Siege* (p193) gives the regiment as having none killed, but 9 wounded. That was incorrect as the Major, Willard Moore, doubtless had men with him when he fell, with a ball in his thigh. As men carried him to the rear (said to have been after the second attack) another ball went through his body. He called for water, none being available, he asked the men to let him down and leave him and take care of themselves. Then he met a soldier's death. Frothingham does not vouch for it. He printed the story that Capt. Wheeler's Co. of Doolittle's regiment, Capt. Crosbey of Reed's regiment and a company from Woodbridge's were at the base of Breed's hill at the main street of Charlestown, but when, he did not indicate.

## CONNECTICUT AT BUNKER HILL

The official statement is in the "Connecticut Military Record" (Hartford, 1889) the period 1775-1783, by H.P. Johnston "Under the authority of the Attorney General of the State of Connecticut". The build-up of 400 men "present at this engagement" is sketchy and, on analysis, is undependable. Prescott wrote (to Adams) that he had



"200 Connecticut men under Capt. Thomas Knowlton". Of the withdrawals and desertions that Prescott complained of he did not mention any Connecticut men.

Knowlton's Company, of Ashford men, shows only 95 privates enlisted, four officers and 11 sergeants, corporals, drummers and fifers, all being named, a total of 110. If even 100 were actually on the ground during the fighting and another hundred were of the 200 taken for the digging, it is apparent, had all stayed, that only 200 men can be accounted for. Prescott mentioned no other Connecticut men in the redoubt under other officers. Knowlton must have gathered, or retained, a fair number of his men with other soldiers from his state who could be assembled and had the nerve to fight, for Knowlton's position was declared to be "at the rail fence". This was, undoubtedly by Knowlton's choice and to defend a weak position and was the fence of stones surmounted by rails, elsewhere described.

As Knowlton's company had only three men killed (Johnston) namely William Cheney, Asahel Lyon and Benjamin Rist, the total number of men may easily be over-estimated. That he retained much support by any other Connecticut men (from the night before or arriving during the forenoon, of which there is no evidence) the deaths of but five Connecticut men at Charlestown Peninsula that day, definitely negatives any assumption that might enlarge the number actually fighting. There must have been fatal casualties elsewhere than on the fighting lines, victims of stray shots from the ships and muskets. Putnam's regiment had three men killed, Samuel Ashbo, Matthew Cummings and Daniel Memory, most likely while near the Neck or on the slopes of Bunker Hill where Putnam was.

After the Knowlton position had collapsed and the redoubt was taken, a brave group from Captain Chester's company (he was not present) under Lieutenant Dyer, supported probably by a few other intrepid spirits, took up a position "behind a stone wall" which was low and had holes through which British bullets came (Dana said "Good Lord, how the balls flew!"). The advent of the arrivals was opportune for while they could not affect the result they heroically helped slow the British advance and thus aided their retreating countrymen. But as Chester's Wethersfield men had only two killed that day (Roger Fox and Gershom Smith) the presence of not many men is indicated or else there were miraculous escapes in plenty. Probably fifty (50) men would be a reasonable allowance.

## CONCLUSIONS

Instead of a total of 400 men "present at this engagement", (Johnston) all available information brings an interpretation that only between 100 and 200 Connecticut men actually helped fight the battle of Bunker Hill; let the larger figure be used, 200.

The wounded lists, in their due proportions do not invalidate the results derived from the fatalities and other available data. The difficulties in making any dependable calculations of Connecticut men at Bunker Hill (in the fighting) has necessitated a lengthy presentation, for a blunt statement would not do.

### CONDUCT OF GEN. PUTNAM AT BUNKER HILL

That the battle need not have been a defeat for the Colonials soon became a fixed popular idea. Ere long the Committee of Safety and the high command had to take cognizance of it and Washington participated in court-martial discipline. As noted, Cols. Gerrish and Mansfield were cashiered as well as John Callender, accused of deserting his cannon. Comment spread as to Gen. Putnam, Gerrish having been in his company, 700 yards back of the battle, and wonder persisted as to why the general was not himself tried. But he was a General, the highest officer of a Colony whose support was necessary to the cause, and Putnam had two excuses, that he could not rally the troops and that somehow to stay on Bunker Hill was desirable. As it proved, during the war, most such cases (decided by brother officers) resulted in whitewash, when Generals were involved. When Gen. Wilkinson inquired of Major Caleb Stark the latter affirmed that he "re-collected substantially all that Gen. Dearborn has written" and that he had "seen Putnam and Gerrish standing near each other" and that "when Gerrish's conduct was arraigned it was a subject of conversation why Gen. Putnam was not called to trial as well as he". Concluding Major Caleb gave his honest and sober recollections:

"At that time I could hardly form an excuse but I am inclined to think that his reputation for hardy uncultivated bravery and his great popularity in Connecticut operated as a sufficient cause for the measures taken. Indeed it might have had a material effect on the recruiting service in his state."

There is no record or tradition that Col. Stark's opinion of Gen. Putnam's conduct was expressed directly to the latter, as was Col. Prescott's, immediately after the battle. Some reflection of the fire-works would assuredly be found.

But on account of John Stark's connection with it, a controversy which raged furiously in 1818 must be gone into, a controversy which, despite French's peaceable foot-note "History has long since dismissed" &c(p228) he himself devastatingly revived (as to what caused it - Putnam before, during and after the battle) in "The First Year". So, in 1934 Putnam's reputation suffered its greatest loss since Dawson, 1868. French was not deterred by Murdock's remark (1927) which we could

hope will not be construed as a continuing prophesy, that "Those who stir the ashes of Bunker Hill must not complain of burns". Anyway when a biographer believes in him he does not let his man down.

Gen. Stark had no connection with the Putnam-Dearborn controversy. By March, 1818, when the newspapers fought the battle over again, Gen. Stark was in semi-retirement and in less than a year senility progressed so that his son, Major Caleb, was appointed his guardian. In a private conversation at Manchester, Dr. Bentley heard the second time on May 1st, 1810 (when the General had a firm grasp mentally) his opinion of Gen. Putnam. When he returned home to Salem Dr. Bentley wrote in his Diary:

"As, among other objects, I intended to get a likeness, among the maps, prints and papers I carried him, were some few portraits, and among them was one of Gen'l. Putnam. I recollect upon the sight of the head of Gen'l. Putnam he said 'My Chaplain' as he called me 'you know my opinion of that man. He was a poltroon. Had he done his duty, he would have decided the fate of his country in the first action.' He then proceeded to describe the scene of action & the pen as he called the enclosed work & gave his reason for not entering it & the want of judgement in the works. He then told me the place in which he saw Gen. Putnam & what was done on the occasion & his remarks were severe as his genius & the sentiments of ardent patriotism could make them. General Stark always used the same language on the subject."

On Oct. 27, 1815 Gen. James Wilkinson, preparing his "Memoirs", in straightened circumstances, feverously seeking all aids, documentary and personal, wrote from Germantown to Major Caleb Stark whom he must have known during the early part of 1776 in the camps about Boston. The two men, or boys, were about of an age, Wilkinson born 1757, Stark, born 1759. Wilkinson, his life career practically finished, had evidently been in conversation with Gen. Dearborn, who had presided at the Court-Martial which acquitted him (Utica-Troy-Jan. 1815) and his long letter to Caleb was designed by 21 searching questions, to bring out the story of Bunker Hill. He said;

"My desire (is) to correct the folly and prejudice of precedent historians. The battle of Breed's hill has been grossly misrepresented" (He mentions the accounts of Gordon, Warren, Ramsay and Marshall as being in error.) "I accompanied your father and Col. Reed to the field of battle (and saw) the vestiges of the post and rail fence and a breast work of stones which your father had ordered



to be thrown up upon the beach of Mystic River. Gen. Dearborn informs me he crossed the Neck with your father, that the corps took their positions without order and that his company occupied the ground between the angle of the post-and-rail fence and the redoubt. Your father informed me that a column of the enemy advanced on the beach of Mystic river but received so deadly a fire from the stone wall he had thrown up that they fell back in disorder and joined the corps in the rear on the high ground". Wilkinson then stated that the Hon. Wm. Eustis informed him that "Colonels Prescott and Brewer commanded in the redoubt" and that "Doctor Warren did not join them until late in the day and Prescott asked him if he came to take command. 'No, I came to assist you and let those rascals see the Yankees can fight'."

Caleb Stark's reply, dated "November, 1815," dealt with some features elsewhere referred to, and said;

"Your account of Putnam corresponds with what I have always understood of his conduct that day. In addition to intrenching tools my impression is that he had some tent poles and other camp equipage. His station was nearly a mile from the theatre of action. Your map is substantially correct with the exception of distances and proportions which I will endeavor to alter and forward from Boston in a few days when I will forward your queries with such answers as I can fill up or obtain from others. I never knew Col. Prescott. Brewer was a sergeant in the ranging service."

The map does not appear to have survived. The answers (Caleb Stark's memoranda) were in several instances skipped because Caleb Stark had no personal knowledge, the remainder being not different from previously given data. Wilkinson published in 1817.

In December, 1817, Harrison Hall, editor of Port-Folio, asked Gen. Dearborn to correct a plan drawn "by one deBerniere, a plan of a British Officer, in possession of Jacob Cist, Esq. of Wilkesbarre". On Dec. 27, 1817 Mr. H.A.S. Dearborn, son of Gen. Dearborn, wrote "Last evening my father marked with a pencil the errors". The map, shows broad red ink corrections, mainly emphasizing gun fire direction marks, roads and fences, but not showing the rail fence as continuous between the Mystic and the earth-breast work extending from the redoubt. On the whole, Dearborn's map corrections appear to add little to previous

information. Wilkinson's letter to Caleb Stark had been marked "not intended for publication".

The "controversy" seems to have broken out following the printing of an article, too long to reproduce, in the March, 1818, issue of Port-Folio by "Major General, H. Dearborn, U.S. Army". The May 5, 1818 number of the Patriot, Concord, reprinted the article in 3-1/2 columns. On May 12, 1818, a writer in the Boston Daily Advertiser arraigned Gen. Dearborn. Gen. Stark's side, or his relationship to the subject, was taken up by the Patriot on May 18th when the editor stated that "we heard the account of the battle about six years ago from Gen. Stark's own lips, and distinctly recollected it". On May 26th, the Patriot obtained the correspondence, Gen. Wilkinson to Caleb Stark and the reply, and published both letters. On the same date the Salem Gazette went into the "abuse" of Gen. Dearborn and commented "We may depend that Gen. Stark goes next in some way or other". On May 27th the Boston Yankee contained a letter from Hon. Abel Parker of Jaffrey which declared that Dearborn's was "the first correct account" of the battle. That aroused the Patriot to opinionate on June 6th, that certain state newspapers, "especially the Keene Sentinel....had condemned Gen. Dearborn without evidence". Thereupon Parker let loose (July 24th) in the Patriot "in vigorous castigation of the (recent) reviewer for mendacious support of Putnam". Col. Samuel Swett took partisan ground in 1818 (reprinting the matter in his 1826 edition) in defense of Putnam. By no means has all the printed material has been reviewed. The colored historical material was widespread by 1825 when the 50th Anniversary of the battle heard speakers, Daniel Webster and others.

A number of veteran participants of the battle were present at the celebration, Major Caleb Stark being one of the youngest. Not he, but others were sought out by protagonists of Gen. Putnam, the political struggle incident to public office on the Dearborn side having long since ceased. The aged men were interrogated, got to sign statements, some sworn to, others not even dated, as to, especially, did they see Gen. Putnam? The extracts that Swett published (parts were afterward found to have been suppressed) gave the impression that Gen. Putnam was everywhere in the battle, galloping about on his horse, giving orders, firing cannon, &c. The stories of the old men have been used to help delineate the battle but the whole mass, deemed unfortunate in its connotations, was disposed of when the Massachusetts Historical Society took cognizance and appointed a committee in 1842 to examine everything and render an opinion. The Committee, of three, was of the highest standing, George Tichnor, George Bancroft, and the Rev. George F. Ellis. In due time the three Georges reported, that they found the material "wholly worthless for history". Having been collated by a member, one Sullivan, the documents were all returned to the family and it has generally been believed, destroyed.

Despite flare-ups, like "The Veil Removed" in 1843, Coffin's sketches in 1845, Frothingham's Siege, 1849, the final tendency of Massachusetts writers has been to soft-pedal the subject. In 1885-6 the Mass. Hist. Society printed Dearborn's Journal of the war (Sept. 10, 1775 to July 16, 1776) and in later years certain other war periods, which with the Caxton Club publication of a 5th volume, give the valuable record in full, ending with 1783.

It is fair to point out that Gen. Dearborn's son, in a letter owned by Dawson, asked Caleb Stark to make clear that Gen. Stark was not charging Gen. Putnam with lack of personal bravery but with the requisite "firmness and presence of mind when placed in a responsible position", which Mr. Dawson aptly said "are distinct qualities from bravery". (Hist. Mag., 1868, p154)

Why more war material has not been preserved may be seen from Bentley to Wilkinson, Salem, May 20, 1818, as to his not taking care "minutely to preserve" all that Gen. Stark had told him, for the reason that "Caleb Stark told me he was collecting everything worthy to meet the public eye and to be published after his father's decease and in due honor to his memory."

The destruction or dispersal of any such mass as would be indicated is mysterious. Major Stark, schooled in the dignity and impersonalities of the better minds of his time, may have considered that the military correspondence of his father constituted quite enough. Could he have anticipated the appetite of the modern world for intimate details and personal anecdotes and touches, in fact anything whatever relating to the Revolutionary war, he would have safe-guarded everything, have saved family letters (of which the only one is his own to his father from Washington, D.C., not particularly important) and have taken sufficient time off his many important business transactions to see that his father gave a rich heritage to war literature.

#### DR. JOSEPH WARREN

When General John Stark was 73 years old he received at Derryfield a letter from Dr. John Warren, brother of the hero, Dr. Joseph Warren, killed during the Bunker Hill engagement. Stark's reply, dated July 28, 1801, is preserved by the Massachusetts Historical Society. The wording expressed the vigorous and noble sentiments of Stark, roused to indignation. Stark when at the redoubt (while his men and Reed's waited to be placed) saw and recognized Dr. Warren, whom he had known as a member of the Committee of Safety. In responding to the inquiry as to whether Gen. Warren had a gun or side arms Stark wrote that he could not;

"positively assert that he made use of any that day  
as I was engaged near Charles river during the



battle which is at some distance from where Gen. Warren fell, but it was reported after the action by the companions of the unfortunate General that he fell fighting bravely for his country and not looking on in a state of inactivity as asserted in the recent publication mentioned in your letter which assertion appears to me to be as ill grounded, as malicious, or envious, for who would suppose that he would stay there to be shot at out of mere curiosity when he might have retired out of danger as many others did (to my knowledge) before the action commenced as well as afterwards and what could be the motive of the author of that publication to be silent on the subject for the space of twenty six years without he thinks there is no person living to contradict him, and I am inclined to suspect him to be either an old Tory or modern Aristocrat.....I never once doubted either his abilities, valour or patriotism .....Am well convinced that he was an active and brave man and again I say it is frivolous to suppose that he remained in the field to be killed as a Spectator when all of that description ran away and saved their lives; possibly the ingenuous author of the publication was one.

Col. Prescott from Groton in Massachusetts was in the pound with General Warren but I am not able to say which was the commander of that party - nor do I know whether Col. Prescott is living or not."

#### MAJOR ANDREW McCLARY

The cannon shot that ended the career of Major Andrew McClary did the American cause a dis-service, not as great as the bullet that cut down General Warren, but one preventing the progress of a born leader of men, a future Colonel if not General. Let General Henry Dearborn, a Captain of one of McClary's companies tell (1818) of his death;

"He was among the first officers of the army, possessing a sound judgment, of undaunted bravery, enterprising, ardent and zealous, both as a patriot and soldier. His loss was severely felt by his compatriots in arms while his country was deprived of the services of one of her most promising and distinguished champions of liberty.

After leaving the field of battle I met him and drank some spirit and water with him. He was animated

and sanguine in the result of the conflict for Independence, from the glorious display of valor which had distinguished his countrymen on that memorable day.

He soon discovered that the British troops on Bunker Hill appeared in motion and said that he would go and reconnoitre them to see whether they were crossing out over the neck, at the same time directing me to march my company down the road toward Charlestown. We were then at Tuft's house, near Ploughed hill. I immediately made a forward movement to the position he directed me to take and halted while he proceeded to the old pound which stood on the site now occupied as a tavern house not far from the entrance to the neck. After he had satisfied himself that the enemy did not intend to leave their strong posts on the heights, he was returning toward me and when within twelve or fifteen rods of where I stood with my company, a random cannon shot, from one of the frigates lying near where the centre of Cragie's Bridge now is, passed directly through his body and put to flight one of the most heroic souls that ever animated man.

He leaped two or three feet from the ground, pitched forward and fell dead on his face. I had him carried to Medford where he was interred with all the respect and honors we could exhibit to the remains of a great and good man. He was my bosom friend; we had grown up together on terms of the greatest intimacy and I loved him as a brother."

To Col. John Stark the loss was a misfortune. Who knows but what the absence of Major McClary's sound advice was a real deprivation when his Colonel, in a time of stress, when Stark's impulsiveness needed restraint, could not have had the prompting needed to prevent the ill-starred encounter with Paymaster Hobart later in the year?

Major McClary had been living with Stark at the "Royall House" at Winter Hill. At least his horse was stabled at headquarters. We have the melancholly items of expense, after the Major's death, "coffin 1-0-0"... "to digging a grave for, 6 sh." The colony paid 8 shillings for one new bridle lost. The keep of the horse was, "six weeks at 6 shillings per week". (State Pap.VIII,598).

## MAPS

After the battle Montresor, a qualified British engineer and surveyor, in Boston during the siege, made, from actual foot work, a

careful physical plan of the Charlestown peninsula. On Montresor's large sheet Lt. Thomas H. Page, aide-de-camp to General Howe, drew the military features. The latter were not added until 1777 when Page was recovering in England from the amputation of a leg, the battle wound not having done well. Every road and fence was clearly shown by Montresor and some of the land contours. Page could not have been an eye-witness of all though his injury may not have occurred until the battle was nearly over. His placing of military units though done from memory, was, in collaboration with available officers, no doubt in substantial accuracy. The combined result may be considered the most dependable lay-out of all. Col. S. Swett in 1826, a local authority, believed the topography practically unchanged in the 50 elapsed years. He published his "History of the Bunker Hill battle, with a Plan" and used the Montresor-Page work as a basis but altered it liberally, putting in a great deal of marsh, even a pond, but left off the fences, a most important point, even if they were not there in 1826, but Frothingham (Siege of Boston, 1849) gave all.

Some time after the battle Henry DeBerniere of the 14th Infantry (British) made a sketch of the battle ground, which had the roughness of such a work, with no fences, but had marshy land, also brick kilns, which, presumably, Montresor left out. DeBerniere's roads were lined with trees. But, soon after his plan was discovered about 1818, Gen. Dearborn reported when he examined it that there had been few trees on the peninsula battle-area, except half a dozen locusts, as many "coverns" (?) and a few apple trees. Of this he said "rows of trees both sides of the road all over Bunkers and Breeds and on most of the peninsula; they should be left out". This tends to lower the value of DeBerniere's work.

The great Centennial Celebration of 1875 brought out two or more works, those of Richard Frothingham, whose siege of Boston, 1849, is standard, and that of Rev. George E. Ellis, of Charlestown, who, as early as 1843 began his close study of the terrain and battle history. As it had not been much built upon Mr. Ellis thought the land remained without much change. Ellis used the Swett lay-out but Frothingham had engraved for his book the Montresor-Page work, size 17 x 19 in beautiful detail with the "flap" page which Page designed, with great care, to show the "first" British positions. The stand and identity of each British company is shown and also the artillery, at the beginning and also later in the battle. This double exhibit is especially valuable for an understanding of the defense of the "rail fence" by the New Hampshire troops.

The only available measurement ("Boston to Charlestown about 550 yards") would indicate a Prescott breast-work north of the actual redoubt as having a length of about 240 feet, while Page made it about 275 feet; substantially an agreement. Yet Swett did not seem to see that he was making it about 750. Dearborn, Dr. Dexter and Deacon Miller thought DeBerniere's rail fence was "further in advance towards



Breed's hill", that is, nearly in line with the breast work (Analectic Mag. March, 1818). Prescott to Adams, two months after the event and unable to verify his impressions, (the British being in possession of the ground) gave the fence of "the party of Hampshire" as "three score rods" back of such a line. Surely 60 rods (990 feet) is a very improbable distance. Caleb Stark (1831, when his father, the Major, was alive to correct him) made it as much too little "40 yards in rear of the redoubt".

As it is necessary to compromise with descriptions, the fence Stark defended seems to have been between 350 and 400 feet back of the end of the earth-work that extended northerly from the redoubt. As the ground is said to have sloped very slightly at that point there would have been but little advantage to Col. Stark in his selection of higher ground. Something would have been risked in attempting to fill a much longer "gap".

## AFTER BUNKER HILL

An express messenger from Cambridge riding hard found Josiah Bartlett at his home in Kingston, N.H. He wrote on the morning of the 18th to Folsom at Exeter to notify the rest of the Committee of Safety of the battle and Folsom's note on the back of Bartlett's letter shows he sent word immediately to Dr. Thompson, Capt. Whipple, Gen. Moulton and Col. McDuffie. He also ordered Captains Elkins, Rowe, Clough, Adams, Tilton, Gilman, Wentworth, Titcomb and Norris and Major Cilley to "march their men without loss of time to Cambridge and join the army".

Everywhere there was apprehension that the British, successful in routing the impudent provincials would move out of Boston in force and destroy the rebels. An aggressive and prompt commander would have attempted this but neither quality was to be found in Gen. Gage, as the leaders of the Colonial forces slowly realized. The formidable intrenchments, Putnam at Prospect Hill, Stark and Reed at Winter Hill were particular deterrents as the fighting qualities of raw militia gained respect.

## COL. JOHN STARK IN HIS CAMP

One of the busiest, but most collected and resourceful men in the whole feverish and excited area was Col. John Stark. He met the loss of his counsellor and aid, Major McClary, by the temporary assignment to the post, of Capt. John Moore of the Derryfield Company, that had so bravely stopped the British on the beach of the Mystic. Stark's experience after battles stood him in good stead in making decisions. There were a thousand details; burial of the dead where possible, hospitalization of the injured, attention to damaged arms and to missing accoutrement, obtaining powder and ball for a possible resumption of fighting. Stark doubtless saw to it that a messenger to his wife and family would quickly advise them of his own safety and that of the boy, Caleb. Not many days, however, elapsed before Stark was made to feel that he had to take orders as well as to give them. General

Folsom got on the ground and issued this;

"Medford, June 22nd, 1175

Col. Stark;     You are hereby ordered to draft 70 good effective men with proper officers from your regiment to labor on Winter Hill to-morrow. See that they are properly equipped with tools, arms and provisions for 24 hours. Col. McDuffie is appointed Commanding Officer for the day.

Nathaniel Folsom, Gen'l!"

On the 21st, a consignment was sent to Cambridge (Committee's Journal, 7) by Nathaniel Gordon, of 3200 flints, 5 bags of bullets, 30 tents, 10 barrels of powder, 25 tin buckets, six oxen and some blankets "to be issued to our forces in the same manner as the stores of the same kind are delivered to the Massachusetts forces". On the 22nd, Folsom reported to his Committee (State Papers VIII, 527);

"Arrived Tuesday morning, waited on Capt. General; yesterday taken up in providing barracks for the companys (sic) just come in; inclose you an account of loss sustained by Col. Reed's regiment...Col. Stark was requested to make a like Return of his regiment but he has not done it. He tells me he had 15 men killed and 45 wounded....Necessary that our troops have their tents as soon as possible. They have no shelter from the rain on Winter Hill." &c.

On the 19th of June, Stark had made his official report of the battle to the President of the Provincial Council of New Hampshire. The detailed report of the Regiment would be made to General Ward and so might have been too early to pass through Gen. Folsom's hands. But there was doubtless a brittleness of contact between the two and a certain "rubbing it in" process that stirred all the opposition Stark felt toward Folsom. It got Stark nowhere at the time and remained until John Sullivan arrived in the camp, a Continental General, abruptly superseding Folsom, of the militia. Stark worked with Sullivan, impulsive as he was, for he didn't mean things the way Folsom did. It was not long before Sullivan too felt the going hard and bitterly complained of Folsom and the way he exercised his authority, and things were eased up.



## FOLSOM TRIES TO OUST STARK

By the 23rd of June matters had gone from bad to worse. Folsom indicted a long letter to the Committee at Exeter, plainly suggesting that Wyman be made Colonel of Stark's regiment. It was a letter from a baffled man trying to get rid of an obstinate one. Later Gen. Lincoln gave as one-sided a picture of Stark as Folsom did, attributing to him intentions that Stark never had. As to a Return, Folsom charged that "Col. Stark repeatedly and at last absolutely refused to comply". Folsom visited Gen. Ward who counselled conferring with the New Hampshire Committee "as Col. Stark has received no commission yet from you he thinks he does not properly come under his cognizance". Of Stark's side of what followed there is no record;

"In my last conversation with Mr. Stark he told me he could take his Pack and return home (and meant as I suppose to Lead his men with him). I represented to him the dishonorable part he would thereby act towards both Colonies. I have since made Enquiry and find he would not be able to Lead off many more than the supernumerors of his Regiment, it still consisting of 13 companys. I think a Regiment might be formed of the men who have been under his command without his being appointed to the command of'em. I must do the Justice to Lt. Col. Wyman to say he has behaved prudently, Courageously and very much like a Gentleman and I think I could recommend him to the command as soon as any Person I know."

(State Papers, VII,528-9)

The remainder of the letter dealt with more routine matters. On the following day Folsom wrote for heavy artillery for the embrazures in the Winter Hill entrenchments, Gen. Ward having none to offer.

## FOLSOM AND STARK MAKE UP

Forty-eight hours after Folsom clashed with Stark the former was anxious to have the Committee of Safety (acting until the 27th of June, the end of the adjournment of the Provincial congress) "pass over said letter.....unnoticed".

"Gentlemen - In my letter of the 23rd instant, I informed you that Col. Stark refused subordination to my orders. But yesterday he made such submission as induces me to desire you to pass over said Letter, so far as it relates to him, unnoticed. He has three supernumerary Companies

one of which very lately joined his regiment. Pray  
your orders with respect to them.....

(State Papers VII. 530)

The tantalizingly interesting peaceable interview of the two men has no further evidence. By the 27th, all was sweetness and light to Folsom who addressed his Committee;

"Since my arrival here the harmony & willing obedience of the New Hampshire troops gives me the most sensible Pleasure. I have got them into tolerable regulation & shall as far as in me lies, use my utmost exertions to get them into the greatest good order & discipline."

Folsom was anxious to have smooth going with the Committee, composed for the most part of his friends, but he was, apparently more anxious to stand approved by the Provincial congress which, representing the people of the entire colony, was to convene in session on the 27th. of June, and his letter, part of which dealt with men for artillery, would reach Exeter shortly afterward. The Journal of the House shows five Votes, none of which mentioned Stark. On the 29th. "Met according to adjournment. The Congress heard Col. Stark's complaint & dismissed the same" (Editor's Note: "The Editor has found no complaint of Col. Stark on record or on file, besides what is implied and included in the letters of Gen. Folsom," (State Papers, VII.537) Stark had apparently made his "complaint" on the 25th, as Matthew Thornton, Committee Chairman, wrote Folsom on the 26th "concerning Col. Stark, the Congress will meet tomorrow and shall lay it before them." On July 1st. the Committee (the house being still in session) wrote Folsom (Copy in State Papers, VII. 556) a letter ending with the unusual subscription "We are your Friends & Hum<sup>bl</sup> Serv<sup>ts</sup>, By order of the Committee."

"It gives us great Pleasure to find by yours of ye 26 last month that a reconciliation had taken place between you and Col. Stark. We doubt not you'll use your utmost endeavors to keep up a good Harmony among the Troops in order thereto. We agree with you that a due subordination must be observed. Major Hobart, who is appointed Paymaster will have Commissions for Stark's and Reed's regiments & is to consult you on filling up the vacancies".....(balance of letter, subject; artillery)

## SULLIVAN SUCCEEDS FOLSOM

It was this, in effect, though Folsom continued as the militia Major General he had become in New Hampshire and in command of that arm. Whether he had advance knowledge of what was taking place in Congress at Philadelphia cannot be told but it was at the same time (June 22nd) that he and Stark were having it out that the halls of legislation had suddenly become tame for John Sullivan, Delegate from New Hampshire, and he wanted to get into the fighting. It was no great strain for his fellow delegates to appoint Sullivan a Brigadier General, despite the fact that he had never been in even a skirmish and had not been a senior officer in a militia regiment. The action could not have been actuated by any "Gordian knot" cutting, Folsom, vis-a-vis Stark, for that sudden difficulty flared up and was over before Congress could get word. Though Stark was one of the undoubted heroes of Bunker Hill and had a long record of efficiency in the French and Indian war and was entitled to promotion, the action of Congress, when it was pointed out that New Hampshire should have a general officer, was immediate.

## SULLIVAN AND STARK

From October, 1774, when the meetings of delegates began at Philadelphia, the volatile, impressionable country lawyer from Durham, N.H. mingled on terms of equality with the greatest minds of the new world. Fiery but agreeable Sullivan began to know intimately Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, the Rutledges, Dickinson, Mifflin, Biddle, Jay, Duane, Livingston, Sherman, Deane and the Adams' from Massachusetts.

He had better have stuck to legislation and affairs for he had great natural ability. Washington's rarely exhibited sense of humor found its mark in his characterization of Sullivan as having "a little tincture of vanity"; albeit an understatement. His complete lack of technical training was quickly made up and Sullivan soon had a penchant for reviewing troops, showing off, hobnobbing with Washington and with those of his own rank. As will be seen the injustice done John Stark was never undone. He was doomed to trail Sullivan and a dozen others almost at once and eventually scores of Brigadiers and Major generals. Sullivan was destined to have failures and no successes that he could call his own. He was an expensive liability to American Independence in the field, as he had been one of its first and best assets in council. Washington's eliminations were slow and costly; he had to use the Major Generals given to him. The inhibitions did not seem to be particularly irksome for some of the near marplots like Stirling, Sullivan, LaFayette, Schuyler, Putnam and Heath, were personally agreeable to him.



## THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ARRIVES

On June 23rd, Washington left Philadelphia with Lee and Schuyler, dropping off the latter at New York to go to his home at Albany, to command the northern field. July 1st Gen. Washington met with the Massachusetts Bay Provincial Congress at Watertown and there was a local meeting of the general officers, as the troops were not withdrawn from their exposed posts of the cordon about Boston, there having been more than one false alarm. When Washington first met John Stark is not of record but, as Sullivan was not on his way until just before July 3rd (Langdon's letter to Thornton, State Papers VII.558) the regiments of Stark, Reed and Poor would be reviewed with Folsom in command, if he was about, and Stark, lean, keen-eyed, whom nobody could face down, headed his 700 men from New Hampshire. He would eagerly and proudly salute and be greeted by the chief he was to serve faithfully during a gruelling war for nearly eight years.

Within 14 days after his arrival Washington's measure was taken by Abigail, the wife of John Adams. She wrote her husband what he looked like;

"The half was not told. Dignity with ease and complacency, the gentleman and the soldier look agreeably blended in him."

John Langdon, now sole Delegate from his colony, wrote Thornton at Exeter that he was "sorry to be alone in so great and important business as that of representing a whole colony", promising every service his poor abilities would admit of. Of all his distinguished services his greatest came with dramatic suddenness when he stood as Speaker and before the members of the House, in Exeter, pledged his fortune when his distraught country reeled from the news of Burgoyne's advance.

## IN THE CAMPS ABOUT BOSTON

Sullivan, late in June, settled at Medford, commanding the New Hampshire brigade of three regiments, wrote July 19th direct to the Committee of Safety, not to Folsom, for bayonets, for chaplains, guns, blankets and stuff to make hammocks and cots of. He cited that the men had to "attend prayers with the Rhode Island regiment, and few of them can hear a word that is said"; it being "essentially necessary in an Army to keep up Divine worship". The men were drinking spruce beer supplied by Sutler, Samuel Blodgett of Derryfield, 89 barrels at 5 shillings. He supplied molasses, 559 gallons at four-pence per gallon, showing that the sea route was still open from the South, in spite of the British fleet.

Summer was passing without much of incident, the British being watched for major activities which did not come. On August 4th, Washington wrote for powder saying, "the smallest Quantities are not beneath Notice" and "leads and flints are also very scarce". The following day Sullivan wrote "a profound secret" when Washington had found there was not "powder enough in the whole army to furnish a pound a man". He added "The General was so struck he did not utter a word for half an hour". At this period the soldiers were not allowed to fire their guns and even Pennsylvania and Virginia troops with their rifles, recently arrived, had to forego sniping at the British at long range. The orderly books of the period show that drilling of troops was not uniform though for a while Sullivan had drills twice a day. There were frequent leaves of absence, though only granted by a General or a Colonel. The hum drum of camp life was deadly to the restive recruits whose patience with the slowly tightening siege of Boston was being worn thin. On the night of the 26th of August, however, Washington moved up closer, seizing Ploughed Hill overlooking Mystic river, Sullivan being in charge, 1200 men throwing up an intrenchment. Four men were killed, two of them in trying to stop spent cannon balls! After this Sullivan got leave to go to Portsmouth to prepare defences in the harbor. Josiah Bartlett went to Philadelphia as associate of John Langdon. In New Hampshire all men between 16 and 50 were ordered formed into regiments, Folsom in charge, prominent men being named as Colonels.

#### WASHINGTON'S OPINION (PRIVATE) OF HIS SOLDIERS

An an observant patrician, expensively clothed, a stickler for dress, accustomed to well groomed body and house servants, Washington was in the first large camp since Braddock's day. He wrote on Aug. 20th, 1776, to his plantation manager and distant cousin, Lund Washington;

"The People of this Government have obtained a character which they by no means deserved; their officers generally are the most indifferent kind of People I ever saw.....I dare say the men would fight very well (if properly Officered) although they are an exceedingly dirty and nasty people."

By Nov. 28th their morals were no better than their habits, for Washington wrote then to his former military Secretary, Joseph Reed of Philadelphia;

"Such a dearth of public spirit and want of virtue, such stock-jobbing and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantage of one kind or another, in this great change of military arrangement, I never saw before and pray

God I may never be witness to again....Such a dirty mercenary spirit pervades the whole that I should not be surprised at any disaster that may happen."

It is true that the Orderly books show constant infractions, insolence, insubordination, thievery, and the respective punishments carried out. There was but little speculation. With all his vexations Washington was slowly getting his rough, uncouth and unstable elements into a dependable organization. French commented on the easy going free-spoken proclivities of the Yankees, who wandered about in the camps and resisted many of the attempts to transform them into effective soldiers.

### THE ARNOLD EXPEDITION

Washington getting restive and anxious to take some action finally espoused the plan which Benedict Arnold proposed, perhaps at the suggestion of Col. Jonathan Brewer, that old associate of Stark's in the Rangers, an expedition to capture Quebec, starting up the Kennebec, through the wilderness of the District of Maine and from thence to descend the Chaudiere into Canada. The famous exploit, now made more famous than ever by Kenneth Roberts, started through enlistments out of various regiments, Stark losing Capt. Henry Dearborn and a number of New Hampshire men, their wages being paid by the Colony (Com. Safety, records, Sept. 16 and 26.p348). "One of the great marches of history" French called it, Dearborn's Journal enabling us to follow it in detail. One day Dearborn's dog was sacrificed in the demands for food. Six thrilling chapters of "Our Struggle" by Prof. Justin Smith, tell the historically amplified story, ending with Montgomery's death.

The New Hampshire leaders were keeping in close touch with affairs, a Committee of three, Thornton, Bartlett and Dr. Thompson, being for nearly a week "conferring with General Washington" and they presumably looked into the Medford-Winter Hill camps.

### WASHINGTON SET BACK IN COUNCIL

Irked by the burden of maintaining the army during the fall and winter Washington at a council (September 11,1775) urged the importance of doing something. The opinions of the generals were unanimously against him; "It is not expedient to make the attempt at present". Arnold's expedition was leaving Cambridge and was to reach the Fort (at Augusta) on the 25th. October passed with its grist of news; Fal-mouth (Portland) burned by the British, Gen. Gage sailing for home, Howe in command, Chambly on the Richelieu surrendered to the Provincials and 124 barrels of powder secured; 1800 barrels of flour for the British troops captured from the Prince George, out of Bristol for Boston; small pox rife in Boston, New Hampshire issuing paper money,



Hobart authorized to sign bills for 20,000 pounds "Lawful money", and Arnold reaching the Canadian border.

### THE SMALL NEW HAMPSHIRE REGIMENTS

Stark was now cut down to ten companies but they totalled only 229 "men who are willing to continue in the service of the United Colonies during the winter". In detail they were, Geo. Reid, 27, Daniel Moor, 40, Gordon Hutchins, 30, Elisha Woodbury, 37, Thomas McLaughlin, 32, John Hale, 13, Samuel Richards, 7, Aaron Kinsman, 18, Joshua Abbott, 25, Henry Dearborn 32. On October 14th Sullivan reported to Washington that he had "reviewed the Palefaced Corps in my Brigade". He gave a list of those totally unfit for duty; Stark 5, Reed, 5, Poor, 22, Nixon, 6, Doolittle, 7, and the late Col. Mansfield 15. Washington thought it alarming, noted discrepancies, Poor having but 277 men whereas his weekly returns indicated 511 "Inlisted". The army "ought to amount to about 10,500 men but the returns showed only 8212 "and but 5882..... were fit for duty". He asked Sullivan to take a ride to headquarters "and see if they can be accounted for", closing with; "If you were to come to Dinner, I should be glad of your company". It was the day before Martha Washington arrived for her long visit, but probably that could not have been anticipated with exactness. From October on, Sullivan was one of the busiest generals in the army both in active military matters, like the defence of Portsmouth, and in his letter writing. In both lines he was in his element.

In November, after a 45 day siege, St. Johns on the Richelieu surrendered, John Andre, future Major, among the captured. The great news of the fall of Montreal on Nov. 13, 1775, did not arrive at Cambridge for some time, in the midst of Washington's discouraging experience with the Connecticut troops. On Dec. 2nd, half of Gen. Putnam's regiment was under guard, other regiments unwilling to re-enlist, Sullivan writing of their "eternal infamy" as some marched off home five days before their terms expired. He was active in filling the gap when New Hampshire was asked for 31 companies of 64 men each. Some 2000 recruits were enlisted by New Hampshire (a large order for a small colony) and 3000 by Massachusetts. Knox had departed for Ticonderoga by way of New York and Albany, to bring back, on the frozen ground, heavy cannon. It was a secret trip but Stark probably knew of it and all rejoiced when the means for ending the long siege were successfully drawn across the Berkshires, to Springfield and to Framingham. At this period Gates, aiding Washington, was bringing the army organization into more workable form, the regiments being re-numbered, Stark's taking precedence over Brewer's.

Whether John Stark went home against the arrival of his ninth child, whom they named Charles, is not seen but on January 1st, 1776, this entry is found in Patten;

"I set out with a slay to go to the army and Bob went with me to tarry a year and we lodged at Harwood's. We arrived at Woburn and lodged at Esquire Fowles. We arrived at the camp and went and viewed the encampment at Cambridge and Prospect Hill and I lodged at Col. Stark's barracks and in his bed."

#### ROBERT ROGERS

They probably had something to say to each other about a man both knew full well, Robert Rogers, who turned up in middle December at Medford, addressing Gen. Sullivan, Dec. 17th in a smooth request for an interview, assuring the general that reports about himself were false. On the same day Sullivan granted it "and strictly examined him", Rogers having been in town long enough for Washington to have heard of it and to suggest an investigation of the suspicion that Rogers had been visiting important places and had violated the parole Congress granted him. Rogers claimed to Sullivan that he had left New York October 10th, ill with fever and ague (and perhaps something else) going to Albany, to Stone Abba (Stone Arabia), Hoosuck, Stanford, Draper, Hinsdale. He visited his brother in Kent and from thence went to Westminster and then to Hanover, seeing Mr. Wheelock. He got to his farm in Pennycook, then to Newbury and finally ended up at Portsmouth, tarrying in each place for some days, he indicated but denied that he had gone into Canada. Washington, convinced that Rogers had been up to no good, ordered his exclusion from the camp. As is well known, it was not long before he was in the pay of the British, and perhaps had been for some time. No reflection of Rogers' visit to Col. Stark, while free in Medford, is found in Sullivan's report to Washington.

#### ROGERS' ATTEMPT TO ALIENATE JOHN STARK

It is found only in the "Memoir" of Caleb Stark (1860), supplementing the Memoir of his father, the General. The singular error in timing (p346) by the author (Major Caleb's son Caleb) included a yarn about falling in with Rogers on the journey from Dunbarton to join the army of volunteers the day after Lenxington and Concord, Rogers "in the undress uniform of a British officer" disclosing himself to the boy as his father's old friend, the two then travelling side by side, Rogers paying all charges, en route. The unlikely story must be discredited. Any-way it was not until the close of the year that Rogers showed up in the American camps about Medford. A foot-note, the substance of which must have been given by Major Caleb to his son, thus giving it veritability, is;

"\*We have reason to suppose that the object of Major Rogers' visit to America in 1775 was to sound public opinion and ascertain the relative strength of the opposing parties, to enable him, in the choice of service, to make the best personal arrangement which circumstances would permit. At this interview, as we have been informed, Col. Stark assured him that no proffers of rank or wealth could induce him to abandon the cause of his oppressed country. 'I have', he said, 'taken up arms in her defence and, God willing, I will never lay them down until she has become a free and independent nation'. The veteran lived nearly forty years after this object of his most fervent wishes and laborious toils in the field of honor had been accomplished."

Disregarding the language for more laconic terms, the interview, probably secret, was far more dramatic and important, than as represented, a lot more ground being covered by both Rogers and Stark, though with the same result. Stark was incorruptible. Signs could not have been wanting of debasement, debauchery and cupidity in the man whom Stark faced. It was the last time the two were to meet. The intimacies of their long association in deeds of stealth and of valor were over and Rogers was to go the whole length of that downward path to ruin and disgrace and a drunkard's grave, unmarked, in London.

#### STARK'S AMAZING INDISCRETION

Hobart, Walker and Blanchard, Paymasters, were ordered to go to the camps and give the soldiers their money, if the rolls proved to be satisfactory. The wages of all three regiments, Stark's, Poor's and Reed's, were badly in arrears and, though the year was closing, the sums were to be figured only up to the 4th of August. The men were in distress and they were angry. Hobart's plausible recital (Medford, Jan. 1, 1776), too long to be given in full, was concealed among the private papers of Meschech Weare for more than 160 years. It is now with the "Weare Papers", N. H. Hist. Society. Hobart reported to Exeter that he was quietly at work in his office when a group of "30 or 40 men" with fife and drum took him to Col. Stark's headquarters, between four soldiers with fixed bayonets. After talk, during which Stark, injudiciously, paid his respects to some or all of the authorities at Exeter, Stark and Hobart resorted to General Sullivan's office. Stark, on finding that Hobart would not pay his men, should have referred the matter to the General in command, instead of taking his own summary action. Sullivan, (wrote Hobart) "promised me protection and "would confine Col. Stark and all of his regiment if a proper complaint was exhibited". Afterward Hobart claimed



that certain money he was forced to leave on his desk, about 260 pounds, was missing. On Jan. 4th Matthew Thornton, President, wrote Gen. Washington of ill-treatment "by a part of Col. Stark's regiment" and that "the Honour of the Colony (was) highly reflected upon." An "immediate inquiry" was asked, a copy of Hobart's letter being enclosed. Thornton asked "that the persons who may be found culpable, receive the Punishment their ill behavoiur may merit, that this Colony may not sustain so great a loss of money & those illiberal Reflections be wiped out by suitable acknowledgements."

With an evident desire to let the matter cool off, it was not until the 11th that Washington's Secretary, Stephen Moylan, assured Thornton of a "just and fair inquiry", the matter having been referred to Gen. Sullivan. Not until the 17th could Sullivan act. Stark having "gone into the country recruiting". He would confine Stark immediately, he told Hobart, "but he chose to omit it." A Court of Inquiry, Greene President, reported on Feb. 6th.

"By the evidence given in it appears that Col. Hobart's complaints were well founded. All further proceedings are suspended, Col. Stark having made such acknowledgements to the injured parties, as will, in all probability, be accepted as satisfactory."

On the back of a "rough draft", without date or signature, are the words "Stark's confession", everything being in Sullivan's hand. He had doubtlessly penned the paper for Stark, sending the original to the Board of Inquiry, Moylan sending it to President Thornton on Feb. 7th saying that "His Excellency wishes that this may prove satisfactory to your Honourable Congress as the Colonel is a good officer and does his duty." A Court martial was offered, if desired, "tho as I before mentioned, it would give his Excellency great satisfaction that it was made up in an amicable manner." The real merits of the case, the possible justification of the complaints of the soldiers are not disclosed anywhere and Stark took all the blame, disciplining nobody. He wrote;

"Whereas on the 30th day of December last some persons belonging to my regiment without order or warrant from me for so doing proceeded under arms from their barracks on Winter Hill to the lodging of Samuel Hobart, Esq. at Medford & there assaulted & took him prisoner & brought him to my encampment at Winter Hill and I being at that time much perplexed with business & not knowing the many aggravated circumstances attending said assault & not considering at that time the dangerous tendency of such an insult offered to him while in the execution of his office as paymaster of the troops from the Colony of New Hampshire

neglected to confine and punish those offenders but being before wearied by their complaints for want of pay and much perplexed with other business hastily and inconsiderately threw out some warm & illiberal reflections upon some of the members of the Congress in that Colony for which I am sincerely sorry and heartily ask their forgiveness and beg leave to assure them that those reflections proceeded only from heat & passion & not from any settled design to slander or defame them."

Some men in the little capital wished to keep the matter alive but nothing seems to have been done with the resolution of Wilson of Chester, dated March 14th except to appoint a committee, Mr. Lovewell, Capt. Moulton, David Gilman and John Dudley, although Wilson's may have been a friendly gesture toward Stark, his side of the case, as so often happened, remaining undisclosed. His detractors could justifiably point for years to come, to Stark's recalcitrancy. It undoubtedly hurt his prospects. Having risked his life and those of his men at Bunker Hill, he may not really have cared, nettled as he was at his treatment all along the line, especially at not receiving promotion.

It is fair to assume that had not Major Caleb Stark believed it, the following would not have been included in "Anecdotes of General Stark" in 1831, although, late in life, Major Dow was noted for his tall stories of the Revolutionary War; (Hist. Hampton Falls, Browne, 1900, p.585).

"The late Major Dow of Hampton Falls related the following anecdote of General Stark. When he was quartered at Winter Hill as Col. of the first New Hampshire regiment, A Col. Hubbard was sent from Exeter as Paymaster for the New Hampshire line. He was one of the Exeter Junto and disposed to make as much difficulty as possible; but being a man of plausible address, he succeeded in obtaining from the then ruling authorities, this important appointment. He had some personal hostility to Col. Stark and took this occasion to manifest it, and with a view to cause a mutiny in the regiment. The troops were marched by companies down to Medford, where he had taken his quarters to receive their pay. This he refused them on the plea that the pay-rolls were not properly made out. The men returned in a great rage and the next day with new pay rolls, waited upon Hubbard once more. The same difficulty still existed. The third day the same was repeated; and the soldiers returned almost in a state of mutiny to camp. They then beset the Colonel's quarters

calling loudly for their pay. Col. Stark was provoked, said that 'Hubbard was a poltroon and as he made him three visits, it was but fair to exact one in return'. Upon this Sergeant Abbott went down to Medford with a party of the soldiers (volunteers) arrested Hubbard at his quarters, and brought him to camp, his music playing 'Rogue's March' all the way. Upon examination he could find no fault with the pay rolls, paid the men and was dismissed. Upon his return he pretended that his money had been stolen in his absence. It was the first emission of New Hampshire paper money. Information was immediately forwarded to the General Court at Exeter, who, as very little of the money had actually been put into circulation, voted to call it in by proclamation. Hubbard was then at Exeter. The following evening a stranger muffled in a cloak, came to the door-keeper, handed a bundle for the speaker and instantly disappeared. It was the money supposed to have been stolen from Hubbard at Medford. This put the credit of the latter upon so doubtful a foundation that he left the army. This affair subjected Col. Stark to a Court of Inquiry, which, after several sittings, reported that it was inexpedient to have any further consideration of the matter. The late Capt. Emery of Concord was a member of the Court."

Edward Everett (1794-1865) may have had means of making sure, or in 1834, in his short *Life of Stark*, he would not have said "The paymaster had fallen, meantime, under strong suspicion of being a defaulter and found it advisable to quit the army. The Court of Inquiry deemed it inexpedient to pursue the affair." The copyright copy of the 1831 book in the Library of Congress has a companion copy with pen-made corrections of some typographical errors and a few additions by Caleb Stark the author, made about the time of the 1860 "Memoir".

"The affair with regard to Hobart was settled by Colonel Stark signing a paper expressing his regrets for the occurrence. There the matter rested. I did not mention the matter in the Memoir out of respects for the feelings of Hobart's descendants should he have left any."

The History of Hollis, Hobart's home town, shows no service after the paymaster episode until 1779-80 when he was a member of the Committee of Safety.



## WILLIAM STARK

There was another and more immediate result. Did not the incident (Hobart) have a direct effect on the impending promotion of Stark's brother, "Col. William"? William (1724-1782) with a long and good record as a Captain in ROGERS RANGERS, had not embraced the patriot cause promptly, an indicated delay of some six months. Two regiments were being raised (December-January) when Sullivan wrote the General Assembly on Jan. 18, 1776, telling of the distressing news of the failure to capture Quebec and of the death there on the last night of the old year of Gen. Montgomery;

"Col. William Stark now happens to be in camps & says he can undoubtedly raise the men. He is well acquainted with the country and with the nature of such a march. I would therefore for the good of the service beg leave to Recommend him unless you have some other person more suitable in view. I have directed him to wait upon your Honours & receive your Commands."

A Committee was appointed and reported, (State Papers VIII.56);

"Capt. Moulton for the Committee recommended that Col. William Stark, Major Thomas Tash and Major David Copp be field officers of the new regiment raised for the Continental army at the lines or elsewhere except that if Gen. Sullivan had appointed officers for it, such should stand."

It was the very next day that a Committee was appointed on the Stark-Hobart affair. The House proceeded to give the Colonelcy to Timothy Bedel, who proved no prize, being Court-martialled later in the year, for his singular conduct at "The Cedars" on the St. Lawrence. William Stark may not have waited until the appointment was made to cast aspersions (which historians have not disagreed with) concerning the immediate male ancestry of Bedel. He went back to Dunbarton a sore, defeated and vindictive man and there on the 20th wrote Sullivan (Papers I.178-80) a letter whose illiteracy is only equalled by its incoherence. "No, it must be the son of Moll Bedel who Could not find a man in the country to lend him a Surname." "It is the land of my netivity shall I stay and Bare the Scorn Teamly or Shall I go and Seek Bread elsewhere is the great Question." Later in the year he sought it elsewhere and in New York was appointed by the British a Lt. Colonel. It has often been thought that had he been appointed at home, he might have remained loyal to the patriot cause.

The honor and prestige of a fine family began to suffer. Potter (1856); (but see also State Papers XVIII and Little, History of Weare, (1888);

"He had been a Captain in the Rangers in the Seven Years War, and had served with honor and distinction. After the close of that War he resided at Dunbarton, then more generally known as Starkstown. Upon the commencement of hostilities at Lexington he sided with the patriots, but did not offer his services immediately - while his son John took open ground against the patriot cause. This fact threw suspicion upon the father, perhaps unjustly. In the winter of 1776 he applied to the Committee of Safety for leave to raise a regiment with the rank of Colonel and had a strong letter from Gen. Sullivan recommending him for that service, which fact shows that he favored the patriot cause at that time. Soon after, however, circumstances transpired that forced him to leave his country. He was charged with altering a Massachusetts bill of Credit, from sixteen shillings to forty shillings and passing the same to Job Dow of Goffstown. He was examined on this charge and bound over to a higher Court in the sum of £100. At the September term of the Court at Amherst, he was indicted for the same offence but made default and his recognizance was forfeited. He had retired within the British lines in New York, where he soon received a commission as a Colonel in the British army. His son soon after was commissioned in the same service."

John Stinson of Dunbarton was brother of William Stark's wife, Mary. When judgment was entered at Amherst he went on the bond for his brother-in-law. The sum of £100 was added to the costs of prosecution (£ 34, sh. 17) and the same became charges against the estates of William Stark, when, later, they became legally forfeited. In a petition as late as Oct. 12, 1779, citizens of Weare, Pembroke, Goffstown and Dunbarton combined in reciting that "There are now resident in Dunbarton aforesaid, the wives and families of William Stark and John Stinson, who are gone over to the British army." Relief was asked because of the

"danger of receiving counterfeit money and every evil attending spies, Lurking Villains & cut throats & murderers".....because "Tories and suspected persons frequently resort to houses of said absentees and (hold) nightly and private meetings there."

A prominent citizen of Londonderry, Stephen Holland, was held to be the brains and chief instigator, whose wife, Jane, was reputed to be Stinson's sister, therefore related by marriage to William Stark. Holland was long able to keep up his pretence of loyalty. To add the climax; he

was able in 1782 from New York to help Gen. John Sullivan's brother, who had been captured by the British and when he died, paid his burial expenses, "a Debt of gratitude" that Sullivan honorably acknowledged. (Sullivan Papers, XII.351). Sullivan's repeated efforts to get Mrs. Holland a permit to return to the State were unsuccessful. Gen. Stark and others took active steps to prevent it. Notwithstanding that Sullivan was very hard up at the time, his corruption, if any was attempted, did not succeed, as did numerous similar schemes against others, some of them chronicled in "Secret History" by Carl VanDoren.

### WASHINGTON GIVES SULLIVAN SOMETHING TO DO

Waiting for harbors and rivers to freeze enough to bear soldiers, Washington ordered Sullivan's brigade to try crossing the Mystic. He was "forced to return home, ashamed" as he put it. Stark was probably in this abortive attempt, intended to be something important for the entire brigades of Greene and Putnam were mustered in reserve. It was Sullivan's first failure, a very mild one, hardly his fault. He had never been in an engagement yet was in command of 2496 men, regiments of Nixon, 444, Baldwin, 331, Stark, 404, and Poor, 553.

### CAMP DETERIORATION

The day before Washington found that Sullivan had moved into the spacious mansion of Isaac Royall, whose gracious daughters were protected there, Sullivan's protégé, Alexander Scammel, reported (Feb. 18, 1776) that card playing was being indulged in on guard as well as in barracks by officers and men, that many commissioned officers were dilatory about turning out to their alarm posts and on field days and that "they seemed to be lost to all sense of Ambition and Emulation" and also that many officers were absent from camp without leave, so much so that "at particular times scarcely a commissioned Officer in some Regiments", was to be found. Some soldiers were guilty of selling their own guns in order to draw others from the military store.

### WATCHFUL WASHINGTON MEDITATES A COUP

In January (1776) he proposed to his council of war that they approve an assault on Boston and in February he reported to the council that while Howe had only some 5000 troops, the Colonials had 8797 privates fit for duty, and with militia "if compleat", 7289 officers and men. For the third time the generals discountenanced a move. At last Rufus Peckham, an engineer, presented a new scheme, placing bundles of sticks bound together (facines) easily transported and set up, even on frozen ground quickly, to be fastened into a sort of breast-work by means of wooden frames, called chandeliers. On the night of the third



of March the plans for thus sheltering men and cannon on Dorchester Heights (South Boston) were complete, the operation was finished and Howe awoke to find what appeared to be a fort there. The men had succeeded in loosening the frozen top soil, strengthening their frail defences. It was a remarkable achievement, the reward of patient and careful planning. Howe saw that the opposing cannon would make Boston untenable, but he did not attack. Washington calmly awaited a bloodless victory and the preservation of America's second city. St. Patrick's Day, the 17th of March, was the brightest the commander-in-chief was to see in a long time. The British and such Tories as chose to go, were allowed to complete and follow through, the most memorable Evacuation of the war.

### WAS MOLLY STARK AT THE EMBARKATION?

There is doubtful authenticity for the story which Caleb Stark printed 85 years afterward, saying "the wife of General Stark often related this incident". (Memoir, 1860) Sullivan wrote to John Adams (Mass. Hist. Society, not in Sullivan Papers) on March 15; "We were to land with our boats on the north of Boston and carry the Town sword in hand. I was appointed to command the 1st. Division and General Greene, the Second.....The attack was to have been made with 4000 we not having boats to carry more". The plan, predicated on resistance or undue delay by the British, resulted in no crossing, the enemy being allowed to take ship, Washington watching that side, ready to act. The tacit arrangement was so compelling that Sullivan wrote his state authorities on the 14th. (three days before the British moved out) "I am now ordered to march for New York in a few days". Caleb Stark's recollection (in 1860) of what he had been told about his grandmother, was to the effect than when a "strong force was to enter Boston by way of Roxbury Neck.....a force under the command of Colonel Stark was directed to pass over on rafts and carry the battery on Copp's hill". About all that Molly (if watching from Winter Hill) could do would have been to ride into the country and Paul Revere the fact. That much of the tradition remains credible. But nothing happened. The story is not found anywhere else.

### A NOTABLE WALK BY STARK, REED, AND WILKINSON

Many years afterward General (then Captain) Wilkinson, wrote for his "Memoirs" the story of a tour made on the day after the British Evacuation of Boston. It began with a survey already related of the Bunker Hill battle area.

"Arrived at the ferry stairs we discovered a canoe on shore which we launched and embarking in it crossed Charles's river to Boston and on the presumption that the enemy had taken their departure we marched through the town by a long,narrow winding street to the fortifications on Roxbury neck which had been skillfully designed and well executed; here I first saw the little military engine called cal-trops or crow-feet, which the enemy had scattered over the street within his works. It appeared that the enemy had, very properly, forbid the inhabitants to leave their houses during the embarkation and from this cause or from their ignorance of his movements or the timidity produced by their long residence with him, and the fear of reproach from their countrymen, the houses of the inhabitants continued shut up and the town presented a frightful solitude in the bosom of a numerous population. After several fruitless applications of our canes to doors and windows we gained admittance into a house, where we were kindly treated by a well known whig, whose circumstances compelled him to abide with the enemy: I regret I should have forgotten his name. This day was the Sabbath and the most solemn I had seen; a death like silence pervaded an inhabited city and spectacles of waste and spoil struck the eye at almost every step."

#### FOLSOM MAKES SULLIVAN UNCOMFORTABLE

About this time General Sullivan's sense of his wrongs caused him to boil over in a letter directed to the New Hampshire General Assembly, first dealing with routine matters, a long missive admitting of only a few extracts; (Sullivan Papers, I.188-92);

"Gentlemen, I am extremely sorry to find that a gentleman pretending to so much Patriotism as Mr. Folsom does ever Striving to give me pain and uneasiness and this without the least provocation on my part - every day do I hear of his Insulting and Abusive Language such as he well knows he dare not use if I was present. Every step he takes is pregnant with Malice against me and I am Sorry to hear his Malicious endeavors have but too great weight on some other minds....what Relations have I promoted or what parts of my Family have I enriched....He who Basks in the Sunshine of Malice and Sleeps Securely in the Bed of Revenge.....I beg par-

don for the length of this Letter & that you will excuse any Expression which may proceed from a mind Conscious of having been basely Injured."

It is clear that Col. John Stark was not alone in having the fur rubbed the wrong way and that, at his most cantankerous, he could take lessons from General Sullivan.



## 1776, CANADA CAMPAIGN, TRENTON, PRINCETON.

In 1775 the correspondence of Col. John Stark was meager, in 1776 beggarly. The reconstruction of his life proved difficult.

Not till April 1st did Sullivan's Brigade get their marching orders, to Providence, and "if the enemy were not found at Rhode Island", to New York. When his camp was broken up at Medford almost the longest period in one place was ended by Col. John Stark. Metropolitan Boston was to see no more fighting. From now on Stark's fortunes were to take him far afield. Few details remain as to Stark's regiment, even in Kidder (1868) or in Sullivan papers (I) but the units were; Nixon, 444, Baldwin, 331, Reed, 444, Stark, 404, Poor, 553. With wood-cutters, armourers and smiths, the total force numbered 2496 men. Adjutant General Horatio Gates gave Stark his marching orders on March 16, 1776;

"Marching orders for Col. John Stark commanding the 5th & 25th regiments of foot.

You are forthwith to march with regiments under your command to Norwich in Connecticut according to the route indicated; and in case of extreme bad weather or unforeseen accidents you are obliged to halt a day or more, between this and Norwich you are to acquaint Brigadier General Heath, who is appointed to the command of the brigade, now under marching orders, and receive and follow his directions. You will immediately apply to Commissary General Trumbull and to Quarter-Master Col. Mifflin, for an order for carriages and provisions for your march to Norwich. Upon your arrival there Brig. Gen. Heath has his Excellencies, the commander-in-chief's directions for the farther disposition of the brigade. His excellency expects you to preserve good order and exact discipline upon your march, carefully preventing all pillage and marauding and every kind of insult or ill-usage to the inhabitants of the country. As the motions of the enemy and the advanced season of the year make it of the utmost consequence that not a moment should be lost, the general, depend-

ing on your zeal, experience and good conduct is satisfied that on your part, no vigilance will be wanting.  
Given at Headquarters this 16th day of March, 1776.

Horatio Gates, Adjutant General.

Route from Cambridge to Framingham, 20, Sutton, 18,  
Dudley, 20, Mort Lake, 19, Norwich, 20, in all 97.

Thomas Mifflin, Q.M. Gen'l."

Probably Stark arrived at New York about the time Bond's regiment did, namely April 6th. To retrieve the tragic failure of 1775 under Schuyler and Montgomery and others, it was planned to send many regiments at once to Canada. "Poor's, Patterson's, Greateon's and mine" Col. Wm. Bond of Watertown, wrote his family (N.E. H-G Reg. IV.1850) and they were to start by the 20th. He commented that his regiment was "sickly". Stark, Nixon, Webb and Reed joined in a letter to Sullivan, while at New York, complaining of inadequate provision for the support of field officers. "The wages added to the rations will not support us in decency". It was true the troops "could march with packs in common with private soldiers, we can lodge upon the ground in our blankets and furnish a table spread under the open canopy with meat, bread and butter". Bond's and three other regiments had been gone to Canada for five days. The siege of Boston had left no time for adequate provisions for officers or men and much equipment was lacking, yet the campaign must hurriedly open four hundred miles away.

Col. Baldwin's diary (Military Service Inst. XXXIX, 1906) shows very interesting items; April 18th he had lately supped "with Gen. Thompson, Gen. My Lord Stirling and others". On the 28th he "rode in a coach to Loudon's Ferry" (Cohoos) and then back to Albany with "Gen. Thompson, Col. Sinclair (St. Clair) and others". His engineering ability, despite lack of education, was to become very useful. May 19th his party arrived at Sorel on the St. Lawrence, he there recording;

"innoculated with the small pox with Cols. Bond and Alden, Majors Fuller and Loring, Rev. Mr. Burnham, Dr. Holbrook and Lt. Oldham, together in a mess, by Dr. McKenzie". But the 20th he "began to be sick" and on the 27th "the pox began to come out". On June 1st he "slept better. Pox this day began to fill. Nurse counted 40 on or about my face. Gen. Thomas died this day of small pox." Thomas died at Chambly. On June 2nd, "The pox turned this day" but on the 6th, "had a high fever last night, my body being covered with the pox and an extreme fire and itching made me uncomfortable."

Sullivan in Albany on his way to reinforce his senior, Gen. Thomas wrote Schuyler, who was somewhere up the line, that "All the regiments of his brigade" (he was adopting the second person) "Except Stark & Reed's Drew their pay at New York for the month of April." To Washington on May 16th he wrote (addressing his letter "May it please your Excellency" and with no other heading, a form which, apparently the chief did not discourage) telling of conditions as he found them. As to Albany; (Stark being confirmed and anticipated) he said

"Every kind of abuse is practis'd here that men long  
Versed in Villainy could devise." (Sull.Pap.I.204-5)

As a business man and in the quartermaster line, Gen. Schuyler, was exerting his ability, but getting as far north only to Ticonderoga, June 4th, from whence he retired to Albany by the 13th. Before he left that place Sullivan again wrote Washington;

"Much respected General - After a voyage of 4 days  
I arrived at this place where I found Stark's and Reed's  
regiments who had by order of Gen. Schuyler been de-  
tained here for boats, none of which were then in Readiness for the Troops.....Starks marches tomorrow Windt  
on Monday Irwin on Thursday (if he comes up).....  
The whole by the first of June may arrive at Quebeck.  
I shall send a return of my Brigade to-morrow."

Patten's diary shows that Stark was not yet with his regiment. May 12th, 1776, "Went with my bros. Samuel to see Col. John Stark who came from New York yesterday". The reasons for the trip home are obscure, a line in the Memoir (1860) making note that "he joined the army at St. Johns". This involved the long and toilsome journey to No. 4 and over the new road cut partly by himself under Amherst to Crown Point, there to take any of the boats going down the lake. The regiment encountered some delays for it was not until June 5th that Col. Hazen wrote to Gen. Sullivan "Stark's regiment will be here this day". Baldwin's diary noted on the 6th "Stark's regiment went to Sorel this day." Only four companies of Wayne's regiment went to Canada, where his headstrong temperament was of little help in acquiring experience and discretion. He and Irvine, as well as Arthur St. Clair were fledglings, commissioned January 3, 1776. St. Clair had served briefly in the old French war. The Pennsylvania regiments were healthy and well equipped but the ravages of small pox had much reduced the New England brigade.



## SULLIVAN'S FOLLY; THREE RIVERS

Happy in his first large exploit, naive, impetuous and withal maladroit, Sullivan, was suddenly, by the withdrawal of Wooster and the death of Thomas, in command. Wooster was "unfit, totally unfit to command your army" the Commissioners of Congress had declared, but when Thomas became ill, Wooster remained temporarily. Thomas had been a surgeon in the French war and for a time had served as a Colonel, in Canada. There had been a partly-formed plan to occupy Three Rivers, lying on the further side of the St. Lawrence, between Montreal and Quebec. Reports were conflicting but the latest, which the optimistic Sullivan did not verify was that "no more than 300 are intrenching themselves at the Three Rivers". From Sorel Sullivan wrote an early letter (June 5th) to Washington, covering many subjects, beginning;

"I have the pleasure to inform you that I arrived here at a very critical moment with my brigade. Gen. Thompson was left with but very few men to defend this Important post; the troops being scattered about in the most Shocking manner. I had issued orders for all the well men to follow me as upon the departure of Gen. Wooster & the death of Gen'l Thomas the command devolved upon me; having given those orders I proceeded with the troops I brought with me to join Gen. Thompson who was in the greatest distress as Gen. Carlton's Fleet had passed the Sorrell & was coming up the River with a fair wind as was Reported on all Quarters."

More pages of the letter were added on the 6th, including copy of the instructions to Gen. Thompson.

Sullivan was under no obligation to take the offensive in view of the many uncertainties, and suddenly being placed in command. The season was young. But there was a great chance for glory. He took account of the opinions of the officers and all but one failed to oppose him. "The Three Rivers expedition was poorly planned and poorly executed" (Headley). "Sullivan considered a triumph almost as good as won" (Justin Smith).

From 1500 to 2000 men were assembled, able bodied troops, under Gen. Thompson, who crossed the river too late to make the proposed night attack on Three Rivers. Due to the treachery of a local Canadian guide, picked up, most of the force was let into a great swamp, another made an attack on enemy breast-work and were repulsed. With surprise out of the question, with a fleet coming up, nothing but retreat was possible and a disorderly remnant was able to reach the camp at

Sorel, short some 236, with an unknown number dead. To occupy his time while the expedition was under way Gen. Sullivan wrote two long letters to Washington. The one begun on the 7th was held until the 8th and then until the 12th, when Sullivan made his acknowledgement of failure. At the start;

"It is a serious truth that our Army is extremely weak. Col. Greaton is with me without a single man all under Innoculation. Col. Bond with all his Regiment in the Same Situation. Col. Patterson has six only, Col. Stark about 40. Col. Reed's and Colonel Poor's nearly in the same Situation. Poor is at St. Johns, Reed at Chamblee. Col. Russell's return I sent in my last and the other regiments are most of them in the same situation, for this Colony has been of Late Considered as the General Hospital of America. The party with General Thompson and that with Colonel Dehaas Contains the flower of our army at present."

The second portion (on the 12th) told of the capture of "Gen. Thompson, Col. Irvine, Dr. McKenzie, Mr. Currie, Mr. Burd, Mr. Edy & Parson McColley" and that a flag had arrived "for their baggage" all being "treated with the greatest politeness by General Burgoyne, who Commands at Three Rivers" and declared;

"I am every Moment Inform'd of the Vast number of the Enemy which have arrived.....I have here only two thousand five hundred and thirty three Rank and File and most of the Officers seem discouraged & of course their men.....I am Employ'd day and night in fortifying and Securing my camp & am determined to hold it as Long as a person will Stick by me."

First mistaken in supposing that he must attack, then that he must remain in an exposed position in the face of a fleet of the enemy newly arrived with thousands of troops, historical comment on Sullivan has been uniform in concluding that Sullivan's unfitness was sufficiently demonstrated. But Washington was always indulgent to general officers personally agreeable to him.

## SOREL

The camp that Sullivan proposed to hold "as long as a person will Stick by me", was where the Richelieu contributed its mite to the full and endless volume of the St. Lawrence. The low ground on both sides of the small estuary was not capable of much defence as the soft earth-works would not stand up against the guns of the warships in the river. To the American army, far from its base in the South, the location was most vulnerable, not only because of distance but because the enemy could cut across from several places above on the river, at St. Ours or Montreal, and prevent a retreat up the Richelieu to Lake Champlain. Sullivan soon had to swallow his vain-glorious words, for Gen. Arnold had to vacate Montreal and the precariousness of his own position was told Sullivan in no uncertain terms.

## STARK'S POSITION

"He joined the army at St. Johns and advanced to the mouth of the Sorel. He opposed the expedition to Three Rivers as hazardous and imprudent and after delivering his opinion obeyed implicitly the orders of his commander.....This expedition was formed in the face of the enemy and on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence, or Lake St. Pietre, eight of ten miles broad, at the time the British had a formidable naval force on the river and the Americans none."

(Caleb Stark, 1831)

Everett's short life of Stark (1834) re-stated the foregoing, "Stark remonstrated in a council of war against this expedition, as one requiring for its success naval superiority upon the river and the concurrence of too many contingent circumstances".

## A FORTUNATE RETREAT

Though Sullivan was unwilling to withdraw, a council of war voted unanimously in favor of it. He then ordered the long and painful return. Two factors saved it from complete disaster, the lethargy of the British and the efficiency of the American field officers. Nothing was left behind, though no very great amount of stores had been taken up. Arnold wrote Sullivan from Chambly on May 13th that he had made a rapid trip to St. Johns where he found;

"Everything in the greatest confusion. No one stroke done to fortify the camp, the engineer a perfect Sott at that, and this place near three thousand sick."



He ordered prepared an enclosure for 6000 men and urged Sullivan to make a "safe retreat". Col. Edward Antill wrote that of the 1200 troops there very few were fit for duty and that water carriage must be provided "or the enemy may be at Crown Point before us". Col. Hazen was more emphatic;

"For God's sake order the necessary precaution to be immediately taken to secure your retreat, there is no time to Loose, as this not to be done in a moment."

Sullivan's luck was with him for the ships of Burgoyne became becalmed in the St. Lawrence, the anchors were dropped, and the opportunity of going up the river and cutting off the American retreat was lost and so Burgoyne missed one chance for fame and fortune. On June 17th, 1776, the anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill, Sullivan's troops reached Chamblee, burned it and left for St. Johns.

#### ST. JOHNS IN THE RICHELIEU

Of this period in the retreat Stark wrote in a "petition and remonstance" to Congress:

"In our retreat from Sorel, I brought up the rear to Crown Point, was left with a great part of the stores and about 30 men only to assist me, and the Regulars very often within five miles of us."

At St. Johns, a base of a sort, the boats had been left and they were immediately used to convey everything up the river. The Stark family tradition (Memoir, 1860) was;

"Not a boat or a piece of artillery was lost. The troops after setting fire to all the public buildings at St. Johns embarked in boats for the Isle aux Noix. Col. Stark with his staff was in the last boat that left the shore. They were in sight when the advanced guard of the enemy arrived amid the smoking ruins. On the 18th of June the army encamped upon the Isle aux Noix and before the enemy could prepare boats to pursue, they again embarked and safely landed at Crown Point."

Nine years before his death Major Caleb Stark prepared a form of affidavit at the request of the family of Moses Hazen (Lancaster, Oct. 25, 1829) seeking to recover for the loss Hazen sustained by the burning of his mansion at St. Johns, by orders of the American army. The paper,

among those found in dismantling the Stark home in Dunbarton in 1946, (now in archives of Dartmouth College Library) a curious survival, gives the exact facts, again bearing evidence of Major Caleb's regard for truth. Hazen told him that he himself set the house on fire "to deprive the enemy of advantage" a distinction without much difference. Caleb then stated that the house was new, of two stories and that;

"The roof had been entirely covered with lead but was ripped off by the American troops to make musket balls which they stood in great need of" and that he Caleb, "was in one of the last boats that left St. Johns in the latter end of June or the beginning of July, 1776. The late Gen. Moses Hazen was a passenger in the same boat. The houses and barracks in the Fort were then on fire."

Many years after the event Gen. Wilkinson in his "Memoirs" stated that he and Gen. Arnold were the last to leave St. Johns, an item of not much importance, considering the source. ("Tarnished Warrior" James Ripley Jacobs, 1938, Macmillan Co.) Caleb was but 17, though an Ensign in Capt. George Reid's Co. and had been performing the duties of a quartermaster on this expedition. On the death of small pox at Chimney Point (Crown Point) in July of the adjutant, Caleb was given the rank of Lieutenant, (Memoir, 1860 p.349).

#### NUT ISLAND IN THE RICHELIEU

As the enemy had few boats for a pursuit and making them would take too long the retreating army was safe for a while, but the small pox broke out again and "many died in scenes of horror" while "some officers calmly and deliberately drank themselves insensible"(Our Struggle, II.444). Stark's proportion was large, considering his reduced regiment. John Patten, 24, son of his old friend, the Squire, succumbed and, as Stark had had the disease he could and doubtless did compassionate the young soldier in his last moments and perhaps held one end of a filthy blanket when his body was carried to a trench where there was a "stinking mass to be covered daily lightly with earth" (Anthony Wayne, Harry Emerson Wildes, Harcourt, Brace & Co. 1941). It appears that those who escaped the small pox were laid low by the dysentery and so "the pestilence that walketh in darkness" was accompanied by the "destruction that wasteth at noonday". "From 20 to 40 are taken down in a day and we have nothing to give them but salt pork, flour and the poisonous water of this lake" (Sullivan to Washington, June 24th. Papers I.21).

He would "remove to Crown Point, Fortify that, Build Row Gallies to command the Lakes & by Scouting parties to defend our Frontiers." On July 2 Sullivan wrote to Schuyler from Crown Point that he had arrived "last night at eleven o'clock with the whole army except about 600 left to guard".

From the safety of the old Fort, Sullivan wrote President John Hancock explaining his defeat, asking instructions from Congress and hoping that "Timidity or want of Resolution should not be attributed to him". Congress, wise in this instance, attributed just the opposite to him, but without knowing that result, Sullivan eagerly pointed out something that was, in a general public sense, to gain for him some renown;

"It is seldom that an officer can Claim any merit from a Retreat & I am far from laying in a Claim of the kind yet it gives me some Satisfaction that with all our Disadvantages we Saved the whole of the public stores the Baggage of the army & Left not one of our sick behind us. This I hope will at least convince Congress that we did not retreat in hurry & Confusion."

### CONGRESS IS NOT DECEIVED

While waiting for the Three Rivers expedition to achieve its object Sullivan wrote a long letter to Washington, suggesting that, if he or Gen. Lee could not come to take command, "if any other officer is sent to take it That I may have Leave to Return,

as I am well convinced that the same disorder and confusion which has almost ruined our Army here would again take place and Compleat its Destruction which I should not wish to see."

He had probably heard that on May 16th Congress had made Gen. Gates a Major General (Brigadier as of June 22, 1775) thus taking rank after Lee, Schuyler and Putnam. For the guidance of Congress, which had for some time concerned itself with naming the commander of the Northern Army, Washington (before learning of the failure of the Three Rivers expedition) made as frank comments on Sullivan as he ever indulged in. Would he have credited Sullivan with "sound judgment" had he waited for the outcome at Three Rivers?

" New York, June 17, 1776.

Sir:- The enclosed came to my hands as a private letter from Gen. Sullivan. As a private letter I lay it before Congress. The tendency (for it requires no explanation) will account for the contrast between it and the letter of Gen. Arnold. That the former is aiming at the command in Canada is obvious; whether he merits it or not is a matter to be considered.....That he does not want abilities many members of Congress, as well as myself can testify, but he has his wants, and he has his



foibles. The latter are manifested in a little tincture of vanity and in an over-desire of being popular, which now and then leads him into some embarrassments. His wants are common to us all - the want of experience to move upon a large scale, for the limited and contracted knowledge which any of us have in military matters stands in very little stead, and is greatly over-balanced by sound judgment and some knowledge of men and books.....Whether Gen. Sullivan knew of the promotion of Gen. Gates [at the time of his writing] and that he had quitted the department he left him in when he marched his brigade from hence to Canada, I cannot undertake to say, nor can I determine whether his wish to be recalled would be changed by it if he did." (Amer. Archives, 4th Ser. VI. 937)

Congress on learning of the total failure of the St. Lawrence campaign acted with decision. Gen. Gates was ordered to take command. Sullivan received the news at Crown Point on July 5th. He reacted characteristically, writing his immediate superior, Gen. Schuyler, who was at the camp, how his honor required him to leave the service, &c. He was given permission to withdraw and report to Washington. (Sull.Pap. I.252) The day after his arrival at Crown Point, Sullivan had written Schuyler showing immediate executive ability in improving the situation;

"I am now Separating the Sick from the well and shall keep those that are Well constantly at work in fortifying this place as I Deem it of the utmost importance....  
...I am trying to saw as much as possible in the mill near here.....We have no oxen for hauling timber.....  
I am now sending to Otter Creek for About thirty thousand of boards.....The officers & Soldiers under my command Seem to think with me that this place must soon be fortified & never given up.....and defend this Key to their country at all hazards."

(Sull. Pap. I.271-4)

He wrote the same day, finding the time amidst his multifarious occupations, to John Hancock in a similar strain, outling his present efforts - the same letter praising himself in saving the stores and baggage on the retreat. Only 17 years had passed since the massive stone works of the engineers of Amherst were finished and a great defence base established for all time. Sullivan's departure was the signal for a handsome tribute signed by all the colonels, 27 officers. Sullivan's responsive heart was touched. But Schuyler and Gates on their arrival, supported by St.Clair, decided that the army must withdraw to Ticonderoga. All the Colonels,

to a man, felt emboldened to address Gen. Schuyler, the ranking officer, in writing ("July 19th, 1776, 9 P.M.") against the proposal. The judgment of the field officers was, however, completely disregarded. Schuyler courteously declined to review the decision but did not state the reasons for giving up Crown Point. The change was gradual. As late as Aug. 21st Lt. Col. Thomas Hartley wrote Sullivan that "no works" had been "thrown up until a few days ago" and that "while" the works were in ruins but they might have been repaired before this". "General Gates is reforming the army and is very successful."

The other side was taken by Washington, who wrote on hearing of the proposed withdrawal;

"The reasons assigned against it by field officers in their remonstrance co-incide greatly with my own ideas and with those of the other general officers I have had an opportunity of conversing with."

Gates countered in sarcastic frankness as to Washington's counsellors, bluntly defending the high command, (himself and Schuyler with St. Clair) declaring, as to Crown Point, "Time and the bad construction of those works.....The Ramparts are tumbled, the casements are fallen in, the Barracks burnt"&c. Washington had expressed his surprise to Congress. Seldom was there to be so marked a difference in opinion. Ailing Col. Bond wrote of the decision "It makes the officers very uneasy.....We have had eight generals to command the army since we came to Canada."

#### AT TICONDEROGA

The army was divided, a portion filling the old Fort. A large contingent, among the regiments that of John Stark, made a new camp on the east side of the lake. On a Sunday, July 28th, a courier arrived from Philadelphia with a copy of the Declaration of Independence, and the camp was named "Mount Independence" and a Feu-de-joie of 13 guns was fired (Digby's Journal, Baxter's notes, 208). Stark had his quarters in a house, "your old house" Cogan called it after the evacuation under St. Clair, probably on the southern edge of the new works.

#### CONGRESS MAKES PROMOTIONS

Reasons more political than military must have actuated Congress when, on Aug. 9th, 1776, only a month after it was necessary to supercede Sullivan, four new Major Generals were created. It was a New England affair, each state to have one, although Connecticut already had one in the person of General Israel Putnam. The highest rank was now given William Heath of Massachusetts Bay, Joseph

Spencer of Connecticut, Nathaniel Greene of Rhode Island and - John Sullivan of New Hampshire! It left New Hampshire without a Brigadier. The custom was getting rather well settled, that of letting the states name their preferences. Sullivan's strong "pull" with the leaders at home, as well as the long association he enjoyed with the Delegates in Congress, overcame whatever reluctance, if any was felt, as to promoting a man who had failed to exhibit sound military judgment.

### THE GROWTH OF STARK'S RESENTMENT

When Sullivan's promotion followed so soon after his threatened withdrawal, Stark had reason to hope that his services would be recognized by New Hampshire by being recommended for the vacant Brigadier grade. Perhaps Sullivan cared only for himself but he could easily have helped John Stark, had he wished to do so, in inducing his state authorities and its delegates in Congress to promote its senior colonel. Apparently he did nothing. On the same day he was himself promoted, Congress, perhaps as a consolation prize made James Reed a Brigadier General.

"Col. James Reed of Fitzwilliam, commander of the 3rd. regiment in the Continental service, became blind as the result of severe illness, contracted while in the line of duty at Fort George about the first of September, 1776, and was consequently obliged to retire from active service."

(Note by Editor Hammond, State Papers  
XIV. 480-1)

The vote of August 9th and the commission of Aug. 10th may have antedated Reed's blindness and even his illness, but not if Hammond's information was correct, "about the first of September." Explicable as a gesture of sympathy, the action of Congress would be understandable. No collateral data now being available, it may be safely presumed, interpreted in connection with the later promotion of Enoch Poor, also a junior to Stark, that New Hampshire was determined not to put Stark forward. It seems a singular and unexplainable thing that in promoting two colonels, neither of whom had ever been in action, over Stark, that wretched politics instead of justice prevailed. Its effect on the mind of Stark may easily be presumed from the Petition to Congress that he was led to prepare.

### STARK'S "REMONSTRANCE"

Too proud to submit in silence to unfair treatment he was too naive in believing that a written presentment of his record could avail him in the face of studied opposition. Congress allowed the document



to be read in open session and then referred it (on September 23rd 1776) to the Board. There it was pigeonholed. The Board of War, then a Committee of Congress members, ordered that it "lay over for further consideration". "Pure zeal for my country's cause" induced John Stark to stay in the army and do work assigned to him. Gen. Gates, however, made him head of a Brigade, as referred to in the petition, so that Stark had his merits recognized as senior Colonel.

To the Honorable the Continental Congress -  
 The petition and remonstrance of John Stark humbly sheweth  
 That your petitioner served for six years in the last war,  
 four years of which I served as Captain in the Ranging service  
 and received my commission from the Commander-in-Chief,  
 was allowed ten shillings sterling per day, was in every skirmish  
 and engagement that happened in the Northern Department & never  
 had a reprimand from a general officer during that time, although I  
 served with each of them that was in that department. When  
 Canada surrendered to the British troops I resigned my commission  
 & returned to my family, laid up my sword in hopes never to  
 have occasion to draw it again but when the unhappy dispute  
 between Great Britain & the Colonies happened I heard the  
 ministerial butchers had spilt the American blood at Lexington  
 I mustered a few of my neighbors and went to their relief at  
 Cambridge. I waited on the Commander-in-Chief, took out orders  
 to raise a regiment which I completed in five days & augmented  
 to eight hundred men, was stationed at Medford until the day of  
 Bunker Hill battle. Then I received orders to march my regiment  
 to Bunker Hill as the regular troops were landing to attack our  
 works. I was the first regiment that got to the lines although I  
 received my orders one hour later than the other troops & had  
 two miles further to go. I took my post on the left wing and  
 could have kept it if it was not for the right wing which gave  
 way & the left of the regulars almost surrounded me before I  
 retreated. The execution that was done in my department I refer  
 to General Burgoyne's letter for the proof of, & my conduct  
 afterwards I refer you to the Generals I served under in that  
 department & since I served in this department I have done my  
 duty to the satisfaction of the generals that commanded me. In  
 our retreat from Sorel I brought up the rear to Crown Point,  
 was left with a great part of the stores & about thirty men only  
 to assist me & the regulars very often within five miles of me.  
 The Commander-in-Chief in this department did me the honour  
 of giving me the command of a brigade which I regulated to the  
 satisfaction of my superior officers & those I

commanded. But as there are so many officers in the Continental army promoted before me that neither seniority or merit intitles them to and that never was in an army until they joined the Continental service & as I am not worthy of the trust reposed in me I hope the Honorable Congress will take it into consideration and either give me my rank in the army or give me leave to retire to my family for I assure the Honorable Congress I never entered the service for the sake of ease or gain but for pure zeal for my country's cause & by enquiring into my conduct the Honorable Congress will find that what I assert is true and the petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray

JOHN STARK "

As Gen. Reed had to retire, Gates and St. Clair were Stark's only actual superiors. Sympathy for Gen. Reed's misfortune would soon remove bitterness but the action of New Hampshire in failing to get promotion for him from Congress was to sustain resentment, no Brigadier representing the state in the army for a long period. In six months he was to taste wormwood and gall but would swallow none of it. Meanwhile some duties in the inactive camp would occupy his time. The idleness soon bred despicable social distinctions, and petty annoyances loomed large. Coteries were formed. Sickness also continued. The usual appetites and passions of army life found more expression than suited a severe Scot like Stark. Some occurrences, often rich, rare and racy may be found in Wilde's, Anthony Wayne, in Smith's, St. Clair and in Professor Samuel W. Patterson's, Horatio Gates (1942). The feud between Gen. Arnold and Col. Hazen resulted in a court martial. Col. Poor was named President and enhanced his reputation by his temperate words and his Report, which later, found its way to Congress after Gen. Gates cancelled the proceedings on September 2nd. New regiments came in, notably Wyman's from New Hampshire. A redoubt was built on the crest of Mt. Independence, altitude 300 feet above sea level (U.S. Survey, 1894). Batteries were installed to command the narrow strait. Squire Patten came to camp because his son "Bob" was ill. The Squire was a member of the Committee of Safety. He would post Stark as to what was really going on at Exeter. Arnold was permitted to construct a small fleet and on August 7th sailed down the lake as far as the "Isle aux Tetes", then violated his instructions by going down the broad lake. An engagement took place with a superior British squadron (Battle of Valcour, Oct. 11, 1776), defeated, Arnold escaped in a highly creditable manoeuvre. Lack of soap and sanitary measures brought an epidemic of the dreaded typhus fever in the camps. Wilkinson was struck down and "a coffin was prepared for my accommodation" but he recovered and was moved to Albany, "as soon as I could bear the motion of a wagon".

## NEWS OF REVERSES AT NEW YORK

Gen. John Sullivan, their late commander, and "Lord Stirling" had been captured during a luckless battle on Long Island, where Washington, caught napping, had poor leaders, Greene being taken ill and Putnam passed over for obvious reasons. Washington personally directed a masterly bit of extrication and in a single night withdrew the defeated American forces, during the usual lethargy following a success by an enemy. Patriotic America was dismayed, not having recovered from the disastrous Canada campaign. When further losses ensued the entire program of active warfare was altered. The retreat across "The Jerseys" soon entailed withdrawing some of the Northern army.

## FORCES OF SIR GUY CARLETON LEAVE

Having reached, to occupy, the deserted Crown Point base Carleton decided to explore the depth of water of the upper lake. A serio-comic sketch about Gates and Stark was written by Stickney in 1810. Carleton had rather more of a force than was understood by Gates at Ticonderoga. When he quietly evacuated, some 7000 regulars and 1000 Canadians and Indians removed a menace, that, in the hands of a Napoleon, might have produced a disaster.

"In the fall of '76 a small party of the British came up the lake before Ticonderoga to take soundings of the depth of the water. From the prospect of attack Gates summoned a council of war. There were no officers there who had been in actual service except Gates and Stark. Gates took Stark aside and the following dialogue ensued; (Gates) 'What do you think of it, John?' (Stark) 'I think if they come we must fight them.' (Gates) 'Psho, John, Tell me what your opinion is seriously.' (Stark) 'My opinion is this, that they will not fire a shot against this place this season, but whoever is here next must look out.'

They returned to the Council and Gates told what John had said; that there would not be a shot fired against them at that time. This being the first doubt suggested of an immediate attack it produced much surprise - many offered to lay bets of it - Stark gave his reasons that it was near the time of year when the Lake would be frozen, that their survey of the Lake could only be in preparation for another season, for they would never make an attack upon Ticonderoga at a time when, if successful, they



could not immediately pursue the advantages of their victory. This proved to be the case."

The enemy having retired, Stark, no man to hang around with little to do, asked for and received leave to go home. He left his regiment, (camped with those of Poor and Patterson on the Mt. Independence side) and was already at Derryfield by Nov. 5th. As of the next day the regimental strengths were; Reed, 251, Bedel, 325, Stark, 295, Poor, 407, Wingate 531, Wyman 498. (Amer. Archives III. 743) By the 15th Gates proposed discharging the militia having on the 9th thanked Cols. Ashley and Bellows of the Cheshire Co. (N. H.) regiments for their "marching upon the first alarm upwards of 150 miles to the support of this important pass." The New Hampshire Committee (Blanchard, Giles, Evans and Gilman) on the ground, for inspection and "constituting the regiments" of New Hampshire, made Cilley, Lt. Colonel and Geo. Reid, Major of Stark's regiment. Poor as Colonel of the 2nd Regiment was given Hale as Lt. Col. and Winborn Adams, as Major. Five captains were appointed in Stark's regiment and seven in Poores.

Gen. Gates made a generous and considerate proposal, (Northern Army Ord. Book, Munsell, Albany, 1859) which, however, could not be carried out.

"As these regiments have suffered by disease, defeat and fatigue, it would most certainly be for the immediate benefit of the service that Col. Long's regiment be ordered to march directly to this place and the three regiments commanded by Stark, Poor and Reed, march to Portsmouth, where they can not only be recruited but recovered and refreshed after the most unspeakable fatigues and distresses they have undergone."

#### NEW HAMPSHIRE'S CONTINENTAL TROOPS MOVE SOUTH

The deplorable campaign of 1776 in the north was over and word came to prepare to move south "to succor Gen. Washington should it become necessary" (Wilkinson, I.98). The regiments "on an average did not exceed 300 each fit for duty" such had been the ravages of disease, as Wilkinson put it. Gates ordered Porter, Reed, Bedel, Stark, Poor, Greateon and Patterson, (Schuyler having found it inexpedient to give a long furlough to the long suffering New Hampshire men) to join the main army. On Dec. 3rd Gates and Arnold "embarked" at Albany, Wilkinson joining them at Esopus (Kingston) "in very feeble health." St. Clair had preceded them.

## OVERNIGHT AT DERRYFIELD WITH THE STARKS

"I went to Col. John Stark and I settled with him for what cloath John had from him being 5:14: 4 1/2, He had 7:5:0 of John's wages in his hands and he paid me the balance being I:II:7 3/4 and he gave me ten pence one farthing over and I lodged there that night in a great snow storm" (Patten, Nov. 5)

In the well built house, now ten years old, that John Stark was always proud to show his friends and guests, there was good cheer that night as the elements raged outside. Squire Patten had no need to risk his life crossing the Merrimack in order to reach his own home. Upstairs an ample square bed room awaited him and by the time he took his candle and went to it the bed had been warmed by a pan of hot coals. John Stark's large family about the huge fire-place in the living room was there to listen to a returned soldier's stories of the dark days of the war, stories that told of life's bitter partings, as to the visitor there came to mind the pitiful death of John, his first born.

John Stark had much to tell Molly and his own children, of his trials and vexations and the heart-breaking ordeals, as tragic as any he had been subjected to in his stormy life. He had seen the last of some faces that Derryfield would never see again. As his short visit permitted, neighbors, anxious for a word as to kin lost, would hear from him the harrowing truth, misty eyed and with those half-breaths that come in the tremulous moments. Never had soldier returned with more fateful tales, not of glorious deaths in battle but of beds of loathsome disease, of the loneliness of the pestilence and of unrelieved suffering. Stoical and diffident as he seemed, the kindness of his heart gave him away, as friends would wring his hand and leave.

## TRENTON AND PRINCETON

To the rendezvous with the main army Gen. Gates had taken, by Washington's orders, the back road, away from the hazards of the Hudson. It led from Esopus to Minisink by way of Goshen. From "Van Kempt's" (15 miles from Sussex Court House) Gates wrote the Commander-in-Chief on December 12th that he had left Albany on the 2nd the day following the departure by boat of Greaton's, Bond's and Porter's regiments. Gates took with him the regiments of Stark, Poor, Reed and Patterson. Bedel was to start the following day as sloops for the transport were not ready. "There was a deep snow last night at this place; it is now mild and promises rain." To save "much time and fatigue" Gates anticipated going down the Delaware by boat. Lee gave orders for the regiments travelling separately to go by another route; Gates conformed. As John Stark would not have lingered at home much after Nov.

5th, when he sheltered Squire Patten, it is presumed that Stark made one of the group of four Colonels travelling with Gates. Wilkinson, to whose account we are chiefly indebted, wrote, long afterward, "Our troops were bare of clothing, numbers barefoot, without tents, provisions or transport of any kind." How many were in this terrible state, in the winter campaign, is not seen.

### CAPTURE OF GEN. CHARLES LEE

Carrying Gates' letter to Washington, Wilkinson was diverted, sought Gen. Lee and found him at "White's", a small tavern on the Basking Ridge Road, protected by a careless guard. At 4 A.M. Lee, being handed Gates' letter to Washington, opened it, after explanations by Wilkinson. Lee was senior major General of the army. On the table happened to be a letter Lee was writing Gates and at a sudden alarm, when Lee was surprised and taken by a small force of the enemy, Wilkinson gathered up the partly done letter and secreted himself quickly, thus escaping. The letter contained significant words "Entre nous, a certain great man is most damnably deficient." "Adieu, my dear friend, God bless you." it left off. Wilkinson, who furnishes the narrative, found Gen. Sullivan, who advised him to get to Gates at once. He found him at Sussex Court House after leaving Sullivan at Pluckamin. Gates, with his regiments, reached the Delaware above Easton and after a night's rest they journeyed to Bethlehem by way of Nazareth. There Gates received Washington's letter of December 14th, 1777, a friendly, confidential letter, freely stating plans and expressing the hope of defeating Howe's purpose of reaching Philadelphia. "Lord Stirling is going to meet Gen. Lee and concert with him a plan of operations", something Washington would not have written had he been aware that Lee had been captured the day before. At Coryell's Ferry on the Delaware all the approaching units merged with Washington and the main army.

### THE SITUATION

Being now on the right bank of the river and in position to protect Philadelphia, Washington completed his own protection from the British, who with their Hessian hirelings were strung out between Trenton and New York, across "The Jerseys". He had for some weeks been collecting boats and scows for a distance of thirty miles up and down the river so that Howe would have nothing to cross with. Howe, during the dead of winter felt little danger from Washington's depleted, famished, ill-clad and scattered forces. It was Washington's hour of deepest discouragement for it followed the disasters to his arms on Long Island, New York, Fort Mifflin and Fort Mifflin. He was doing some of the hardest thinking of his career. His deteriorating reputation, starting its unobserved decline after the evacuation of Boston by



the British, had reached its nadir. From this low base he was soon to profit from the stern lessons which had taught him that surprise attacks on separate units might result in complete success. The coming of the regiments from the North, especially those from New Hampshire served materially to raise the total under command and to engender the courage to do something. Washington, personally, had everything to gain and little to lose by a coup-de-main. Fortunately the opportunity almost clamored for recognition. The plan was formed, by whom suggested it is not known, but a council of war approved it.

It was Christmas day, 1776. It was a pause before one of the turning points of the Revolutionary war. When reporting the Stark "family accounts" it is necessary to consider that their verbal correctness is not essential. There was a council, Stark was called in at the time or immediately afterward. He said something like what has been reported; Washington told him of his assignment.

"In the council of war preceding the affair at Trenton, in giving his opinion Stark observed to General Washington 'your men have too long been accustomed to place their dependence for safety on spades and pick-axes. If you ever effect (expect?) to establish the independence of these states you must teach them to place dependence upon their fire arms and their courage.' Washington replied 'that is what we have agreed upon - we are to march to-morrow upon Trenton - you are to command the right wing of the advanced guard and General Greene the left'. Stark observed that he could not be better suited."

(Caleb Stark, 1831.)

Stickney (1810) gives a confirmation of the probability that it was after the conclusion of the council itself, to which Stark, as a Colonel would not be admitted under ordinary circumstances if a sufficient number of generals were available for consultation and opinion. Stark was not present "at the first of the meeting" and "when he arrived Washington told him the business of the council." As the plans called for cooperation by all the units of the army it is likely that generals, some colonels and the responsible heads of supply and transportation were called in. To the admirers of the Commander-in-Chief, Stark's blunt words would smack of lese majesty but at the time even the generals, far from seeing traces of an aura, would comment privately on what was in most mouths, that Washington had won few laurels, had met with discouraging set-backs, that adverse views were held by many members of Congress and that they were in no mood for further costly mistakes, and that Washington knew it.

The scene in Washington's headquarters preceding the day of the battle was one for Rembrandt's brush. The principal room in the house of William Kieth (standing in 1898 or thereabouts) on Knowles Creek, a few miles from Newtown, was lighted by two windows. The building was a double one with a long shed, all of two stories. Perhaps late afternoon, a blazing fire on the hearth added little to the lighting at the side. Easily the most distinguished figure of those present was that of the commander-in-chief, General Washington. The man who has entered, standing near the door is Col. John Stark of New Hampshire, resolute of countenance and fearless of eye, who remains at attention facing his chief. The blunt words addressed to the latter were probably softened by a respectful manner as he occasionally glanced at others, his superiors in rank, the cherubic Nathaniel Greene, the short, dark and implusive Sullivan from his own state, who may have stirred uneasily as Stark stated his views. Lee was absent, Cadwallader was probably with his detachment some miles away preparing for his part, but Ewing may have been in the room and some others. Stryker, who made up a whole volume of the battle story (William S. Stryker, 1898) brings in all the generals and a few colonels; Sullivan, Greene, Stirling, deFermoy, Mercer, Stephen, St. Clair, Sargent, Stark, Glover and Knox, with a clergyman, Rev. Dr. Alexander McWhorter, of the Presbyterian church of Newark; thirteen persons, though the evidence still remains lacking as to who was present.

#### DID WASHINGTON OR SULLIVAN DESIGNATE STARK?

Why was Col. John Stark of Sullivan's brigade selected to lead the attack by the right wing of the army? There were other Colonels available but Washington was seriously concerned over the success of the desperate attempt to capture the enemy's forces at Trenton. It was at a juncture which would admit of no failure. Stark's intrepidity and ability to command in emergencies, from the days of the French and Indian war until that moment, had not been questioned. He was not merely told by Sullivan, his chief; he was brought before Washington himself. The General was personally conducting the other division, which was to take the Pennington road and no less a soldier than Gen. Nathaniel Greene was to lead it. Comparatively few of the officers had faced dangers in battle, where a false step might be fatal. The men of Stark's immediate command were seasoned and hardened veterans.

The work of Christmas night, 1776, was nearly frustrated by a heavy snow storm and a river filled with cakes of floating ice. Near Bristol Gen. Cadwalader's division failed to get over and thus attack Trenton from the south, none of the artillery making it and the few infantry companies crossing only to go back. At McKonkey's Ferry, nine miles above Trenton, the two divisions of Sullivan and Greene, under great difficulties were passed over, the skill of seamen in the

companies from Marblehead and Salem availing greatly, but it required ferrying from nine at night until four in the morning, a delay of hours being unavoidable.

One of the most inspiring episodes in American history was put upon canvas by Leutze; the figure of Washington, his magnificent profiled face and cloaked form against the dark sky, in a crowded boat with a battle flag. But, unrecognizable in another of the many boats was the Colonel of the 1st. New Hampshire, John Stark, along with hundreds of equally brave men, ready for deeds of heroism.

There are numerous accounts though hardly any by eye-witnesses, of the battle of Trenton. As Potter in his "Manchester" has one of the best a portion is given, as New Hampshire's part was prominent.

"Gen. Sullivan led his brigade down the river road, while Washington led the other troops down the Pennington road. It was supposed that they would arrive about the same time and the first division that should arrive was to commence the attack without waiting for the other. The N. H. Regiment under Col. Stark was in Sullivan's brigade. Col. Stark led the right wing composed of light troops and, says Gen. Wilkinson, 'dealt death wherever he found resistance and broke down all opposition before him'. The company from this neighborhood was under the command of Capt. Eben. Frye of Pembroke and was attached to his regiment. Washington's division came into Trenton about 8 o'clock giving the first alarm to the astonished Hessians by driving in their outposts. Within three minutes the guns of Sullivan's division were heard on the other side of the town. Some of the Hessians took refuge in a house upon the river road and commenced firing but Col. Stark ordered Capt. Frye to dislodge them. Frye detached Sergeant Ephraim Stevens of Derryfield to execute the order and he with a squad of men marched up to the house, gave their fire, seized a stick of hewn timber, stove in the door, and using the bayonet freely, silenced the enemy in the house. Col. Ralle attempted to form his astonished troops but he was mortally wounded in the commencement of the action and his troops attempted to retreat towards Princeton. Washington discovered their object and by a cross route cut off their retreat. Capt. Frye's company was the foremost in this detachment. So eager were the soldiers in the pursuit of the retreating Hessians that they rushed forward without order. Capt. Frye attempted to keep his ranks unbroken but without avail. Some of them in their over



anxiety got far ahead of the rest. Capt. Frye being very corpulent, soon tired out, told those anxious to hasten forward that if they would follow the lead of Sergeant Stevens, they might advance as fast as they pleased. They agreed to this and Stevens led them into a piece of woods on the Princeton road and lay in wait for the retreating Hessians. Meantime Stevens directed his men not to fire a gun but when the Hessians came up to rush upon them each one holloaing at the top of his voice "Hell, Hell, Fire, Fire". Soon a company of Hessians came in sight upon the run and as they came opposite Stevens and his party rushed out upon them yelling their strange and terrific war-cry. The astonished Hessians threw down their arms and surrendered. Stevens and his party secured their arms and then ordered them to the "right-about". When the Hessians discovered that they had surrendered to a party of sixteen men all told and some of them in tatters and bare foot, they attempted to regain their arms, but other Americans coming up they desisted and Stevens and his squad marched their sixty prisoners into Trenton, in triumph.

Their retreat thus cut off, the main body of the Hessians surrendered but about 600 escaped over the bridge towards Bordentown which Gen. Cadwalader had failed to occupy. The number of the Hessians that submitted was 23 officers and 886 men. Between 30 and 40 of them were killed and wounded. Of the Americans only two were killed, but five or six wounded and two frozen to death.

Washington recrossed the Delaware the same night with his prisoners, not choosing to risk advantages gained in the face of an enemy of superior force.

The effect of this battle was electric; it infused life into the patriots and their cause. The term of service of the N. H. troops expired with December; Col. Stark and other officers went among their troops and they reenlisted to a man for the term of six weeks. This turn in affairs placed Washington in a position again to act on the offensive."

Stryker adds much local color and street-by-street action. His description of the entry of the village by Stark's force is credible. Edward Everett (1834) followed "family" relations, Headley in "Washington and his Generals" gives the full story as to Stark but Fiske, (Amer. Rev. I. 230) had few details of the actual battle. It seems that in approaching in the half-light it was found that some of the muskets of the men were not in firing condition due to water or dampness. Squibbing was resorted to; firing without a bullet charge in order to rid pans and barrels of moisture, as the men advanced, by Washington's orders on

learning of the trouble, through Sullivan and St. Clair.

"We soon marched, Col. Stark in command of the advanced guard, the troops with orders to clear their muskets as they moved on, in the best manner in their power, which occasioned a good deal of squibbing. It was now broad day and the storm beat violently in our faces. The attack had commenced on our left and was immediately answered by Col. Stark on our front, who forced the enemy's pickets and pressed into the town, our column being close at his heels."

(Wilkinson, "Memoirs")

After taking Trenton Washington and his high command apparently decided they could not hold it and withdrew across the Delaware with their prisoners. Just what went on in the councils is not very convincing but on the 28th of December, a change of views occurred and the army re-entered Trenton. Again, apparently realizing that an attempt to hold it would be too hazardous, Washington crossed the small stream, debouching into the river south of the village, and camped. What his intentions were then are not too clear either, but when the British advanced from New Brunswick and Princeton in force, Lord Cornwallis with some 8000 men, into Trenton, there was nothing to do but fight the several British attempts to cross the small bridges, defended by cannon placed by the Americans. Had Cornwallis been insistent, and essayed, by sacrificing many of his tired troops, a different story might have been told, for a bloody battle would have been the result. As it was, he decided to postpone taking "the old fox" until morning. It was well for the American army. Numbers were against them and their position was weak. Washington has been given all the credit for deceiving the British by sentries posted during the night conspicuously, by fires left burning, by noisy shovel work on intrenchments, while he prudently withdrew his whole force, save only enough to keep up the appearances of an encampment. Going round the rear of the British in the darkness Washington headed for Princeton, believing it was poorly defended. He did not reckon with a British reinforcement, some 2000 under Col. Mawhood, advancing from Princeton. It was just the size for a successful fight, which the Americans won, though Gen. Mercer's death-wound imperilled the result, until Washington himself rallied the troops. In less than a half hour it was all over and Mawhood's men, divided in their flight, some going to Trenton, others back to New Brunswick. Details as to the American divisions and their precise action in the "Battle of Princeton" are rather sketchy, so that the part played by Col. Stark is not manifest. In the hot skirmishing the British lost some 200 killed and wounded, the Americans less than 100, but took some 300 prisoners. Cornwallis had a severe set-back. A sudden respect for the American General caused the

British retreat, to save themselves and their stores at New Brunswick. The successful combination of audacity and prudence built up Washington's reputation immediately and rallied the spirits of the country. His troops were poorly shod and equipped and so, rather than risk any sort of an engagement Washington withdrew into the hills of Morristown, soon receiving the cognomen, "The American Fabius", coupled with admiration of military genius of a high order.

#### RE-ENLISTMENTS AND STARK'S PERSONAL PLEDGE

In the glory that became "Trenton and Princeton" in popular fervor, something was lost sight of, that occurred during the intense gloom preceding those brilliant performances. Fiske gives Stark full credit, dating the re-enlistments after Trenton. There is no record that Gen. Sullivan pledged anything, but no doubt he gave his influence in that direction;

"The Christmas night when Washington crossed the Delaware was the most critical moment of his career; for the terms of service of the greater part of his little army expired on New Year's Day and but for the success of Trenton they would almost certainly have disbanded. But in the exultant mood begotten of this victory they were persuaded to remain some weeks longer thus enabling Washington to recover the state of New Jersey. So low had the public credit sunk, at this season of disaster, that Washington pledged his private fortune for the payment of these men, in case Congress should be found wanting and his example was followed by the gallant Stark and other officers. Except for the sums raised by Robert Morris of Philadelphia even Washington could not have saved the country."

(Fiske, *The Amer. Revolution*, I.244)

As to John Stark, Caleb Stark's 1860 account varied the earlier story in minor ways;

"He told them that if they left the army all was lost; reminded them of their deeds at Bunker's Hill and other occasions in the Canada campaign, assured them that if Congress did not pay their arrears, his own private property should make it up to them. He proposed a re-enlistment for six weeks; and such was his influence and popularity, that not a man refused. Thus two half-filled but veteran regiments, of tried valor and fidelity, were retained for the approaching crisis and nobly they sustained the efforts of their leader."



Nothing more creditable to John Stark is to be found in his whole career than the pledging of his small private means at that very critical time. His reputation was so good with his men and with those of the other New Hampshire regiments, that the response was never in question. There is reason to suppose that Washington recognized the value of Stark's patriotic act and that he never forgot it. Incidentally it may be noted here, that Trenton and Princeton were the only engagements in which Stark fought with Washington.

Bancroft (History V.102-3) may have had independent information justifying him in giving full credit to the 1831 mention of the subject by Caleb Stark, Jr., information that may have come to him from Major Caleb himself;

"The paymaster was out of money and the public credit was exhausted. Washington pledged his own fortune as did other officers, especially Stark of New Hampshire. Robert Morris had sent up a little more than \$500 in hard money."

The exigency was so great that Washington at the time had appealed to Morris, his friend, writing "No time is to be lost", &c.

As late as 1822, when the old hero, Stark, was being buried, there was one man who brought out the fact and told of his personal knowledge; (Memoir, 1831, p186)

"Here it may be proper to note a circumstance, not generally understood, the particulars of which were related at the funeral of the deceased general by a comrad in arms there present. It is well known that previous to this important action the American army was upon the point of being broken up, by suffering and desertion and the expiration of the terms of enlistment of a great portion of the troops. A few days previous the terms of the New Hampshire regiments expiring; Stark was the first to propose an enlistment for six weeks; He left his station as commander for the moment, took upon himself the task of a recruiting officer and not a man failed to enlist."

#### THE YEAR 1776 FOR JOHN STARK

It ended brilliantly for him. In the Canada campaign his judgment was vindicated. In the retreat his safe-conduct of the rear guard with the stores and provisions, relieved Sullivan's failure from total blame. The result of his tactless letter to Congress was negative. He vitalized the attack at Trenton, leading the right wing, after having guaranteed the pay of the men of New Hampshire.

## A SILVER LINED CLOUD

During the later portions of the winter of 1776-1777 General Washington and the Congress were struggling with a comprehensive scheme for raising a larger army to cope with the situation. Col. Stark's troops, their enlistment period ended, went their several ways homeward. He followed to recruit a new regiment. There are few details in either general or local histories. Sullivan remained near Washington, his position at Scotch Plains being questioned by his chief. To President Meschech Weare of New Hampshire Sullivan, in a vain and boastful mood, wrote, from Chatham, N. J. on Feb. 13th, 1777, a long letter including gossip as to how the New Hampshire troops were regarded far from home;

"You may want to know how your men (the Yankees) fight. I tell you Exceeding well when they have the proper officers. I have been much pleased to see a day approaching to try the Difference between the yankees Cowardice and Southern valor. The Day or rather the Days have arrived and all the general officers allowed and do allow that the yankee Cowardice assumes the shape of True valor in the field & the Southern valor appears to be a composition of Boasting & Conceit. General Washington made no scruple to say publicly that the Remains of the eastern Regiments were the strength of his army though their numbers were Comparatively Speaking but Small - He calls them in front when the enemy are there - he sends them to the rear when the enemy threaten that way. All the general officers allow them to be the best of troops. The Southern officers and soldiers allow it in time of Danger but not at all other times."

John Stark did not hear that Col. Enoch Poor had been made a Brigadier General until March 14th. He had been going about his duties.

Letters (State Papers VIII, 105-6) of Feb. 26th from Pembroke and of March 11th and 14th from Derryfield, show that he had ordered Major Reid to Ticonderoga to take charge of two companies; was asking that the commissions of the captains be sent to him (Stark); that he had received the orders of the Committee of Safety relative to the marching of other companies to "Ti," "with what men they had enlisted", and asked "as the season is so far advanced" that a muster master be appointed, &c. "Had I the appointing of the officers of a regiment I am sensible that I could have had a regiment full at this time but the Committee was so bigoted in their own opinion that they refused to take any officer for my regiment that I recommended except three."

## CONGRESS AND THE BRIGADIER GENERALS

In 1776 fourteen Brigadiers had been appointed in the Continental army; William Thompson, Robert Howe, John Nixon, Alexander McDougall, Samuel H. Parsons, James Clinton, Christopher Gadsden, William Moultrie, Laughlin McIntosh, William Maxwell, William Smallwood, Matthias Alexis de Roche Fermoy, De Pruid Homme de Borre and Henry Knox, in that order. At that time there were no less than eight Major Generals, two having been added when the Brigadiers were named. The list in order of seniority was, Lee, Schuyler, Putnam, Gates, Heath, Spencer, Sullivan and Greene.

On Feb. 21, 1777 Congress decided to appoint ten new Brigadiers, one for each of three or four regiments, Francis Nash having been added on Feb. 5th; Glover of Massachusetts, Wayne of Pennsylvania, Poor of New Hampshire, Varnum of Rhode Island, Woodford of Virginia, DeHaas from Pennsylvania, Patterson of Massachusetts Bay, Weeden and Muhlenburgh of Virginia. When these new Brigadiers were appointed Congress appointed (Feb. 19th) five new Major Generals;

William Alexander (1726-1783), New York born but credited to New Jersey, his residence, called by courtesy "Lord Stirling" (Earl of Stirling) from a supposed right in the Scottish nobility he was far from able to verify; Thomas Mifflin, (1744-1800) of Pennsylvania, Quartermaster General; Arthur St. Clair (1734-1818) of Pennsylvania, promoted from his Brigadiership of the previous August; Adam Stephen of Virginia (who was dismissed Nov. 20, 1777) and Benjamin Lincoln (1733-1810) of Massachusetts Bay, who had not been a Brigadier. Passed over for promotion at the time was Brigadier General Benedict Arnold (1740-1801) because Connecticut already had two Major Generals. Washington openly deplored the quota basis when applied to Arnold. Most of the appointments were political.



## THE CHOICE OF ENOCH POOR

In close affiliation with the "inner circle" at home, and, presumably affirmatively supported, although there is a dearth of evidence in private correspondence, the two Delegates from New Hampshire were able to side-track Stark without coming out into the open. Both men were acquainted with John Stark and were cognizant of every phase of his record. William Whipple, "solid sensible Whipple," and Matthew Thornton, "Droll and funny as Tristram Shandy", (as John Adams called them) probably had time to learn before votes were taken how the state government felt about promotions. It is hardly questionable that both delegates favored Poor over Stark though their high individual standing in New Hampshire would have made them comparatively independent should they have recognized Stark's right. The fact that they voted for Poor places the responsibility on them. It is possible, of course, that a real or supposed preference by Washington may have had some influence, such things had a way. Other delegates, interested in their own candidates, would have little to say.

There was nothing about Poor to cause detraction. He had been a good colonel, of modest attainments, safe, reliable, dependable, regular. Even Congress had heard of the man. His sound letter on court-martial practice in the lake Champlain trial involving Col. Hazen and, indirectly, General Arnold and General Gates read before Congress, would give the members a good impression. In the voting there was probably no time for careful consideration of records, one man as regarded another. How the two men were judged by the population in their home states would be a nearly unknown quantity. Bancroft, a hundred years after the event, gave one of the considered verdicts of history;

"On the same day six new Brigadiers were appointed. Stark stood at the head of the roll of New Hampshire for promotion, was the best officer from that state and had rendered very great service at Bunker Hill, Trenton and Princeton, but on the idea that he was self-willed he was passed over. Chafing at the injustice he retired to his freehold and his plough, where his patriotism like the fire of the smithy when sprinkled with water, glowed more fiercely than ever."

(History U. S. V. 148, Revised Ed.)

Two-commentators of recent years have been F. B. Sanborn (1889) who said "by some wretched intrigue at Philadelphia no notice was taken of his merits" and Trevelyan (1907) "Congress, enamored of mediocrities ignored his claim for recognition."

## "BEHIND A FROWNING PROVIDENCE HE HIDES A SMILING FACE"

How and where did the blow fall on John Stark? Stickney's idea, acquired from the General himself, in 1810, is this;

"At the close of the campaign Stark returned to New Hampshire upon parole. On his arrival he ascertained the truth of a report he had heard before he left the army, viz; that Congress had degraded him by the appointment of Col. Poor as a Brigadier. He went immediately to Exeter where the Legislature was then sitting and asked a resignation. They endeavored to persuade him to withdraw his request, but in vain. He told them that "an officer who would not stand for his rank would not stand for his country." However, he engaged that in case an attack was made upon New Hampshire, he should hold himself in readiness for its defence. He informed them of the dangerous situation of Ticonderoga and retired to his farm as a private citizen."

The narratives on the subject found in Caleb Stark's books of 1831 and 1860 are not especially clear or illuminative. In 1831 he wrote;

"The term of enlistment of his regiment having expired he was ordered to New Hampshire to recruit another. In the month of April the regiment was completed and he repaired to Exeter to receive instructions for the campaign where he was informed that a new list of promotions had been made and his name omitted. The cause was easily traced to some officers of high rank and members of congress who were displeased with his unbending character.

Upon this he waited upon Generals Sullivan and Poor, wished them all possible success and surrendered his commission. They endeavored to dissuade him from this course, but he answered that 'an officer who would not maintain his rank and assert his rights, was not worthy of serving his country'. He warned them of the dangerous situation of the army at Ticonderoga, the necessity of immediate relief and declaring his readiness to again take the field, whenever his country required his services, retired to his farm as a private citizen. His zeal for the cause continuing as ardent as before, all of his family capable of bearing arms were fitted out and dispatched to the army."

## STARK'S OWN STATEMENT

"To the Honble the Council and House of Representatives for the State of New Hampshire, in Genl Court Assembled;

Gentlemen-

Ever since Hostilities commenced, I have as far as in me lay Endeavored to prevent my country from being Ravaged & Enslaved by our cruel and unnatural Enemies, have undergone the Hardships and Fatigues of two campaigns with cheerfulness and alacrity, ever enjoying the pleasing satisfaction that I was doing my God and Country the Greatest service my abilities would admit of & it was with the utmost Gratitude that I accepted the important command which this State appointed me, I should have served with the greatest pleasure; more especially at this important crisis when our Country calls for the utmost Exertions of every American, but am extremely grieved that I am bound on Honour to leave the service, Congress having tho't fit to promote Junr officers over my head; so that least I should show myself unworthy of the Honour conferred on me & a want of that Spirit which ought to glow in the Breast of Every officer appointed by this Honble House, in not suitably representing an Indignity, I must (though grieved to leave the service of my Country) beg leave to resign my Commission hoping that you will make a choice of some Gentleman who may Honour the Cause & his Country, to succeed.

Your most obedient and obliged Humble Servt  
JOHN STARK

On Saturday, March 22nd, 1777, Col. John Stark appeared in person before the House and presented his resignation. It is not dated but the Journal of this date refers to it as "this date made". The body passed the following Resolution;

"Voted to choose a committee to join a committee of the Honorable Board to consider the resignation of the Honorable Colonel John Stark this day made to this House and to report thereon and that Col. Peabody, Col. Goffe, Mr. Clagett, Col. Hutchins and Capt. Moulton be the committee of this house for that purpose."



The house concurred and accepted the addition from the "upper house" of the names of Mr. Bartlett and Mr. Blanchard, thus making up the combined committee. On the same day the Joint Committee made a report signed by Jonathan Blanchard as Chairman; "which Report being accepted the Thanks of both houses was presented to Col. Stark by the President." The Resolution was;

"Voted- that the thanks of both Houses in Convention be given to Col. Stark for his past good services as an officer of the present Warr & that from his early and steadfast attachment to the cause of his country they make not the least Doubt that his future conduct in whatever state of life Providence may place him, will manifest the same Noble Disposition of Mind."

It was handsome official action. It represented the broader feelings of the members as to Col. Stark. Many came from sections free from the influences that had caused his being passed over. There were no Resolutions blaming him. As Col. Stark was present and could see in the unusual spectacle of "both houses in convention" that his position was bringing out the strongest sympathetic feelings, the realization must have produced in him some amelioration, some softening of the blow. The action of the Continental Congress was not subject to review by a state legislature. There was nothing for the members to do, and they saw it, but accept the resignation, but they did so coupled with a fine vote of thanks. It is reasonable to conclude that there were misgivings as to the wisdom of Whipple and Thornton.

### RIDING HOME TO DERRYFIELD

The way was through Kingston where his father, Archibald Stark, had died. He, assuredly, would have approved of the action of his son, John. When the returning horseman, lonely, disappointed and bitter, reached Derryfield there would be warm welcomes and no upbraidings from the help-meet, Molly. On her he could count for moral support and sympathy.

### THREE MONTHS AT HOME

Before the trumpet call to duty came again John Stark would endure the depressing influences of the Spring season in the mud and melting snows of door yard, barn yard and country roads. So many things had to be neglected during the campaigns that unwonted activity became the order of the day and the eyes of the master were worth the labor of both his hands, as Franklin had said in "Poor Richard". The saw mill and its machinery had to be put in shape, the farm tools repaired

and made ready for an arduous planting time, all available men and boys helping Stark to resume his many activities. For seasonal recreation there was fishing at the falls near by, during the coming of the shad and other fish, to be taken by seine, spear and hook. There were wind-up duties connected with the army, shown by correspondence and official entries. But one other item, of domestic concern, is found;

"March, 1777. Mr. John Barber finished making me a suit of cloathes of the cloath that john bought of Col; Starke and I paid Mr. Barber 10/ toward the makeing of them." (Diary, Matthew Patten.)

#### GEN. SULLIVAN HEARS FROM HIS CHIEF

From Peekskill on March 9th Sullivan wrote Washington a complaining letter, having heard that "Genl St. Clair is to take the command at Tyconderoga the Ensuing Campaign" claiming it as his own right.

Washington at Morristown on March 15th sent the touchy young Major General some unpalatable characterizations, such as he never in the whole war had ever to send Stark;

"Do not, my dear General Sullivan torment yourself any longer with imaginary slights.....If distant armies are to be formed there are several gentlemen before you in point of rank who have a right to claim a preference."

On March 20, 1777 Sullivan was at his home in Durham, writing to the Assembly, and had doubtless been at Exeter when Stark evidenced good will toward him personally and to hear about similar expressions toward and to Poor; As to equipment for the army at "Ti" he said;

"I beg leave to recommend to your honours to make application to Col. Langdon for so many arms blankets &c as will be necessary to equip your troops for their march and that they march off as soon as possible as Col. Langdon has in his hands a sufficiency of those articles which arrived in the last French ship."

On March 24th Col. Stark wrote to the Council and House, putting in a good word for his son Caleb and for "Mr. Cogan" who, later, figured in an important report on the forthcoming retreat from Ticonderoga;

"This moment I received a letter from Major Reid which I enclose to your Honour to inform you the state of affairs. I am sensible that the men that are gone are not Provided with sufficient arms - would be glad that you would procure

the same for them. Likewise for the Companies that are raising in the West part of this state, as it will be a detriment to the officers to go to Exeter for arms and Blankets as several of them are not able to supply themselves. As for further particulars of the Majors letter concerning his march, I leave to your Honours best judgment. I likewise would inform your honours that I expect Caleb Stark & Mr. Cogan will not be set aside on acct. of my misfortune. If that should happen I beg that you would let me know so that they may not be disappointed."

Major George Reid's letter to Stark, whom he still supposed was his Colonel, included "My Regards to Mad<sup>m</sup> Stark and family." The letter was from No. 4, gave many details.

On March 29th the House designated Robert Wilson of Chester to apply to and receive moneys that Col. Stark had in his hands for the pay of soldiers and for their bounties, and to make accounting thereof.

#### TICONDEROGA MANNED FOR DEFENCE

New Hampshire made extraordinary efforts. Nearly every day musters, organizations, provisions, armament, transportation, occupied the authorities and the military, down to the humblest recruit. Feb. 11th Caleb Stark received his appointment as Adjutant to his father's old regiment; Cilley, Colonel, Geo. Reid, Lt. Col. Capt. Benj. Titcomb, Major. Late in Spring many soldiers had gone on in partly complete companies "very ill cloathed.....scarcely any stock of lead or flints." Some stores had to be left by the way as "bare ground for over 20 miles" was encountered in early March and the sleds became useless. Then wagons, one to a company, were had.

"The first opportunity of testing the qualities of the new French muskets occurred Sept. 17th, 1777 .....Ten thousand of the muskets were landed at Portsmouth.....The army stationed at Ticonderoga, for the defence of the northern frontier was immediately equipped and great exertions were made by the officers to instruct the soldiers in their use."

(Caleb Stark on "French Spoilations" Memoir, 1860)

Fear spread through the colonies that Sir Guy Carleton meditated a spring attack and on April 11th the New Hampshire authorities wrote Washington favoring the appointment of Gen. Sullivan (Massachusetts Bay to concur) to take command of the entire defence, thus showing some of the growing dissatisfaction with Philip Schuyler.



Stores at Danbury were burned. Sullivan wrote from Boston that Carleton's boats had been seen at Split Rock only 40 miles from Ticonderoga. April 27th Gen. Wayne wrote Schuyler that he had not over 1200 men, sick and well, and 400 of them were "militia with but a few days to serve." Poor reported shortly afterward "We have only 2240 effective rank and file.....Not one third of the troops from Hampshire Co. arrived.....There is not a moment to be lost." Schuyler as late as June 11th had not sensed the desperate chance the Americans were taking at Ticonderoga, writing Pres. Weare "We have nothing new in this quarter. All is quiet at Ticonderoga and the troops in great good health and spirits." On June 28th the New Hampshire House adjourned to meet the third Wednesday of September. Before that date arrived Ticonderoga had been abandoned. The House was called into session, starting the mighty reactions in the Colonies when the young republic rallied to save its very life.

### TICONDEROGA

Almost up to the moment when Gen. Burgoyne's flotilla, bearing his army, was seen coming up the lake, troops from every locality south and east were arriving. St. Clair in command, because Schuyler remained but a short time (4 days) after June 11th, had only advisers as inexperienced as himself, Poor and deFermoy. But the ramparts of the stone fort bristled with 127 cannon and the batteries at the narrows were protected by the redoubt and its guns on top of Mt. Independence. But in the face of danger concentrations were neglected and the troops remained in three locations, the Fort, Mt. Hope (a low hill half a mile west of the fort) and across the narrow strait, Mt. Independence. No preparations were made to move the sick by boat up the lake to Skeensborough.

### BURGOYNE'S TACTICS

Driving in the American outposts, Burgoyne proceeded to occupy without much resistance, Mt. Hope's barracks and earth-works, also the falls, the saw mill and the landing place at Lake George. Then, on the advice of a qualified engineer, Twiss, the British did something neglected for a hundred years. A battery of four 12-pounders was hauled up the long slope on the Lake George side of Mt. Defiance. That hill, heavily wooded now, as then, commanded a view on all sides and the fortifications of Ticonderoga and of Mt. Independence were spread out as on a map. It did not matter, as it turned out, that the guesses of Twiss as to distance were some 40% out of the way. "1400 yards" to the old French Fort, actually 6000 ft., "1500 yards" to Mt. Independence, actually 6600 ft. (U. S. Geol. Survey, 1894). When the battery was discovered St. Clair became panic stricken.

## BALLISTICS

It is still a question whether an ordinary 12-pounder could land a solid shot, say 4 inches in diameter, within the walls of Ticonderoga. The 872 ft. height above Lake Champlain would help materially, though the ordnance of that day was short range. Too much reliance may be paid to Trumbull's assertion of 1837 (he died in 1843, an old man) that while at "Ti" a short time before the Burgoyne affair he was allowed to experiment. Fired from Mt. Independence, where heights topping 300 feet left but 572 more to the top of Mt. Defiance, he claimed that the 12-pounder "landed a shot more than half way up the hill." From the Fort itself "an ordinary 6-pounder" fired a shot that "struck near the summit." The story was boastful, written anent the St. Clair fiasco, is somewhat like Trumbull's character and is not found in Gates Papers (though he was there at the time) or in St. Clair. A later Chapter will note that a few months afterward Col. Brown with his small American force tried to capture "Ti", possessed himself of a "short 12-pounder" found on Mt. Defiance. He fired it "without doing much damage," according to a British account, which shows that Gen. Powell, in command was not intimidated like St. Clair, and refused to surrender Ticonderoga. But St. Clair, awakened to a fait accompli, as he thought, had only the strength to call a council of war.

## THE EVACUATION

The decision was withheld from even the Colonels of the regiments. It called, in a mass movement, for a withdrawal that night. Preparations were hurriedly made while one volley was fired from the Fort without killing any British. Boats were loaded in the night with the incapacitated and some supplies and started for Skeensborough. A house, carelessly fired, disclosed the main American force crossing to the Mt. Independence side, by the bridge of boats, the troops from that camp having gone on before, all having to skirt a sluggish brook in a marsh, the only way to firmer and higher ground, leading to Castleton, through a hamlet, Hubbardton. St. Clair and the main body reached Castleton in safety but the rear, including many who were ill but able to walk slowly, was delayed and had to camp overnight. The British under Fraser and Balcarres were now able to pursue. They caught up and the "Battle of Hubbardton" resulted, an unexpected and unequal contest. Col. Nathan Hale acted badly, Col. Seth Warner bravely and after some 40 Americans had been killed, Warner called to all "scatter and meet me at Manchester". There had been ample time for St. Clair to have sent back the reinforcements he had been urgently asked for, but it was a case of "the devil take the hindmost."

## NEW HAMPSHIRE EYE-WITNESSES

There are at least two accounts. Thomas Blake of Lebanon gave the material losses;

"127 cannon mounted on the batteries, 500 barrels of powder and balls answerable, 500 barrels of flour, 1500 barrels of salt pork, 700 barrels of salt beef, tents for 4000 men, 5 vessels from 12 to 16 guns each, all the medicines and much of the baggage of the army."  
(Kidder's 1st. N. H. Reg. 1868)

The quantity of stores was probably overestimated but even half of the respective totals would have sustained valiant defenders for quite a siege. Patrick Cogan's letter of July 17, 1777 (N. H. State Papers, VIII. 540-1) has the ear marks of truth. As of Feb. 11th he was Quartermaster of the 1st. N. H. Regiment. The letter finally reached Congress and was read out in that solemn and deeply moved body, and so, humble, human Cogan had his day. It was addressed to his old Colonel, John Stark.

Dear Colonel:

Our situation puts me in mind of what I have heard you often say of Ticonderoga. Such a Retreat was never heard of since the Creation of the world. I was ordered about five of the Clock in the afternoon to draw forty eight Rounds per man: afterwards nine days allowance of provision which I compleated about Two of the clock in the morning and about the time I got home the tents were struck and all was ordered to retreat; but it was day-light before we got below your old house; such Order surprised both officers and soldiers; then they wished for General Sullivan to the Northern army again; they left all the Continental cloathing there; in short every article that belonged to the army which if properly conducted might be easily saved. Surely we were fifty thousand times better off than General Sullivan was in Canada last year; our men was in high spirits and determined to a man to stick by the lines till they lost their lives rather than quit so advantageous a Post; Drove us a long two or three and thirty miles that day till the rear guard got to Bowman's camp; the men being so fatigued they were obliged to stay and were attacked in the morning by the regulars who travelled all Night and just got up by the time we were beginning to march in a disorderly manner, our men being in confusion and made no great of a battle. But some behaved and some did not. Col. Reed



acted his part very well. Col. Hale they said did not. Col. Hale is either killed or taken. Little Dwyer behaved like a lusty fellow & died in the Bed of Honour, as nearly as I could conjecture we had odds of a thousand that attacked them; our main body was within six miles of us, the Indians took and killed a vast number of our men on their Retreats; then was hurried at an unmerciful rate thro' the woods at the rate of thirty five miles a day, obliged to kill oxen belonging to the Inhabitants wherever we got them; before they were half skinned they were obliged to take a bit & half Roast it over the fire then before half done was obliged to March - it is thought we went 100 miles for fear of seeing a Regular (I mean out of the way) there never was a field officer consulted whether we should retreat or not, which makes them very uneasy, so that the blame of our Retreat must fall on our Commanders; never was soldiers in such a condition without cloathes, victuals or drink & constantly wet. Caleb and I are just as our mothers bore us without the second shirt, the second pair of shoes, stockings or coats - but however its all in the Continental. Caleb does vastly better than he ever did with you. Col. Cilley is very fond of us. Indeed I suppose we are pretty diligent for the most part. Give my compliments to Peggy, Arch & Jenny & Martha. I am Respects - Yours &c

N. B. The officers lost all their baggage, writings & all. The Rear Guard were mostly invalids and our General took away the main Body and even refused to send assistance when the Cols begged him to do it."

### THE EMERGENCY

News of the defeat at Hubbardton reached the New England states almost simultaneously with that of the abandonment of Ticonderoga. Astonishment and dismay were followed by the deepest gloom everywhere. First to act were the Grants' committee (Fay, Robinson, Brush and others) appealing to New Hampshire asking "all Friends to their country immediately to march" &c. Gen. Ward wrote July 11th that the militia of Hampshire and Berkshire counties had been ordered to the "reinforcement of Ticonderoga", which was a bit too late, but even had they been on time the back-bones of St. Clair, Poor and deFermoy might not have been sufficiently stiffened. Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut and New York had fallen short in their support. The Mohawk and Hudson sections were not overpopulated and Schuyler's ability to raise volunteers was ineffective due to a hang-over of apathy in and

around Albany, which, later, Burgoyne's close approach did not actually dispel. After Ticonderoga and Hubbardton hundreds of the disheartened troops headed by various routes for home. "Deserters and others who had left the army" were ordered collected by Capt. Frye and Lt. Huntoon at No. 4.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE ACTS

On special call the House of Representatives met on July 17th, hearing a sorry story, if a disjointed one, as they compared notes at Exeter, each member having had personal contacts with individual rank and file, as stragglers and men on pretended leave came in locally. On the 13th Col. Bellows (one of those at "Ti" not consulted) wrote from his home at Walpole "I must further inform you that when we retreated from Ticonderoga many of the Continental troops instead of following the army steared for their homes." Major Peabody wrote in the same strain. Noah Emery, a commissary, had written a letter from Fort Independence, probably referring to that side only, "Food is now reduced to beef and bread only; view the sick Languishing and Dieing for want of the Necessaries of life." though this was at variance with all other accounts.

## SPEAKER JOHN LANGDON, AND HIS RALLYING CRY

It was probably on the 18th that the unofficial but well verified offer of John Langdon of Portsmouth was made, one of the most noble in American history. Brewster's Rambles about Portsmouth, 1859 (1st series) reprinted the early text appearing in 1828 (Isaac Hill of Concord in his address at Portsmouth) though it did not include "our friend, John Stark", &c.

"When the news of the fall of Ticonderoga reached Exeter where the legislature was then in session, John Langdon, the Speaker, seeing the public credit exhausted and his compatriots discouraged, rose and said; 'I have a thousand dollars in hard money; I will pledge my plate for three thousand more. I have seventy hogsheads of Tobago rum which will be sold for the most they will bring. They are at the service of the state. If we succeed in defending our fire-sides and our homes I may be remunerated; if we do not then the property will be of no value to me. Our friend, John Stark, who so nobly maintained the honor of our state at Bunker Hill, may safely be entrusted with the honor of the enterprise and we will check the progress of Burgoyne'."

It is well known that from this noble offer sprang the gallant little army of Stark's that covered itself with glory at Bennington.

He (Langdon) took command of an independent company of Cadets and was present at Burgoyne's surrender."

Edward Everett (1834) has the whole, including Stark, the first full text in print.

The House became a dynamic scene. No finer demonstration could have been made before the leaders of communities all over the state and the members of the Committee of Safety, Weare, Bartlett, Gilman, Thompson, Dudley, Gaines, Moulton, John Wentworth, Jr. Nathaniel Peabody, John McClary, Thomas Odiorne, Jonathan Lovewell and Benjamin Giles. The Committee was at once enjoined to bring in a plan, which they did next day;

"That it is expedient that the militia of this state be divided into two brigades and that the vote of the 20th of June last dividing the militia into three brigades be reconsidered and made void. That the first brigade contain the following regiments, viz; Whipple's, Evan's, Moulton's, Gilman's, Bartlett's, Thornton's, Webster's, Badger's and McClary's to be commanded by the Hon. William Whipple Esq. as Brigadier General; that the second brigade contain the following regiments, viz, Nichols, Ashley's, Moore's, Stickney's, Hale's, Bellows', Hobart's, Morey's and Chase's, to be commanded by the Hon. John Stark, Esq. as Brigadier General. That there be four companies of Rangers raised within the second brigade, to consist of 50 men each company, officers included, to scout on the western and northern frontiers of this state, to serve until the first day of January next if not sooner discharged, that their wages be ten dollars per month and that they have one month's pay advanced, that they be under the command of Brigadier General Stark who shall be amenable for his conduct to the General Court or to the Committee of Safety of this State; that Brig. Gen'l. Stark have the same pay and rations as a Colonel in the Continental service during his actual attendance on said service, until ye first of Jan'y. next unless sooner discharged from said service; that the other officers have the same pay and encouragement as those raised for the defence of Rhode Island. That in case the said John Stark Decline accepting the said service, that then Col. Benjamin Bellows be appointed to the said office & command."



A messenger was sent express to Colonel Stark at Derryfield. Stark returned with the messenger. Potter's Manchester states that "the tender was accepted and the money raised. Stark was offered the command, accepted on the condition that he should have a separate command and that he be accountable to no power but that of the State of New Hampshire." The House adjourned after adopting the Committee's report and "at half past two" re-convened to consider a letter of Ira Allen, Secretary of the Vermont Council; "You will naturally understand that when we cease to be a frontier, your state must take it."

The "family" accounts of the call for Stark and his response are found in the "Memoir" portion of the 1831 volume by Caleb, doubtless embodying what he recalled of Major Caleb's story of the events. The similar story of the 1860 Memoir included something additional, in the re-writing.

"In this emergency the council of his native state directed their attention to Col. Stark, relying on his military reputation and his popularity, to call out the militia. They urged him to forget what had passed and assume the command of their troops. He informed them he had little confidence in the then Commander at the North; but if they would raise a body of troops to hang upon the Vermont wing and rear of the enemy and allow him to use his own discretion in directing their operations without being accountable to any other power than their own body, he would again take the field. They closed with the proposal, a commission was accordingly furnished and laying aside the recollection of his wrongs he called upon his friends, the yeomanry of the country and they obeyed his voice. In a few days he was upon the frontier with a considerable force."  
(1831 p188)

"A messenger was dispatched to Col. Stark.....He returned with the messenger and waited upon the council. He listened to their proposal. They assured him that his former patriotic services were duly remembered and appreciated and urged him to forget the past and assume the command of their troops.....The council closed with the terms.....investing him with as ample powers as he could have desired.....Recruiting officers were immediately employed under his orders in beating up for volunteers.....More men than his orders called for were soon engaged and marched to Charlestown on Connecticut river, as a place of general rendezvous."  
(Memoir - 1860. p47)

On the day after Langdon's speech, providing the sinews of war, President Weare issued to Gen. Stark the instructions of the state (State papers, VIII, 310, out of place "July 19, 1776" error for 1777);

"You are hereby required to repair to Charles Town No. 4 so as to be there by Thursday next to meet & confer with persons appointed by the Convention of the State of Vermont relative to the rout of the Troops under your Command, their being supplied with provisions and future operations. And when the Troops are collected at No. 4 you are to take the Command of them & march into the State of Vermont and there act in conjunction with the Troops of that State or any other of the States or of the United States or separately as it shall appear Expedient to you for the protection of the People or the annoyance of the Enemy; and from time to time as occasion shall require, send Intelligence to the Genl. Assembly or Committee of Safety of your Operations and the manovers of the Enemy."

The House voted "a day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer", to be observed on August 7th. On Saturday the 19th of July the shabby treatment of General Stark in ordering his pay as that of a Colonel, was rectified, so as to be that of "Brigadier Generals in the service of the United States." At the same time a clerk was engaged for Gen. Stark, "Mr. John Casey", he to have the wages of a Lieutenant. The house adjourned to meet again on the 17th of September at Portsmouth and dispersed with the words ringing in their ears;

"God save the United States of America"

## RETROSPECTIVE

Washington's amazement on hearing of the abandonment of Ticonderoga was greater because of his just having received word from St. Clair himself, expressing confidence. Washington knew what it was to withdraw from indefensible positions. But here was a case of incapacity. Congress quickly decided to get rid of generals who would not defend. Both Washington's friend, Schuyler, as well as St. Clair were relieved of their commands. Twice the British took Ticonderoga without hardly firing a shot. Bourlemaque had been under orders to evacuate and retreat, but St. Clair was expected to fight. In 1759 Amerst's brother (Lt. Col. and Adjutant, William Amherst) expressed the confident belief of the military when he wrote "Not the whole strength of Canada could force us out of these lines."

## THE RETREAT

From Castleton St. Clair reached Fort Edward ("a stockade around some storehouses" a literal if derisive description) and was there received by Schuyler. They hoped that a temporary stand might be made. On July 24th Burgoyne leisurely left his stopping place, Skeensborough, but was held up until the 28th encountering and making a passage through the masses of fallen trees that Schuyler had ordered in his path. Reinforcements were arriving, Gen. Nixon with 600 from Peekskill, Major Generals Lincoln and Arnold with other Continental troops. But these were not deemed sufficient and a fresh retreat to Moses Kill on the Hudson was effected. It was there Cogan's letter to Stark was composed. On July 30th the camp was given up for Saratoga (Schuylerville). There in his comfortable mansion, his country home, Schuyler was able to entertain the three junior major generals and the brigadiers. But on August 2nd the army retreated 12 miles further, to Stillwater on the right bank. The situation was now seen to be so serious that if Burgoyne were not stopped the United States would be cut in two.

On July 27th Schuyler wrote to Gov. Trumbull, stating conditions in the Northern army; strength about 2700 Continentals "indifferently armed, almost ragged, without blankets", one third being aged men, boys and negroes. All the Connecticut militia had deserted except seven officers and 11 men fit for duty. Of the Massachusetts troops from Berkshire County only 200 were left of 1200, the rest deserted. Of Col. Porter's regiment, same county, there were "200 left". Of his own Albany County militia, 1051 were left of 2100. Of Moseley's Hampshire Co. regiment, 10 or 12 were left, the rest deserted.

## FEAR AND COWARDICE FOLLOW INCOMPETENCE

Despite the accession of stronger men, Lincoln and Arnold, Gen. Schuyler, with St. Clair, Poor, DeFermoy and Nixon was unable to stem the tide. The seven generals and the colonels were unable to control the troops. The retreat became almost a panic. Nothing so serious had occurred in colonies or nation. The rout and especially the desertions sapped the courage of all.

Schuyler desperately wrote Trumbull for 200 from Connecticut. He complained that a priest (Rev. Thomas Allen, the minister) from Berkshire "declaimed loudly against me and all the general officers at Ticonderoga." On the day he wrote (July 27th) things were not quite as bad as they looked in the Continental camp. General John Stark's vigorous force of 1500 men had already been enlisted. On Aug. 1st Trumbull wrote Schuyler from Lebanon that Lincoln and Glover with 1400 were to be at Albany on July 28th, "unknown to you when you wrote on the 27th." By Aug. 6th Trumbull's son, with the army, thought that



Burgoyne had 6000 or 7000 men and 200 Indians. On the 8th Schuyler had reached Albany, his home, writing the governor again that there had been "only 100 from your state and these deserted a few days after their arrival", adding that "Berkshire and Hampshire Counties will leave me in a few days". As to Col. Pierce Long's New Hampshire regiment, Schuyler wrote that they

"were enlisted for a twelve months and whose time expired yesterday, marched off to a man, nor could a bounty of \$20 prevail on one of them to stay until the first of December."

Let those who would criticise Gen. Stark when most of his regiments did the same thing just before the first battle of Bemis Heights, despite his appeals and those of Gates, recognize the peculiar independence of New Hampshire troops. Long's militia had been lacking equipment from the start. Gates to Trumbull, May 21, 1777, wrote "I am astonished at Gen. Heath pushing so many men from Boston totally unprepared." Long's men had lost belief in their usefulness under Generals St. Clair and Schuyler. Probably other troops from other states felt the same way, with more or less reason.

At Washington's request, Gov. Trumbull wrote, the state was sending 3000 troops to Peekskill to augment Gen. Putnam's command but on the 16th of August (the day of Bennington) Schuyler was informed that the Assembly of Connecticut had ordered "one half of three regiments of troops of horse to go directly to Albany" and that a regiment of 728 men was to be filled and marched to that place. There was no John Langdon in Connecticut to recognize a desperate situation and move quickly to remedy it.

On August 13th when Gen. Stark was on the ground with his fast-moving brigade from far off New Hampshire, Schuyler was still writing Trumbull that he had only 3400 troops and that as to the rest;

"not 40 militia on the ground, those of Massachusetts having left us to a man, instead of 2000 coming from that state.. Mr. President Seaver writes me that orders had been issued 'for the march of one-sixth part of six regiments in the county of Worcester and one in the county of Middlesex'. Such is the situation in which this army and this part of the unhappy state of New York is left."

Trumbull replied on the 16th (unaware that Stark was changing gloom into hope that day) that he was surprised there were only 3400 effectives because "Noxon's and Glover's brigades amounted to 2400.....What is become of the whole garrison that were at Ti?"

## THE ENLISTMENTS

Some twelve regiments were in existence in skeleton form in the militia of New Hampshire, as distinct from the three regiments of state troops in the Continental army. Locally and from time to time there had been drilling in the various towns. The units of militia forming Gen. Whipple's brigade were headed by prominent men. The regiments designated as forming the Second Brigade, General Stark's, were composed of recruits living in the southern, central and western portions of the state. To meet the menace of Burgoyne's invasion one sixth of the nominal strength was to be drawn, but it was to be drawn by voluntary and individual enlistments in the various towns, having little relation to the existing militia organizations. The Joint Legislative Committee found that to quickly raise the desired strength that three regimental units of Gen. Whipple's brigade should be brought in and Thornton's, Webster's and Badger's were designated. After passing muster the men were to receive a month's pay in advance and have a total of four pounds per month for the two months term. In addition travel allowance from their individual homes to No. 4, was granted at the rate of three pence per mile. In some way an obligation was extended to the volunteers that any "plunder money" should go to them and their officers, meaning that whatever of value might be found on the battlefield in the way of military booty, personal articles and the like would be shared. Stark honored this scrupulously and an equitable division was made after Bennington.

Of the incentives to enlistment in going against the foreign enemy that of patriotism came first. But due to widespread knowledge that John Stark was to lead them and be in command enough men were drafted in five days to more than compose two large regiments and leave some over. Colonels Nichols and Stickney became the heads of the two and a small regiment, mostly composed of men in the frontier towns, five companies, was headed by David Hobart.

On the 19th of July, the day Stark received his written orders, 226 men came forward and enlisted, on the next day 385 men, on the 21st 385 more men and on the 22nd 243 men and on the next and last day, 123 men. The willingness of 1405 men to leave their farms, shops, mills at a moment's notice was considered a remarkable response. It was a great tribute to the qualities of Colonel John Stark in the popular mind. In the emergency there was no other man in the state who could command the support he did. From every standpoint his designation by the authorities was fortunate and was approved. From the very start the auguries were favorable. Not the least of them was the way the veterans of Bunker Hill again flocked to his standard. No less than one in eight, actually 163 men, tried and tested, were found in the ranks. But of those heroic men whom Death spared at Bunker Hill some he marked for his own at Bennington.

The town histories of New Hampshire abound in incidents and stories of how the volunteers were provided for and equipped, many quite unprepared for their coming ordeals. On the spur of the moment everybody helped, in a hundred unobtrusive ways. A dramatic and inspiring incident, found in Rev. Mr. Bouton's History of Concord, was in 1860 quoted by Caleb Stark;

"As soon as it was decided to raise volunteer companies and place them under the command of General Stark, Col. Gordon Hutchins (member of the Assembly from Concord) mounted his horse and travelling all night, with all possible haste, reached Concord on the Sabbath afternoon before the close of the public service.

Dismounting at the meeting house door, he walked up the aisle of the old North Church while Mr. Walker was preaching. Mr. Walker paused in his sermon and said 'Col. Hutchins, are you the bearer of any message?' 'Yes,' replied the Colonel, 'General Burgoyne with his army is on the march to Albany. General Stark has offered to take the command of the New Hampshire men and if we all turn out we can cut off Burgoyne's march.' Whereupon Rev. Mr. Walker said 'My hearers, those of you who are willing to go had better leave at once'. At which all the men in the meeting house rose and went out; many immediately enlisted. The whole night was spent in preparation and a company was ready to march next day. Phineas Eastman said 'I can't go for I have no shoes' to which Samuel Thompson, a shoe-maker, replied 'Don't be troubled about that, for you shall have a pair before morning'; which was done. The late Jonathan Eastman, Sen. Esq. was in similar want of shoes and a new pair was made for him before morning."

Principally in Volume fifteen of New Hampshire State Papers the names and data of all officers and men are to be found, showing those who actually served in the campaign and were paid wages and travel allowances and for how many miles, &c. Easily referred to is the alphabetical list compiled by Geo. C. Gilmore in 1891 (John B. Clarke Co. Manchester, N. H. 56 pages) "Roll of New Hampshire soldiers at the Battle of Bennington, August 16th 1777."

The records of the Council of Safety do not show where they got the money but the Treasurer was authorised to pay the following amounts in connection with the regiments named, 12 of the old militia units, out of which Stark's regiments were to be organized;



Stickney, 1023	Hobart, 268.	Daniel Moore, 802.	Badger, 569.
Bellows, 478.	Morey, 246.	Chase, 348.	Webster, 431.
Nichols, 887.	Ashley, 765.	Enoch Hale, 769.	Thornton, 504.

The total is exactly 7000 pounds "lawful money", which may, at the time, have amounted to the same thing as John Langdon's "1000 pounds in hard money". The Delegates were entrusted with the handling of the money to get quick action, if the entry in the diary of Hon. Matthew Patten of Bedford is an indication, for he wrote down that he brought back to his constituency, Moore's local regiment, (Bedford, Derryfield and vicinity) just 802 pounds "lawful money". Many of the transactions of the Committee of Safety do not show in the published records and undoubtedly many of the records of the Treasurer have been lost. The emergency called for quick thinking and action. Currency had to be on the spot for the men enlisting were promised a month's pay in advance and travel money.

OFFICERS AND COMPANIES IN STARK'S REGIMENTS

Regiment of Col. Moses NICHOLS of Amherst:  
Major, Timothy Ellis, Keene      Lt. Col. William Gregg, Londonderry  
Adj. Robert Smith Londonderry      Qr. Master, Thaddeus Fitch, Amherst  
Surgeon, John Young, Peterborough.

Companies, enlisted men including Lieutenants and non-comis-  
sioned officers:

Captains;			
Daniel Reynolds, Londonderry,	71 men	Samuel Wright, Swanzey,	61 men
James Ford, Hudson,	54 men	John Goss, Hollis,	75 men
Salmon Stone Rindge,	75 men	Stephen Parker, New Ips.	71 men
Kimball Carleton, Chesterfield,	61 men	John Bradford, Amherst,	57 men
Elisha Mack, Gilsum,	40 men	Jesse Wilson, Pelham,	31 men

Regiment of Col. Thomas STICKNEY of Concord; Lt. Col. Nath.  
Emerson of Candia. Major, James Head, Pembroke. Major  
Brad. Richardson, Moultonboro. Quartermasters; Wm.  
Clements, Hopkinton, Joseph Stanley, Hopkinton. Surgeons;  
Josiah Chase, Canterbury, Daniel Peterson, Boscawen,  
Adjutant Edward Evans, Plymouth.

Captains;			
Chase Taylor, Sanbornton,	59 men	Ebenezer Webster, Salisbury,	42 men
Stephen Dearborn, Chester,	72 men	Samuel McConnell, Pembroke	88 men
Joshua Bayley, Hopkinton,	50 men	Peter Kimball, Boscawen,	53 men
Nathaniel Wilson, Gilmanton,	35 men	Benjamin Sias, Loudon	38 men
Peter Clark, Lyndeborough,	54 men	Jeremiah Gilman, Wakefield	45 men

Reg. of Col. David HOBART of Plymouth	Lt. Col. Chas. Johnston, Haverhill
Majs. Wm. Haywood, Charlestown,	Stephen Peabody, Amherst
Qr. Master, David Phelps, Orford	Adj. Jonathan Robbins, Plymouth,
Surgeon, Solomon Chase, Cornish	Chap. Aug. Hibbard, Claremont.
Clerk, John Casey, Epsom (he was assigned to General Stark)	

#### Captains:

Abel Walker, Charlestown, 60 men	Christopher Webber, Walpole,
Admund Elliott, Thornton, 44 men	51 men
Jeremiah Post, Orford, 47 men	Joshua Hendee, Hanover, 62 men

### STARK'S MOVEMENTS TOWARD BENNINGTON

The Vermont Committee expressed their gladness "to hear of Relief from you" and told him accommodations would be available, "Bed and other necessities which your Honour may need in camp for your own use." They had plenty of provision and ammunition "and more can be had on the shortest notice" but at Ticonderoga they had lost all their kettles.

To No. 4 the N.H. Committee sent Col. Samuel Folsom, to follow Stark if he had left and "to find out what circumstances his men are in, how they are provided for and what they are likely to want, "the State of Vermont (sic) having indicated that they would supply them with provisions.

Gen. Stark was to appoint necessary officers with the advice of the the field officers. There being no camp kettles the Committee hoped the men had carried some from home. The Committee were forwarding "all the medicines that could be procured and 44 bushels of salt and 1000 lbs. of musket balls." On July 18th "scout companies" proposed in the first draft of the Committee were eliminated.

On Monday, July 21, 1777 the Committee took action and the next day Stark was advised by messenger that a ton of lead, 500 lbs. of balls, 1600 flints and 17 barrels of gunpowder, were going forward to No. 4 Timothy Chamberlain bearing the letter to him and also a letter to Col. Hunt. Stark's letter of July 30th was probably written by his Clerk, Casey. The verities of Cogan's letter from the front were vouched for by Col. Bellows and other officers who were in the rout after Ticonderoga.

#### Charlestown, No. 4, July 30th, 1777

"I received yours of the 22nd inst. with the inclosed informing me of the situation of the enemy and of our frontiers; but previous to your letter I had received an Express from Col. Warner informing me of their situation and I forwarded 250 men to their relief on the 28th; I sent another detachment of this day and as fast as they come in I will send them. I expect to march myself to-morrow or next day; we are detained a good deal for want of Bullet molds as there is but one pair in Town and the few Balls

you sent goes but a little way in supplying the whole.

I am afraid we shall meet with difficulty in procuring Kettles or utensils to cook our Victuals as the Troops has not brought any. If such articles can be procured I believe it would be of the utmost importance to the safety and welfare of the Troops. I am informed this day by a man from Otter Creek that the Enemy is left Castletown and is gone to Skeensborough with an intent to march to Bennington but I rather think they do it by way of a faint to call the attention of General Schuyler from fort Edward or to Fatigue our Troops. There is four pieces of small cannon at this place that looks good but wants to be cleared out and put on Carriages; if you should think proper I will order it done as there is people here that says they can do it; as there is but very little Rum in the Store here if some could be forwarded to us it would oblige us very much as there is none of that article in them parts where we are agoing. I inclose you a Copy of a Letter I this moment received from Col. Williams and as you informed me when I saw you last that you had not received any account from any gentleman in the army since the desertion of Ticonderoga I likewise inclose you a Copy of a letter I recd from Mr. Coggan and by the best information is as near the truth as any you may receive. I have showed it to Col. Bellows and a number of other officers that was present and they say they could all sign it.

I am, Sirs, your Honours most

Obedt humble servt

JOHN STARK

I would take it kind if the Brigade Majors' Commission could be forwarded to me, as being present with me; his name is Stephen Peabody; likewise adjt. Edward Evans of Col. Stickney's Regt."

John Stark did not know that at this time Congress was ordering all the Ticonderoga generals to headquarters, Schuyler, St. Clair, Poor, Patterson and Roche deFermoy, though Washington later intervened so as not to deplete Northern headquarters. On July 31st Washington advised the New Hampshire authorities that the great British fleet that had left New York mysteriously was being sighted at the capes of the Delaware. He promptly instructed Gen. Putnam, up the Hudson, to send south all but 2000 of the troops. The following day Washington learned that the fleet had sailed again, necessitating a change in the instructions to Putnam.

On August 2nd Gen. Stark wrote the Committee from No. 4 that he proposed to set out for Manchester "to-morrow" and "I should have gone from here before now but could not get our balls run for want of



molds." Further abstracts are;

Had received Col. Folsom's letter.....All the powder stored was not found good.....could not estimate the stores at Bennington....enclosed Col. Williams letter....Ordered one company to stay to guard the state's stores....two companies to be at the height of land "between this place and Otter Creek for the security of the inhabitants".....Noticed the lack of spirits.....Required sealing wax and paper....Gave Col. Hunt's account of what was on hand - 15 barrels powder, 7 sheets of lead or pieces, 100 flints - Commisary Grout, 11 bbls. powder of which 9 were condemned....About 34 bushels of salt, 5 hogsheads of rum, 7 bbls. sugar...."Commisary Grout has dealt out to my brigade 509 lbs. powder, 710 lbs. balls and lead." When arriving at Manchester a list would be sent on of the number of men in that department.

On the 2nd the Committee wrote that they had not been able to procure kettles, that no rum was to be bought in the state. They authorized fixing the cannon. Gen. Stark must have started on his long march for on the 6th a copy of his order to Col. Hunt at Charlestown was sent from "Brumley" (Peru) to have the cannon mounted; his exact words being "I would request you to fix them cannon at No. 4 immediately" (Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll; I.194). He also ordered the cannon at Walpole "brought up to No. 4 and fix them on carriages". Hunt wrote he could not get men, seasoned timber or iron. In the harried and troublous times errors in grammar were common. Even the correspondence of Washington was not free, and allowances should be made for expressions since discarded.

On August 4th Congress advised New Hampshire that seven states had voted that Gen. Gates should command the Northern army; that Schuyler would be relieved at once, that New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania should send troops with rations and pay on the Continental scale, services to end with November. On August 6th Gates himself wrote from Philadelphia asking for 750 militia from New Hampshire. John Hancock, President, urged compliance with the request. All this was in ignorance of what New Hampshire was doing alone and how Stark had been commissioned a Brigadier General and was already in Vermont on his way.

Child's History of Windham County, Vermont, gives Stark as passing through Peru on August 6th (it was on the 7th) and that his men

"passed over Huntley hill, south of the ravine, thence north of the north village" (Londonderry) "across the Utley flats in Landgrove and camped near a spring on the Ira K. Batchelder farm

now owned by Mark B. Lyon in Peru. The following day he crossed the mountain nearly a mile north of the present turnpike and camped in Manchester."

In 1899 the "Sons and Daughters of Vermont" erected a monument commemorating the passage of Gen. Stark and 1000 of his volunteer force.

So, brave men led by a dauntless soldier with meager equipment and depending on sustenance from the sparsely settled Vermonters, went forward, up and down mountains, threading wild trails, to go against an enemy many times larger than any forces that the threatened settlers could raise. It is one of the inspiring journeys and will not be forgotten.

Stark made prompt and comprehensive preparations for the care and comfort of his men. August 2nd there had been a letter to the Selectman of Charlestown to "please procure barracks and cooking utensils". The next day Stark appointed a Surgeon, Dr. Solomon Chase of Col. Hobart's regiment, with instructions to "take under your care all the sick.....receive medicines....send me an account of....the sick". On the same day spiritual welfare of the soldiers was contemplated in the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Hibbard as Chaplain. He was requested to "come without delay to Manchester".

Col. Seth Warner was at Manchester when he wrote Stark on July 24th that the enemy, 2000 of whom were at Castleton, Rutland and Skeensborough, were "making preparations for speedy movement toward this camp." It was a misinterpreted rumor. Warner asked for "speedy assistance" and said that the Council of Safety were present and joined in urging it. Four days later Col. William Williams also wrote "I hope your Honour will push on with the greatest expedition, by companies". Stark had sent on ahead about 700 men and promised Warner that he would follow with 300 and that the whole brigade would be together in a few days and "would consist of at least 1500."

Out of the six remaining regiments of Gen. Whipple's brigade drafting of one half of those enrolled was decided on by the Council and House to form a force to protect the sea-coast, New Hampshire and the adjacent lines. How complete the organization and equipment became at the time is uncertain. After the first engagement with Burgoyne Gen. Gates called for assistance and Gen. Whipple marched with a well equipped brigade to the Hudson river camps.

#### CONGRESS NOT ADVISED?

New Hampshire refrained from advising Congress of its action in raising a militia force to go against Burgoyne in conjunction with the Green Mountain Boys. That the Council and members of the House realized the almost violently independent course would be resented by Congress is certain but nothing must be allowed to delay or prevent it.

When Delegate Nathaniel Folsom left for Philadelphia on July 8th the crisis had not occurred. He arrived after 12 days of travel "being stopped two days on the road by bad weather". Strange to say the news by way of Massachusetts, or from any other quarter, by fast "express" riding did not get to Congress until a letter from Josiah Bartlett to Folsom was received. As late as August 1st Bartlett in writing Folsom with-held the big news and only referred to the effect of the loss of Ticonderoga (inference from letter of Aug. 12th, Folsom to Bartlett, Dart. Coll. Library).



## IN VERMONT. STARK FACES LINCOLN

Schuyler sent Lincoln with a small detachment of Continental troops to Manchester to protect "the Grants" from the menace of possible raids by Burgoyne. Warner was there with what remained of his regiment. Other small units of "Green Mountain Boys" had gathered. Hearing of New Hampshire's intentions Schuyler had written Warner desiring that Capt. Fitch (Thaddeus Fitch of Amherst, Quartermaster of Nichols' regiment) join up with Warner. Five days later, July 21st Schuyler advised Washington what he was doing and Washington, in due time sent his approval, the menace to Burgoyne's rear would keep in him "in continual anxiety". Up to August 16 Washington (to Clinton) retained this idea. But when St. Leger appeared before Fort Stanwix (Rome) real danger appeared in the opposite quarter. Schuyler, thoroughly alarmed, as was the whole Albany-Schenectady area, wrote on August 4th to Lincoln "March with your whole force, except Warner's regiment and join with all possible dispatch." An unknown number of New Hampshire men had arrived at Manchester in advance of Stark and Lincoln thus learned of the force that state was rushing to the protection of the region. He could hardly have found out the exact scope of Gen. Stark's authority. At the Manchester rallying point the Vermont Committee had men to do whatever was possible. When Schuyler's orders came to Lincoln the whole situation, from a state of partial security changed to one of great apprehension. Into this scene Stark, with the major part of his little army, was projected.

## AT MANCHESTER, AUGUST 6th 1777

Five years younger than Stark, Benjamin Lincoln of Hingham, Massachusetts Bay, had at age 44 risen rapidly from a Lt. Colonel of militia in his father's regiment, without seeing service in action, and from being a member of the Provincial Congress in 1775, was made a brigadier general, then major general of militia, then, skipping the Brigadier grade became a Major General of the United States army. After being nearly captured at Bound Brook he was sent north. Throughout his life, a man of honest and sound views he was destined to a career

of failures, yet the public never seemed to lose confidence in him, even after his calamitous affairs in the South. Barrel-chested, stout, probably important in mien, later to be more corpulent, this was the man that the veteran Stark, his antithesis, confronted, on that afternoon. It was only 10 days before the Bennington victory that gave to Stark enduring fame. It was a dynamic moment, one that produced heat but no explosion. Stark had received Lincoln's polite note;

"Sir. I should be very happy to see you this afternoon. I received a letter from General Schuyler last night, the contents of which I wish to communicate to you. I hope the remainder of your troops will soon be in." (Sparks MSS.Harvard Univ.Lib.)

Before the interview Stark learned of the orders Lincoln had given his (Stark's) troops to prepare to leave, under Schuyler's directions. They are reflected in the letter Capt. Peter Clark of Lyndeborough, Stickney's regiment, wrote to his wife.

"We have made us tents with boards but this moment we have had orders to march for Bennington and leave them and from thence we are to march for Albany to join the Continental army and try to stop Burgoyne in his career. A few minutes after I finished my letter there was a considerable turn in affairs by reason of Gen. Stark arriving in town. The orders we had for marching was given by Gen. Lincoln. What passed between Lincoln and Stark is not known, but by what we can gather together Stark chooses to command himself. I expect we shall march for Bennington next Sabbath and where we shall go from there I cannot tell."

(N. E. H-G Register, XIV.121-2)

There was no compromising at the interview. What it was like had best be gleaned from the letter Stark promptly wrote his authorities, the following morning. It is hard to believe that President Weare suppressed this important document. Yet it remained for a century and a half in the private papers (though addressed to the Committee of Safety of New Hampshire) unpublished now known as the "Weare Papers", (manuscript), lodged with the New Hampshire Historical Society. Had it been made known, even within a generation after its date (Aug. 7th, 1777) Stark's reputation would not have suffered historically. He would not have been judged by the letter Lincoln wrote Schuyler following the interview and which Schuyler, little thinking he was blundering, sent to Congress. It became usual to attribute to Stark obstinacy, recalcitrancy, insubordination and a willful and selfish desire for aggrandizement, due to a stubborn determination to control his new command - all in the face of a desperate situation. Unfortunately Stark's previous career added some color. Yet it was not long before Stark, Schuyler and Lincoln

were working in full harmony, once the other two recognized Stark's command. Had Stark yielded to Lincoln's prodding, had he been stung into compliance, as many a weaker man might have been, Stark's little army would soon have been down at the Hudson, Baum would have been unopposed in his march to Bennington and that check would not have been given Burgoyne which made the turning point of the American Revolution possible at Saratoga. Stark felt in duty bound to protect, first of all, the Vermont frontier. He and the leaders there acted in complete accord.

#### STARK TO COMMITTEE OF SAFETY

"I arrived at this place yesterday afternoon, awaited on the commanding officer, Gen. Lincoln, who informed me that it was Gen. Schuyler's orders to him, to take command of the militia; and march them to Stillwater, where he is retreated to----I informed him that my orders was not to put myself under the Command of the Continental Troops, But was to meet and Consult with the Committee of the State, and to act in Conjunction with the States troops or those of any other - or in Conjunction with the Troops of the United States, but was not to be commanded by either of them.

The inhabitants that do Reside on this side of the river apprehend themselves in great dangers by reason of the near approach of the enemy, in their late moments, and do Universally declare, they will Retire with their families from that part of the Grants that lays above Bennington. Gen. Burgoyne and his Troops are at Sillwater----The savages have killed and Scalped several women and Children, which very much frightened and damped the Spirits of the remainder of the Inhabitants. I have met and conferr'd with the Committee of this State, they are of opinion that if my troops is ordered to join the Continental troops, on the west side of the North river that the inhabitants are in imminint danger and determin'd to withdraw, into our State, or into the Massachusetts State - and thereby leave ours the Frontier. I am much of a similar opinion, as all the Troops are drawn from this place except what under my Command, and about one hundred of Col. Warner's regiment also mine are not all as yet arrived. I shall tarry here until Sunday and hope by that time they will all join, and then I will march for Bennington, and there shall wait your further Orders--

But must beg it as a favor, in addition to the many already conferred on me by your Honors -- not to put me under the Command of those officers on whose account I quitted the army, Lest the remedy should prove worse to me than the disease.

I have this moment Rec'd Intelligence, by two persons who made their escape from Ticonderoga, belonging to our State,



who was captivated at the time of the evacuation of that fortress, except a few that is employ'd in Transporting their Store to Lake George -- I understand they take but very little care of the Prisoners as they leave them every day, more or less.

The Strength of Gen. Schuyler's army I cannot ascertain. But I am affraid he will retreat to Albany, as he has forfeited the peoples confidence in him, entirely - I am Gentlemen with great Respects, your most obdeient And most Humble Servant,

JOHN STARK B.D.G.

PS With respect to Stores, I cannot see how it will be of any Consequence to us at this juncture, to so forward any to this place as it is impossible they can arrive here in season. Rum at this place is Twenty Shillings a Quart, from them you Can form a Judgment Gent. how much we can afford to Drink."

From Lincoln's letter to Schuyler, which follows, it may be surmised that Stark became nettled at the attitude of Major General Benjamin Lincoln. The latter's expression "became exceedingly soured" was in bad taste regarding a man who had "suffered the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune", contrasting with himself. As long as he lived John Stark had reason to deplore Schuyler's hurrying it to Congress.

"Yesterday General Stark from New Hampshire came into camp at Manchester. By his instructions from that state it is at his option to act in conjunction with the Continental army or not. He seems to be exceedingly soured and thinks he hath not had justice done him by Congress. He is determined not to join the Continental army until the Congress have given him his rank there in; his claim is to command all the officers he commanded last year, as also all those who joined the army after him. Whether he will march his troops to Stillwater or not I am quite at a loss to know. But if he doth it is a fixed point with him to act there as a separate corps and take no orders from any officer in the northern department, saving your honor, for he saith they all were either commanded by him the last year or joined the army after him. It is very unhappy this matter is carried by him to so great a length, especially at a time when every exertion for our common safety is so absolutely necessary. I have good reason to believe that if the State of New Hampshire were informed of the matter they would give new and very different instructions to Gen. Stark. The troops from the Massachusetts are collecting here. I don't know what number may be expected. I suppose the rear will be up to-night at farthest."

The manuscript copy of this letter is in Bartlett correspondence, Dartmouth College library, in the hand of George Frost, Delegate to Congress from New Hampshire. See also State Papers VIII, 662 and Lossing's Schuyler, II, 263. "Lincoln was mistaken in thinking N. H. would give 'new and very different instructions'" is comment found in "Stark's Independent Command at Bennington" by Prof. Herbert D. Foster, in collaboration with Thomas W. Streeter (Proceedings N. Y. State Historical Assoc. 1904, published, Vol. V, 1905) an historical paper of the first quality, deserving a wider public. The authors did not have the benefit of the withheld (Weare-received) letter of Gen. Stark (Aug. 7, 1777) but they had the acumen not to be misled. Their 95 pages form a remarkable contribution.

On receipt of Lincoln's letter about Stark's attitude Schuyler in his reply was more tactful than his action in sending the letter post-haste to Congress, without at all considering its natural effect on that body.

"You will please assure Gen. Stark that I have acquainted Congress with his situation and that I trust and entreat he will, on the present and alarming crisis, waive his right, as the greater the sacrifice he makes to his feelings, the greater will be the honor due to him."

Lincoln forwarded Schuyler's letter to Stark, who could not fail to be impressed by the courtesy and consideration of both men, adding;

"I can only subjoin my entreaties to his that you will not now, when every exertion for the common safety is necessary, suffer any consideration to prevent your affording him all the succour in your power." (Sparks Mss. X-290)

An office copy of a reply to Stark's letter was prepared by Weare (the use of "I" betraying it) but it is unsigned and stands without date and may never have been sent. (State Papers VIII. 662-3). Stark was, when it might have been received, actively co-operating with Schuyler and Lincoln, a few days before Bennington. Baum's advance changed all that.

"Sir- I received yours of the 7th instant this morning & laid it before the Committee who are much distressed least misunderstandings distrusts and disputes among ourselves should ruin the country. Your directions from this Committee were in a considerable degree left discretionary to yourself & must still remain so, although they expect you will at this crisis, at this time when our enemies are making their greatest exertions and penetrating into the country, exert yourself to oppose them in the best manner you can and act in conjunction with

any troops in harassing the enemy - of which they have the greatest dependance from your character for courage and firmness - and have no doubt but that you with the advice of your officers will act in such a manner as shall appear prudent & careful for the general concern & that the result will be honourable to yourself & the State you belong to. The greatest pains has been taken to get tin kettles, 25 have been procured & sent off three days ago which I hope you will receive as soon as this; a person is gone to Boston some days after more which if possible to be procured will be forwarded. Printed Rules and Articles for governing the Contingental Troops, which are to be the rule for yours, I send by this opportunity, also the Commissions you wrote for.

### NEW HAMPSHIRE'S DELEGATES AND CONGRESS

Strangely enough there is meager evidence as to when and how Congress received the news of the action of New Hampshire. By inference it was not until Aug. 19th. (Folsom and Frost to New Hampshire authorities, after Bennington victory) and until that time the delegates of the state had "no information" but acknowledged they had received from Mr. Bartlett, "a letter." Schuyler's advices had been sent by fast courier and reached Philadelphia in about eleven days. Immediately Congress was in a hubbub over Stark's "insubordination" and New Hampshire's independent expedition. Apparently Folsom and Frost sat very meekly until it was seen to be their duty to defend their state. Congress was in no mood to tamely approve. It voted (Jour. Cong. III, 337-8) to demand that New Hampshire alter its instructions to Gen. Stark. It assumed that the militia was out "at the expense of the United States" which was not a fact, at least only as to muskets and other supplies then available from the secret French contributions received at Portsmouth. The sensitively virtuous action of Congress was taken three days after the victory at Bennington of which that body had heard nothing. In spite of the resolution being essentially in discipline of Stark, a direct censure of him (offered by Maryland) was voted down, all the New England delegates being against it.

"That a copy of Gen. Lincoln's letter be forthwith transmitted to the Council of New Hampshire and that they be informed that the instructions which Gen. Stark says he has received from them are destructive of military subordination and highly prejudicial to the common cause at this crisis and that therefore they be desired to instruct Gen. Stark to conform himself to the same rules which other general officers of the militia are subject to whenever they are called out at the expense of the United States."



There is more than a trace of "eyewash" especially about rank in the letter Folsom and Frost sent to New Hampshire. Was it not hastily composed as the astounding news of Stark's victory at Bennington came, when Schuyler's courier galloped into Philadelphia? The state was not happy in the caliber of either of its Delegates. Incidentally Folsom seems to have come in from the side lines, when everyone was cheering for General John Stark.

"The inclosed is a copy of General Lincoln's letter to General Schuyler and the Resolution of Congress on receiving it, which was the 19th instant. Some of the southern Gentlemen made themselves very warm on the occasion, threw out many illiberal reflections on General Stark and some on the Legislative authority of the State of New Hampshire - which made your delegates sit very uneasy in their chairs even to give them time to go through, but in our turn we informed Congress that we had no information from the State of New Hampshire to inform us what the reasons were that induced them to give such orders to General Stark but that we had received a letter from the Honbl. Josiah Bartlett, a member of the Council of that state and lately a member of Congress, which had given us some of their reasons and were such in our opinion as were conclusive and would justify the conduct of that State in the eyes of the whole world; That in the first place the Militia of that State had lost all confidence in the General Officers who had the command at Tyconderoga when it was evacuated and given up to our enemies; that they would not turn out nor be commanded by such officers; that the preservation of the lives of the inhabitants on our frontiers and the cause in which we were all engaged made such orders at that critical time absolutely necessary; that we were not about to justify General Stark for making a demand of rank in the army at that critical time but we well knew he had a great deal to say for himself on that head and that he had been in almost all the engagements to the northward, and distinguished himself, while others were advanced over his head. Yesterday a motion was made by Maryland and seconded that a Resolve of Congress might be passed to censure his conduct in refusing to submit to the Rules and Regulations of the Army; on which a large debate ensued in which we were supported by all the New England Delegates and some of the Virginians: on motion being made it was agreed it should lie on the table and carried by a grate majority. We informed Congress that a motion of that sort came with a very bad grace from Maryland who only, of the thirteen United States, has seen fit to make laws directly in opposition to Congress by refusing that their Militia should

be subjected to the rules and regulations of the army, when joined; and we informed Congress that we had not the least doubt that the first battle they heard of from the north would be fought by Stark and the troops commanded by him....and that I should not be afraid to risk my honor nor my life they would do as much towards the defence of that part of the country and the common cause as the same number of any of the troops in that department.

I will leave you, Sir, to judge of our feelings, when the very next day we had a confirmation of what we had asserted by an express from General Schuyler giving an Account of the victory obtained by General Stark and the troops under his command. We believe this circumstance only will make those easy who have been trying to raise a dust in Congress.

We are, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Yr most obedt Humbl servts

Nathl Folsom

Geo. Frost.

(N.H. State Papers, VIII,663-4)

#### PERTINENT CORRESPONDENCE

James Lovell, delegate from Massachusetts Bay wrote on August 18th from Philadelphia to his friend, William Whipple of New Hampshire, (a "signer" and soon to be delegate himself and still sooner a militia General at the front with Gates)

"In the name of the Union what orders have you given Stark? He had better have tarried at home than to march so far as he has, to refuse Continental regulations. He knew them before he set out. Maryland will not let her militia be under Continental Articles of War. But then she does not send her men out of the state, still this is consented to-secret-and scandalous. I do not know the merit of Stark's case, but he makes great confusion."

(Sparks MSS, Harvard Coll. Library)

Lovell's reply, from Whipple at Portsmouth was dated (only 7 days after Lovell wrote) August 25th. Was it not embarrassing when Whipple sat at Schuyler's table two months later?

"Before I say a word of your letter which was received by Bass late last evening I must congratulate you heartily on the glorious victory gained by our poor despised militia over a division of Burgoyne's invincible army who were sweeping before them with the besom of destruction, our Veteran Army with our Veteran General at the head??? But somebody will undertake to call this military check,

two or three more such military checks will make Mr. Burgoyne sick of his Elbow Room; Have they had a knock yet at Stillwater? I hope that wont come till a certain letter writer get to a place of safety for I think it would be a pity he should be discomposed lest he be siezed with a fit of the rheumatism or a certain eruptive disorder that the Gentn is subject to on certain occasions; this would produce such a fit of letter writing that much paper would be wasted as well as much precious time in a certain room reading those precious performances; but as we hear Gates was at Fishkill on the 13th I hope he will be in season to save the good man much trouble."

(Sparks MSS. Harvard Coll. Library)

Was the omission of Stark's name purely incidental? "Solid, sensible Whipple" in this surviving missive showed some of the private feelings that men prominent in their day, had for each other.

Frost in a personal letter to Bartlett (I. Dartmouth Coll. Library) called Stark's attitude, as reported by Lincoln, as "Very alarming to Congress that Gen. Starkes taking Occasion to Resent any Supposed Affrunt by Congress to him when his Country lays at Stake, at the same time would take notis that we shall loose the benefit of our troops being put in the Continental pay", but he supposes Stark could not have known of "a new plan agreed on in Baltimore..... that Every State should in some measure have their proportion of Gen'l Officers according to the Troops they Raised by which Reason some officers was superceded or as they call affronted." The letter was written before news of Bennington had been received, causing Prof. Foster's comment;

"Unfortunately it was upon Lincoln's letter that contemporary judgment of New Hampshire's action was based, and later writers have started from this false basis."

Foster would have made it stronger had he been in possession of the Stark-to-the Council of New Hampshire letter, long concealed in the files of Meschech Weare.

#### THE PLAN OF SCHUYLER, LINCOLN AND STARK

Schuyler's idea to use Lincoln and Warner to annoy Burgoyne's flank (or rear) met with Stark's approval provided the protection of the Grants was continued and his own command recognized. A plan was developed, never put on paper, the spot for a rendezvous variously indicated, "the Northern part of the Cambridge district" (Aug. 12th) which might mean Greenwich, Salem, Argyle or even Pawlet. The strange



part of it was that Schuyler wanted Stark to march his men to the Hudson river to get there.

Conditions were rapidly changing. Burgoyne, having been for weeks at Fort Edward, sending Fraser's corps ahead on the 9th. moving down himself on the 12th of August to Fort Miller, occupying Duer's house. Schuyler (from the 8th till the 11th at Albany) went back to his army at Stillwater, writing from there one of his finest letters, appealing to Stark as a patriot;

To Gen. Stark;

" Stillwater, Aug.12th,1777

Dear General. As the route through Schaghticoke to this place will save at least twelve miles march you will please to come that way. It gives me great pleasure to find that you are coming on with your troops. Be assured that I would not wish you to do anything inconsistent with your Honor, but in this critical conjuncture, if a Gentleman, while he asserts his Rights, sacrifices his feelings to the good of his country, he will merit the thanks of his country.

On your arrival you will be informed that I have also been injuriously treated, but until the country is in safety and that I have done my duty as a good citizen, I will stifle my resentment.

Adieu. I am yours,

Ph: Schuyler."

Philip Schuyler probably never ceased to appreciate John Stark's action in responding to his appeal to join him. All the relations between Schuyler and Stark became cordial and remained so throughout the close contacts of the war. That two men of such different types could respect each other is the best evidence of the fine qualities of each. Later relations became closer, personally, through Caleb Stark. Stark's letter to Lincoln has not heretofore been published, discovered, in 1940, by the author in the "Fogg Collection" in the vaults of the Maine Historical Society; Without its text its tenor was nevertheless correctly interpreted by Foster and Streeter, from the nature of Lincoln's reply. (Stark Papers, N.H. Hist. Society);

"Bennington, August 13,1777

Dr General

I this moment received your express just as I was beginning to march my brigade from hence. The reason of my setting out yesterday was because my brigade could not be supplied with provisions or carriages to transport the same together with our baggage. I presume General from your letter that our plan has effectually taken place. I have consulted the Committee of Safety of this place as well as the Colonels Warner and Wms. They all agree that it will be very Detrimental to my troops to march to the Camp as it would cause them to march fifty miles to gain fifteen. We imagine that the order was given on the supposition

that I with my troops was on my march and had advanced a good part of the way. I shall meet you with my troops at the place appointed. Col. Warner is to meet with his at the same place. Ammunition will be wanted as there is very little at this place - Balls in a particular manner. But if it is thought best that I should march to the Camp I will immediately acquiesce with it. I have this moment received Intelligence that a party of Indians fifty in number have this day been seen in Cambridge. I have sent two hundred men to intercept their progress. I am sir your friend & Humble Servant.

John Stark

N B This moment information came to hand that a large body of the enemy are on their march to Cambridge."

(Inscribed on the back "To Major General Lincoln at Stillwater.")

Lincoln's reply was;

"Half Moon, August 14, 1777.

Dear General;

Your favor of yesterday's date I received on the road to this place. As the troops were not on the march I am glad you detained them in Bennington. Our plan is adopted. I will bring with me camp kettles, axes, ammunition and flints. I expect from Albany a surgeon with a case of capital instruments, bandages, dressing, medicines, &c., &c. You will please to meet us as proposed on the morning of the 18th. If the enemy shall have possession of that place and in your opinion it becomes improper for us to rendezvous there, you will be so good as to appoint another and advise me of the place. You will give me leave to recommend that all the troops march as light as possible, bringing only their blankets, a second shirt and a pair of stockings, beside what they have on. I am, sir, your most obed<sup>t</sup> humble serv<sup>t</sup>. B. Lincoln.

Brigadier General Stark."

### "THE GOOD OF MY COUNTRY"

On August 13th, the same day Stark wrote Lincoln, he replied to Schuyler's dispatch of the 12th. Stark's letter, in the original, is probably among the "Schuyler Papers", still reposing in the mass, in the New York Public Library. The following is a copy loaned by Hall Park McCullough, Esq. In supplying it he made possible the completion of the correspondence. It is one of Stark's most important letters, first as a revelation of his staunch patriotism and instant response to Schuyler's appeal. He would "throw away all private Resentment when put in Balance with the Good of my Country". Secondly he explained that he would have gone to Stillwater to see Schuyler "but the Distance of the Way and the Danger of passing prevent". Lastly he hurried to Schuyler startling news, sending his dispatch instanter. As it turned out the foray

and surprise came from the enemy. When it came Stark had to act quickly.

"Bennington, August 13, 1777.

Dear General

I this moment received your favor by Express - I was then on my march - By Virtue of the above I halted my troops and consulted with the Colonels Williams and Warner, also with the committee of War for this State - I find that they are all of opinion that my marching to join the Army will answer no other purpose but to plague and harass the Troops as the Distance from this place to the Camp is 30 miles and 20 miles to the place of Rendezvous, which is but 15 miles from here. It will most certainly weary the troops very much. Should that plan miscarry I am determined to join the Army without Delay - I shall meet Gen. Lincoln at the place where he has appointed Col. Warner to meet;

I am much obliged to you for your friendly Advice. I join with you in Sentiment and shall throw away all private Resentment, when put in Balance with the Good of my Country - I think that the present plan will give the Army in general present Satisfaction and stop the progress of murmuring.

I should have come and advised with you, but the Distance of the Way and the Danger of passing prevent.

Fifty Indians have been seen this day at Cambridge - I have sent 200 men to oppose them & if possible to stop them doing Mischief. Another Express 4 oclock in the afternoon informs that a large party are on their March to Cambridge in order to join the above. I am, sir, your most obed<sup>t</sup>. servant,

JOHN STARK

To Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler."

From Stillwater on August 12th. Schuyler had sent a message marked "Secret" to Col. Warner. He was advised of a movement "to fall in the enemy's rear". At the time Burgoyne was supposed to be still at Fort Edward.

"You will therefore march your regiment and such of the militia and ranging companies as you can speedily collect to the northern part of Cambridge District in this state where the troops from hence will be there to join you, so as to be there on the 18th inst. at the farthest-It will be necessary that you drive fat cattle with you for the subsistence of your Men and twenty more for the troops that go from this place."

(Schuyler's Orderly Book)



## THE FICKLE HAND OF FATE

On August 13th, Lincoln received Schuyler's orders at Stillwater intending that he take command, (full text of the communication unknown since the advertised sale in 1888 by Libbey, Boston) but in general carrying out the plan. Slow moving Lincoln did not set out that day or the next, not, in fact, till the 15th. Had he left promptly his route would have been over to Schaghticoke, up the Hoosic to the present Eagle Bridge and from thence to Cambridge. Lincoln evidently expected that both Stark and Warner would be at the rendezvous before him. He had plenty of time if the 18th was set for the final gathering. It is probable that he had reason to suspect that Schuyler would be superseded by another Major General. As he was one himself and was available, did Lincoln hang around in the hope of receiving news of an appointment? Whether it was an avoidable delay or otherwise, the fact caused him to lose the opportunity of commanding in an action with Lt. Col. Baum. The delay also caused a shifting of the locality of a clash of arms from the vicinity of Cambridge. It was Stark's force not his own that encountered the enemy. The valley of the Walloomsac became the battle area. It was a near thing. Near enough to have made the "Battle of Bennington" as such, not the clear-cut victory it was, or on the battle ground, but an affair of uncertain outcome elsewhere.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of August 13th, 1777, the situation of Stark's command was this; He with his troops, accompanied by Col. Warner (but not by Warner's "regiment") was on his way to the agreed upon meeting place, somewhere, in a considerable area, north of Cambridge village. Stark and his Vermont volunteers had broken camp on the Dimick ground to the south west of Bennington, the line of march being down the Walloomsac. The woman appeared bearing the news that a menacing party of more than 50 Indians had arrived at Cambridge. Stark halted in order to detach a reconnoitering party of 200 under Lt. Col. Gregg. Shortly the second message came from Cambridge, of the advance of a large expedition of the enemy following the Indians.

## STARK'S MOMENTOUS DECISIONS

With dramatic suddenness Stark was faced with unpredictable consequences. He did not hesitate. He did not play for time to send word to Lincoln or to Schuyler. He moved toward the oncoming enemy, intending to back up Gregg, meaning to be governed by whatever course should be advisable after learning of the probable size of the opposition. He had alternatives; fight, feint, take to the side lines or retreat. A less courageous commander would have sent, on a fast horse, a messenger to the Hudson to find Lincoln or Schuyler.

## SCHUYLER AWAITING DISPLACEMENT

He was indifferently keeping in touch with the progress of Burgoyne, perhaps learning nothing of his sending off Lt. Col. Baum to secure the stores and other necessities at Bennington. On the very day of the battle he wrote Gen. Artemus Ward, of the Massachusetts militia, that Lincoln was joining Stark "to try to make a diversion and draw off the attention of the enemy" (from himself, of course) having the day previous written Lincoln, from "forts, five miles below Stillwater."

"I have expected Major Claiborne here that I might transmit you copy of General Stark's letter to me - As he is not come, I send it you by Express - you will see his Determination and regulate yourself accordingly - It will be best to cross the River about a mile below this where will be Batteaus for the purpose and where what Carriages necessary can also ford."

(letter, 1904, collection Sam'l. T. Crosby, Esq. Hingham, Mass.)

At this time Schuyler had been to Albany and had been handed a dispatch from Congress announcing that Gen. Gates had been appointed to succeed him. (Reynold's, Chronicles of Albany). About to mount his horse to return to the camp he did not change his intention but went on. Not until battle day did young Jonathan Trumbull, son of the Governor of Connecticut, and a somewhat privileged character about the camps, write his father from Albany, "Gen. Burgoyne is making, we hear, an expedition eastward to Bennington". Did this come about from Stark's letter of the 13th? On the 17th unaware of the battle, Trumbull wrote "Hourly expectations of some important event turning up in the Grants; skirmishing has happened --- Gen. Lincoln is moved this day with about 5 or 600 of our little army to fall in and cooperate with Stark." (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1902, 7th series.)

## GENERAL HORATIO GATES TAKES OVER

Despite Washington's friendship with Schuyler, the Schuyler party in Congress was not able to overcome the dismay of that body and their lack of confidence, seeing that the greatest menace of the war was plainly facing the country. Frost wrote Bartlett on the 19th (unconscious that three days before Stark had administered the first check to the British army) an acknowledgment of the letter written 25 days before;

"You say that the appointment of Schuyler to the command at the Northward gave great uneasiness to New Hampshire & I'll add to many other states also and that very justly. The Delegates from the Eastern States told Congress that the people of those states had no confidence in sd general but the influence of said man and the Delegates of New York (Dewane & Duer in

my opinion is no better than their General) had more wait in Congress at that time than all the Delegates of the Eastern States and obtained a majority of one in his favor. They now see the ill consequence of that appointment and have ordered General Gates to supercede him..... Enclosed you will find a copy of a letter from General Lincoln to General Schuyler."

Stickney's Patriot article of 1810 was followed closely in 1822 by Farmer and Moore in their Collections, representing one of the best of the "family" accounts. Stickney;

"He found the advantages of his independent command immediately upon his arrival at Manchester for the packs of his men were paraded as for a march. He inquired of the cause and was informed that Gen. Lincoln had been there and had ordered them off to the Sprouts, at the mouth of the Mohawk River. He sought for and found Lincoln and demanded of him his authority for undertaking the command of his men. Lincoln said it was by order of Gen. Schuyler. Stark desired him to tell Gen. Schuyler that he considered himself adequate to the command of his own men and gave him copies of his commission and orders. Schuyler opened a correspondence with Stark and endeavored to prevail on him to come to the Sprouts. The latter gave him a detail of his intended operations, viz, to fall upon the rear of Burgoyne, to harass and cut off his supplies. Gen. Schuyler approved of the plan and offered to furnish him with five or six hundred more (men) to carry it into execution. After a few days tarry at Manchester he proceeded to Bennington." While he was making arrangements to execute his plan, on the 14th of August a woman came to him as an express from the town of Cambridge (10 miles northwest from Bennington in the state of New York) informing him that 200 Indians had come there that morning, and in a few hours another came from the same place (for it was not safe for men to travel at that time) who informed that 1500 Hessians and Tories had arrived since the Indians. There was a quantity of flour at some mills a few miles from where he lay; he supposed the flour was their object and he sent off a party immediately for its security, following himself with what force he had as soon as possible."



## BENNINGTON

Bennington, the supreme episode of Stark's life, is necessarily a long recital. A synopsis will enable some readers to skip it, others to run through it casually. The student will, perhaps, be afforded a clearer understanding of the many angles and details when those are encountered.

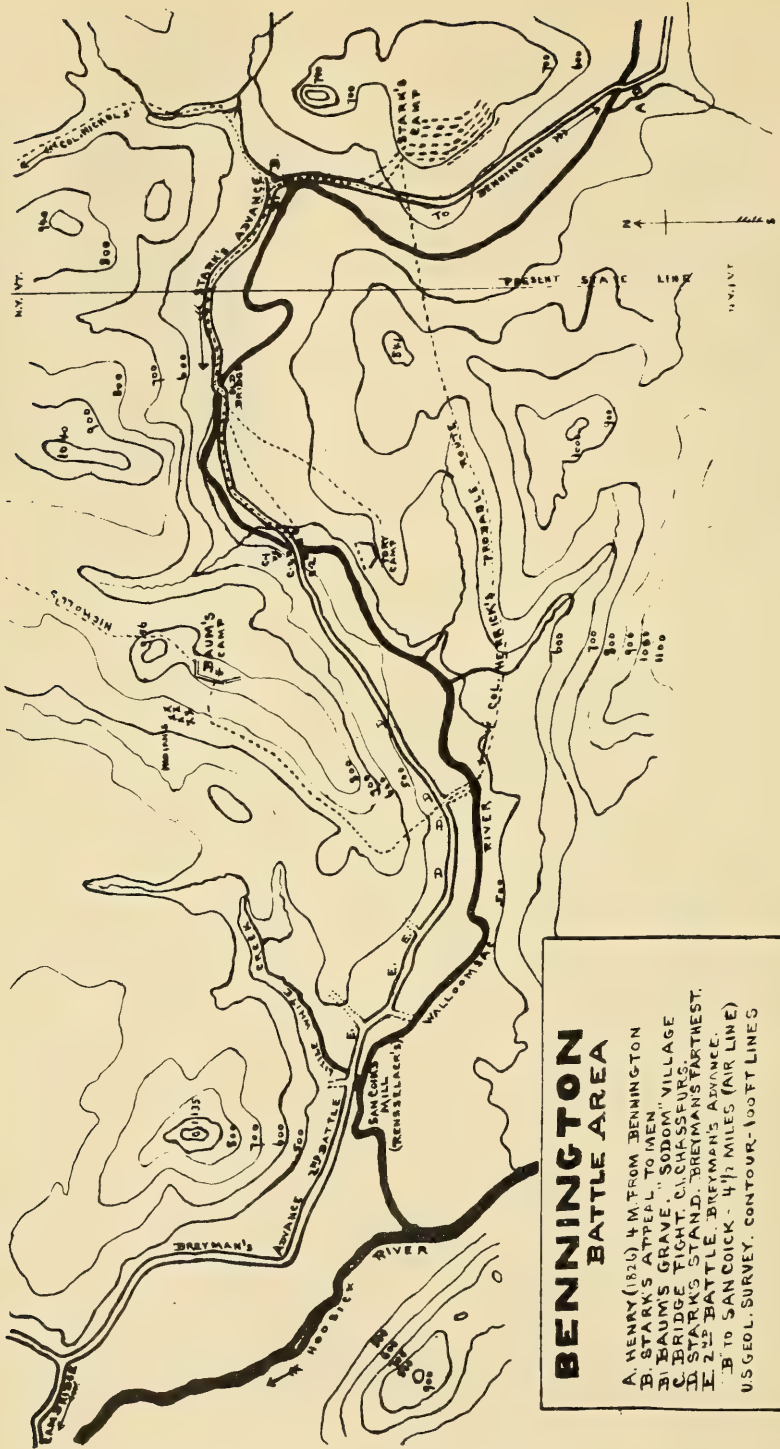


## SYNOPSIS

Gen. Burgoyne, in dire need of fodder for the mounts of his officers and the teams hauling the army stores and equipment, for horses for his unmounted dragoons, for cattle and for grain and flour for the troops, planned an expedition to get what he heard was at Bennington. Not knowing of the swift moving Stark and his New Hampshire men, Burgoyne sent off only about 500 troops under Lt. Col. Baum, from the main camp on the Hudson. In the valley of the little river, Walloomsac, Baum encountered 200 Americans under Lt. Col. Gregg, who discretely withdrew. Baum, advancing, ran into Stark's hastily gathered force of about 1500. Baum climbed a convenient wooded hill, felled trees for an intrenchment and sent for reinforcements. He received word they were already started in accordance with the plan. Col. Breyman was given, for the purpose, about 500 men, with two more cannon.

A day and a night of very heavy rain delayed Stark's purpose for an immediate attack. On the 16th of August, 1777, the brilliant summer afternoon was accompanied by great heat and humidity. Stark and his officers figured that even after three o'clock they had a fair chance of accomplishing their purpose of surprising Baum on his hill by having two long arms converge there from opposite directions. At that moment Stark was to advance along the river road to carry the bridge and forces Baum had, unwisely, disposed there. Separately encamped on the bottom lands, a quarter mile from the bridge, lay the Tories in improvised breast-works.

Everything went according to schedule, a perfect plan, perfect timing and execution. Nichols and Herrick routed Baum's men from their log intrenchments on the hill, sent them tumbling down to the



## BENNINGTON BATTLE AREA

- A. HENRY (1826) 4 M. FROM BENNINGTON
- B. STARKS' GRAVE, "SODOM" VILLAGE
- C. BAUM'S GRAVE, "SODOM" VILLAGE
- D. STARKS' FIGHT, CHASSEURS
- E. STARKS' STAND, BREYMAN'S FARTHEST
- F. 21<sup>ST</sup> BATTLE, BREYMAN'S ADVANCE
- G. TO SAN COCK - 4 1/2 MILES (AIR LINE)
- H. TO SAN COCK - 4 1/2 MILES (AIR LINE)
- I. U.S. GEOL. SURVEY, CONTOUR - 100 FT. LINES
- J. U.S. GEOL. SURVEY, CONTOUR - 100 FT. LINES

river road where Stark was advancing. The battle became very fierce and hot. The Tories fought desperately but were completely worsted. Hundreds of prisoners were taken, herded and moved toward Bennington, five miles away. The victory was so quick and complete, less than two hours having been required, that a respite followed. The "first battle" was over. Peter Clarke's Diary said it began at 20 minutes past three. (H-G Register XIV)

The Americans were not expecting Breyman, who, much delayed by slow moving equipment along muddy roads, was discovered coming up the river road, some two miles away. Some of Stark's men were close up, chasing Germans, taking prisoners. Stark and his officers hurriedly called in their scattered units and withdrew a short distance to consolidate. Fortunately about 75 men from Manchester, also delayed by road conditions, now joined and the whole American force, less those moving the mass of early prisoners, marched forward to meet the new menace. Breyman came on, his two cannon in front, clearing the way.

From both sides of the road, above in the woods, below in the river bottom, Stark's men, valiantly, almost Indian-fashion, fired on the column of Breyman's relief force, doing frightful execution. Breyman having foolishly expended most of his ammunition, became helpless. His men broke, then fled, giving themselves up at discretion. The retreat of the remainder became rapid in the now gathering dusk. In the helter-skelter many got away down the road but more lost themselves in the woods. Stark called off the pursuit for fear of his men shooting each other in the darkness. The "second battle" was over. The wearied victorious men rested.

### BURGOYNE'S EXPEDITION TO BENNINGTON

Burgoyne had been led to expect that the scattered settlers of New York and "The Grants," that indefinite region without established boundaries, could be cajoled or bulldozed into active assistance or at least compelled to be passive. His long Proclamation was irritating and unproductive. There was little increase in the Tory contingent.

As his army moved further from its base commissary problems multiplied. Horses for the cavalry had not arrived from Canada. From the country about food was not forthcoming. Burgoyne hatched a large scheme. Writers have disagreed because, after the expedition started (Baum's) Burgoyne changed it, in his Orders, into a foray directed at Bennington. Afterward in his testimony in a House of Commons inquiry, Burgoyne sought vindication but succeeded in mixing matters. He had begun the foray by ordering the 500 men, detailed to act under Baum, to march to the Connecticut Valley by way of Arlington. Horses were to be collected for the dragoons, who formed the bulk of the expedition. Horses were to be mounted and led back "in strings of ten each." There was to be no plundering of the local inhabitants. The trip, dating from August 8th was to be done in a fortnight. Baum was directed to go south



of "Brattlebury", take the great road to Albany and there meet Burgoyne, though he was to give out that the objective was Boston, in advance of the main army. The existing draft shows emendations in Burgoyne's own hand. The instructions were, as was usual, very specific, much care being taken as to every contingency. Some have held that this elaborate document, containing, as it did, provisions for a deception, was itself intended to deceive. In London Burgoyne had to justify his defeat. He used these words;

"It is begging the question to argue that Bennington was not the real original object because Bennington was not mentioned in the draft of instructions. A man must indeed be devoid of military and political address to put upon paper a critical design when surprise was in question and everything depended on secrecy."

One stated object was to "complete Peter's corps and obtain large supplies of cattle, horses and carriages". In the changed and final instructions, it was stores and no mention of horses, though from the unchanged make-up of the detachment horses must have remained essential.

Col. Skene had special instructions, in marching with the first enterprise;

"Some hours before the corps marches for Arlington, Col. Peters with all his men are to be set forward for Bennington and afterwards are to join at Arlington."

When it came to their knowledge that Bennington and its stores were, at the last moment, made Baum's destination, Reidesel and the other generals were astonished, but Burgoyne was that way. Peters' corps was left out and his precious Tory compatriot, Lt. Col. Pfister, was destined to fight vainly for his life.

To Lord George Germaine Burgoyne later attempted to justify the scheme, because of the potential supply of cattle in the Grants and "a large deposit of corn and wheel carriages" at Bennington, "which would certainly have enabled the army to leave their distant magazines", that is to say, move further from the Lake Champlain bases and thus make safer the march to Albany. The original plan was probably some weeks old; food supplies became of the first importance. So the destination of the force was changed, not the force itself. Had Burgoyne been more alert and sagacious, instead of having the slowest moving they would have been discarded in favor of the lightest equipped, fastest marching corps he could have picked out. The disastrous consequences of this error in judgment are beyond calculation.

As Baum was leaving Fort Miller he is said to have been instructed by Burgoyne in person (word of mouth) to change his course to Bennington. But Baum's letter dated Battenkill on Aug. 12th indicates

that it was a letter of Gen. Fraser which had ordered him to so camp "so as to receive fresh instructions from your Excellency" (Burgoyne "State of the Expedition from Canada"). Be this as it may and a copy of the fresh instructions has never come to hand, Baum wrote Burgoyne on the 13th from Cambridge that he had moved at four that morning, marching 16 miles, arriving at four in the afternoon. "Many people who came from Bennington" told Baum (and he relayed it to his commander on the Hudson) that there were 1800 of the enemy at Bennington. He reported poor prospects as to horses, a minor collision with the "rebels" and said that he would be "particularly careful" and "take the precaution necessary," &c.

At Cambridge Baum prepared for an early start next morning.

On the 14th Burgoyne sent his dispatch (there are two versions, one marked "eleven at night") from "near Saratoga" telling Baum that "The accounts you have sent me are very satisfactory". Burgoyne asked if the road he had passed over was practicable "for a considerable number of cannon", and ordered wagons, draft cattle, flour and wheat sent to him. Then;

"Should you find the enemy too strongly posted at Bennington and maintaining such a countenance as may make an attack imprudent I wish you to take a post where you can maintain yourself till you receive an answer from me and I will either support you in force or withdraw you."

The letter did not catch up with Baum until he had sighted the enemy and had taken his position on the hill from whence, mortally wounded, he was to be carried within 48 hours. When he reached the flour and grist mill at San Coick at 9 o'clock on the morning of August 14th he wrote Burgoyne "on the head of a barrel" that the enemy had abandoned the mill on his approach and that they had "in their usual way fired from the bushes" and that "a savage was slightly wounded." Gregg's men, 200, a target for 500, deemed discretion the better part of valor, seeing that a part of the former was to let down the bridge (over the outlet of "Little White Creek") which, as Baum wrote, while he waited, "has retarded our march above an hour." In the mill Baum found and reported 78 barrels of very fine flour, 1000 bushels of wheat, 20 barrels of salt and above £1000 worth of pearl and pot ash. He closed;

"Five prisoners taken here; they agree that 1000 to 1500 men are at Bennington but are supposed to leave it on our approach" (Hiland Hall in the dry humor of his race noted "They did leave it but not in the direction he expected".) "I will proceed so far as to fall on the the (sic) enemy tomorrow early and make such disposition as I think necessary from the intelligence I receive. People are flocking in hourly but want to be armed. The savages cannot be controlled, they ruin and take everything they please."

Unaccustomed to marching in a wild and hilly country, Baum with his three pounders and his dismounted dragoons, and almost as slow German infantry, had found the climbing of 700 feet in 16 miles from the Hudson to the ridge west of Cambridge, difficult. From the latter hamlet the road going south had a downward slope and in the early morning following, it was made in fast time. As no mention is made of proceeding up the mouth of Owl Creek where it enters the Hoosick River, (the present Eagle Bridge) he probably took the shorter road to the bottom lands and so reached the "farm of San Coik," as he termed the place. This flour and grist mill stood until recent years. Good photographs have been preserved (McCullough collection). Descanting on the Protean forms of the word, as to spelling and derivation, will be deferred until "Notes on Bennington".

Lt. Col. Freidrich Baum in sublime confidence (he was to "fall on the enemy to-morrow morning" regardless of a reported superiority of double his own force) began his last march and one of his shortest. It was up the wilder and now narrower valley of the Walloomsac. All was well for the only enemy he had seen (Gregg's men, 200) were fleeing. Baum had proceeded but a mile or two when he was made aware that a large body of the enemy was approaching. Now suddenly cautious Baum bethought himself of his instructions. In accordance with them he immediately cast about for a defensive location. The "rebels" looked formidable and seemed ready to attack, as indeed Stark was. Engineer Durnford, or someone, advised getting up on the high hill to the left. The approach from the southwest, where Baum had halted, was easy. When safely planted on the hill Baum began to make blunders in the further disposition of his meager forces.

### BAUM SPLITS UP INTO SMALL UNITS

To defend the hill top Baum kept most of the "Hessians" and some of Fraser's force of British. Down at the bridge were small and primitive buildings, where the brick house is now. Probably not more than one was demolished to make barricades for the rest of Fraser's men and the Canadians. Buildings show on Durnford's map. For some reason the Tories were allowed to "flock by themselves" on the nearly level ground but about a quarter mile from the bridge. To command the bridge, where probably not over 150 men were stationed, Baum ensconced one of his cannon behind a little earth work. The unmounted chasseurs were placed part way down the slope of Baum's hill, with the idea of preventing or hindering an attack directly up the ravine on the hill's east side. The other cannon had been dragged up to Baum's hill-top barricade.

Baum could not have been greatly worried, partly because of the phlegmatic nature of his race but more because, late in the evening of the 15th, he received word from Breyman that he was on his way. As



the Americans had withdrawn out of sight the imminence of a destructive battle did not obtrude. Having their full equipment of heavy blankets the foreign troops did not suffer severely from the rain that fell the following day and all night. In relays all the men should have been able to take refreshment and get some sleep.

### WHAT BAUM THOUGHT OF HIS OPPONENTS

He may have been anxious during the rainy day. His wiley enemy was feeling out the situation. Stark sent out small parties in the manner he so well learned in the Ranger days, when he was a part of the British army. On both the first and second days of the encampment parties clashed. "I sent out a few men to skirmish with them, who killed thirty of them, with two Indian chiefs" (Stark to Council, N.H.)

The morning of the 16th passed away, the rain clouds lifted and Baum again got a view of the hills and valleys of this strange wooded land with the small patches of corn and grain growing in the river bottom below him. After mid-day he noticed groups of farmer-like men straggling along some distance off on the opposite hillside and was assured by his Tory advisers they were like-minded dwellers in the vicinity and were probably coming to join him. But Henry Archelaus, his servant and waiter, afterward told people in the town of Weare, N.H. where he settled, that Baum, observing movements with his glass, supposed the men were running away. He did not suspect that he was being hood-winked. Shortly he was made to see the enemy, in some force, marching round a hill, up the valley about two miles, far from suspecting that he himself was at that very moment being encircled by two long arms, now entirely out of sight in the dense woods. He was to be completely surprised, not in the darkness of midnight, but in the brilliance of a mid-summer afternoon.

### MAKE-UP OF BAUM'S FORCE

The make-up of Baum's expedition cannot confidently be stated. Burgoyne's account to Lord George Germaine, dated August 20th, has been held by some to have been an understatement of strength, to lessen blame for a defeat. It was;

"He had under him 200 dismounted dragoons of the regiment of Reidesel, Captain Fraser's marksmen, which were the only British, all the Canadian volunteers, a party of the Provincials, who perfectly knew the country, 100 Indians and two light pieces of cannon, the whole detachment amounted to about 500 men."

On August 30th Col. Phillip Skene, the Tory leader, wrote the Earl of Dartmouth giving the same units as mentioned by Burgoyne but without the numerical strength of each and stated the total to have been

556. Nearly all writers on the battle have made interesting estimates, some greatly increasing the Burgoyne-Skene figures. Currently, on the American side, the enemy forces were believed to have been much larger, though on what grounds evidence is lacking. One of the most recent attempts to figure Baum's strength is found in "The Bennington Battle Monument" (1905) by John Spargo, President of the Bennington Museum. Mr. Spargo, basing his figures on all authorities thinks Baum had 220 of Reidesel's dragoons, 60 Canadians, 70 Fraser "marksman" and some 250 Tories, which add up to 600, exclusive of Indians, who proved of no value in the fighting. Mr. Spargo takes pains to point out what all close students of the hiring hord from Europe have appreciated, that there were no Hessians (subjects of the Duke of Hesse) but that those so called by nearly every one then and since, were actually Brunswickers, having been hired for the campaign from the Duke of Brunswick.

Gen. Stark did not attempt to estimate the number of the enemy in either his Report or in his letter to Gen. Gates. He did not know the size of the two successive forces put against his and he forebore making extravagant claims of the number overcome. Gen. Lincoln, however, wrote to Massachusetts (Aug. 18th) "The number the enemy had in the field can not be ascertained - perhaps one thousand five hundred." Capt. Barnes, who bore his dispatch to Boston, no doubt stimulated with accumulated enthusiasm, told the public that Stark's aid-de-camp estimated that the number of the enemy in the first engagement was 1500 and that the reinforcement was 1000. Historically these figures have not been substantiated.

#### AT BENNINGTON, THE PRELIMINARIES

August 9th, Gen. Stark, probably accompanied by Col. Warner, who was returning to his home in Bennington, reached that village (of some 1500 inhabitants in 1775 according to Hall's estimate) and no doubt proceeded to the "Inn" or "Catamount Tavern" kept by Landlord Fay. The hamlet had grown substantially in recent years and contained numerous stores, a fair sized church, a number of small shops and many modern houses, though we are told by a recent historian that it consisted of "half a dozen log cabins". The first camp of Stark's troops, however, was some two miles West of the village (now "old Bennington") and near the house of Col. Samuel Herrick of the Rangers, a homestead known in later years as the Dimick place, a small inn. A stone and bronze marker was placed there in 1927, Mrs. J. D. Osborne unveiling it in the presence of a New Hampshire delegation headed by Gov. Spaulding and G. Waldo Browne, an historian from Manchester. It is in a field, a modern brick school near-by. The site is traditional as that of Stark's first camp ground, on arrival from Manchester; used before proceeding to the ground nearer the battle field.

It was Summer. The men had come from New Hampshire without tents. Hardly any of the recruits had provided themselves with more than an extra pair of stockings, as the period was for only two months and it would be no hardship to sleep in the open, keeping up camp fires in rainy or unusually chilly weather. The toughened men and lads of the farms, saw mills, logging camps, teams on the roads, blacksmith and other shops and grist mills, would make little complaint of sudden changes in the usually prevailing fine Summer weather. It was a generation hardened to rough life and accustomed to it. Every man had experience in hunting and nearly a hundred and fifty were veterans of Bunker Hill and the Boston campaign. It would be only when violent and prolonged rain storms came that any real hardship should be encountered. Around Herrick's homestead it was good weather and a lot of drilling and the routine of camping was the order of the day and night. The hard trials of the men were to follow.

At the Inn the Vermont council of Safety was sitting daily. The name "Vermont", literally "Green Mount" from the French "Verdmont" had lately been adopted. The room where the deliberations were held is still to be seen, in a photograph..

While the field officers of the New Hampshire brigade would remain in the camp at the Dimick place, Stark, having much important business with the Committee of Safety, doubtless spent most of the few preliminary days in quarters at the Catamount Tavern, thought to have been built a year or two before 1770. It was a sound structure with many fire-places on its two floors, a building 44 by 34 feet with out-buildings, and until he died in 1781 was conducted by Capt. Stephen Fay, who was destined to have five sons in the forthcoming battle and to have one killed. Four generations of his descendants continued their residence in the house, which was burned March 30, 1871, at the time unoccupied. It had been, as the famous inn, the scene of many conferences and much planning, from the days of Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold on their way to seize Fort Ticonderoga. It was in a former tavern that Lieutenant and Captain John Stark, in the days of the Rangers, took his toddy in the tap room and slept his soundest in his host's beds, all unmindful that he should one day be there in town clothed with supreme authority in a crisis involving the fate of a new nation.

#### STARK, IN CAMP AND COUNCIL.

He had never worn, in the old days, the regular uniform of a British officer, but that doubtful toggery of the scouting and forest service, a full description of which has not come down, nor an authentic portrait, even that of Major Rogers being done in England when an officer of the Crown. But now as he had been created by New Hampshire a Brigadier General, he may have used his old uniform of the Continental army, the change from that of a Colonel involving little more than the addition of a silver star on each shoulder. The cloth would have been



the familiar blue and buff. If he had a new outfit for the emergency campaign there is nothing to show it. While having pride in appearance as a commanding officer there is nothing to suggest that he was like certain other Continental Generals, Wayne, for instance, a stickler in dress. Singularly enough we know more of his horse than of himself. He mounted a beautiful five year old brown mare. On a doe-skin saddle, the blue housing trimmed with white, he sat with ease and grace. It was a spirited animal needing a "curbed bridle"; all the details being from the advertisement following its theft during the battle.

In years John Stark was in his prime but at 49 the span of his life had covered long periods of toil and hardship that had, on occasions, taken their toll. He was in far from the best of health as we shall see. He had never a high or healthy color. His skin was bronzed from exposure, he was lean, his light blue eyes of natural and trained keenness, protected by prominent brows. He had nothing of the mein of the handsome Warner, Seth "The amiable giant". In fact, in later years, when at a tavern near his home he encountered Daniel Webster, whose complexion was very dark, Stark remarked that no one could tell his own from powder, but whether that used on hair and face or the explosive, is not known. Webster's father, Ebenezer, was at Bennington with Stark, a Captain (the Salisbury company) in Stickney's regiment.

John Stark's peculiar personality, his mannerisms often hinted at but never characterized with present day freedom, served to give him an individuality that set him off somewhat from the run of men. He probably had little of what is known as presence. In the trying days of his active commands he was taut as a bow-string. As a military leader he had that indispensable quality, the ability to think clearly, undistracted by what was going on around him, even in the turmoil of battle, without which soldiers are not generals. He was fearless yet mindful of all risks. Now in the maturity of his powers he was at Bennington the cynosure of all eyes, the center of all conferences, hearing everything, weighing everything, giving the final decision in all matters of importance.

That Stark's mission had the dynamics of a great emergency was impressed on everyone. The issue of a whole region was at stake; either freedom or foreign domination.

Stark, Warner, Herrick, Brush and the members of the Committee of Safety were continuously kept informed by patriots in all directions. No personal discomforts were too great in the common cause. Many did heroic and unrecorded things. More than one noble woman was thrilled with sacrificial duty, making lonely journeys, where and when it was known that men risked being waylaid. There had been so many Tories in all the areas of "The Grants" that it was some time before those suspected became definitely known and could be watched and excluded from councils. Amid scenes of much confusion and rumor, as the men from New Hampshire mixed with the "Green Mountain boys" and with the villagers, at head-quarters clearheadedness prevailed. Confidence in the leader amounted to enthusiasm. In the long history of the Revolutionary

war no finer or more purposeful group of minor general officers ever were gathered to deal with an urgent public menace. But more than in leadership or numbers it was the spirit that counted most at Bennington.

### FASTER TEMPOS

Burgoyne's menacing march, halting and indecisive as it had been, nevertheless caused the successive retreats of Schuyler's army, step by step, down the Hudson. We have seen the abrupt changing of the plans made by Schuyler and Stark for getting on Burgoyne's rear. Schuyler's urgent needs and his appeals for reinforcements alternated in a bewildering manner with schemes for utilizing Stark's fresh and independent command. But the day by day changes were suddenly ended. To Bennington a patriot woman on horseback brought word of the appearance at Cambridge of a large number of Indians. Gen. Stark at once dispatched enough men to protect the inhabitants and to provide against the capture of supplies and food-stuffs there and at mills thereabouts. It was "Col. Gregg with 200 men" being about a third of the 596 enlisted in that regiment of Col. Moses Nichols. Lt. Col. William Gregg was of Londonderry, Scotch-Irish to the core and a man on whom Stark could depend not only for courage but discretion. Knowing from of old the ways of the red-skins, it was clear enough to Stark that the appearance of such a body would not be unconnected with a movement of the British. It was true that no direct news had come from the vicinity of Burgoyne's camps, not even when Baum had halted on the 12th of August, "to receive fresh instructions". But when Baum reached Cambridge, that was another matter. The hour had struck. Gen. Stark immediately put his army on the march. We have no items of interest as to the breaking of the Dimick camp, the assembling of other troops, but there was no delay in taking the Walloomsac river road, the only one from Bennington leading westerly to Cambridge, Schaghticoke and the Hudson Valley. Down the course of the peaceful stream the lightly equipped New Englanders stepped to drum and fife.

### PLANNING THE CONTEST

As to the plan of action Gen. Stark wrote Gen. Gates on Aug. 20th (after the battle) that he had called

"a council and it was agreed that we should send two detachments in their rear while the others attacked them in front; but the 15th it rained all day, therefore had to lay by - could do nothing but skirmish with them."

In neither his letter to Gates nor in his Report to the Council of New Hampshire did Gen. Stark find it necessary to mention a circumstance that appears to have gone unnoticed; that detachments had actual-

ly gone out on the 15th but that they returned, independently, on account of the heavy rain and that the attack for that day was given up. Stickney's account has so often been wrong and is evidently so in most of the following that quoting even the last paragraph may tend to falsify the record;

"Just before night he met Col. Baum at the head of his Hessians, Tories and Indians on a branch of the river Hoosuc. Stark's numbers were but little more than half those of Baum having lessened them considerably by sending one party for arms, another for beef, cattle, &c. However, he made the best show he could with the few men he had by spreading them out in a single file and displaying the greatest number in the most sightly situations. They both halted and looked at each other till dark when Stark fell back to his encampment left in the morning but kept patrols going all night by which he found that Baum was throwing up a breast work. In the morning Stark made his disposition for attacking Baum front and rear by sending two flanking parties one on the right, the other on the left, to meet in his rear and begin the attack, while he should show him Yankee's play in front. Not many minutes after the two parties had marched it began to rain violently and they came back to their main body and all returned again to their encampment."

It is likely that Stickney was mistaken, that no men actually started on the 15th, or Stark would have mentioned it in some way, or it might be inferred from something else.

The rain thoroughly drenched the unprotected militia, officers and men alike. All were in the open. A log hut is mentioned as the headquarters of Gen. Stark, in Caleb Stark's 1860 book, but even this is questionable as its location is not known and no traditions exist as to it. Were there any saw mills with lumber lying about in the vicinity the boards and slabs would be used by the men for improvised shelters. Otherwise nothing but the trees and leantos made up of boughs would avail for clothing and blankets impervious to rain were unknown. Knowing that they would have to stand it the tough and philosophical men from New Hampshire, no less than their comrades from the Grants, did so, aiming above all to keep their powder dry.

The rain was not entirely local for Breyman's report to his chief said; "A severe and continuous rain made the march so tedious that I could scarcely make one half of an English mile an hour."

### THE COUNCIL OF WAR

At the council of war the strategy of the attack had been decided on. The delay of a day, from one morning to another, did not impair its validity. Entitled to be present, Stark being the only General, were all the Colonels; Warner, Williams, Herrick, Brush, Nichols, Stickney and



Hobart. Probably Lt. Col. Ashley, ranking officer of Gen. Stark's personal staff was there. Due to his recent encounter with the enemy, perhaps Lt. Col. Gregg was called in. One record indicates that the Council of Vermont was represented. By every military consideration Gen. John Stark was qualified to preside over such a gathering. He was fortunate to have had such a body of advisors; there was no "dead wood" and no "stuffed shirts". Whether the conference of from eight to a dozen men took place in a tavern room, a rough hut, in a tent or in the open, would be interesting, but history is silent. Characteristic of Stark's thoroughness the plan was as complete as though 50,000 men were to be ranged on each side. General Lincoln at Manchester had written Schuyler that General Stark "would have 1400 men exceedingly well officered."

No suggestions are barred in a Council though few survive for a final choice. The scheming was the result of a common exchange of views among hardheaded men of keen and crafty minds and so was hardly the sole product of one brain, a product submitted to and enthusiastically approved by the others, in story-book fashion. By common consent, Stark has retained the credit, which indeed goes to a successful commander. He afterward made no claims for its merit. It could not, of course, have been adopted without his full approval. Concerning Warner, see Notes on Bennington.

### THE FINAL CAMPING GROUND

When Stark was satisfied that the enemy did not intend to come on and fight he reached his conclusion; "The ground I was on did not suit for a general action."...."I drew up my little army on an eminence in view of their encampment, but could not bring them to an engagement". The challenge was not accepted by Baum. His instructions forbade and now his convictions may have cautioned him; that probably Stark had too many men. About where the brick house now stands close to the line between Vermont and New York, on the road which then and now runs east and west along the river, is the spot fitting the descriptions of where Stark's display was designed to bring on an engagement.

So Stark "marched back about a mile and encamped". It was a healthy area, about a hundred feet above the river and was out of sight of Baum's camp on the hill, due to an intervening hill with a crest 847 ft. above the sea. (U.S. Geol. Survey) Ample and safe for all purposes Stark's little army camped there for the night. As a rainy day intervened another night was to be spent there. It is now a clean hay field on the country estate of Hall Park McCullough, Esq. A granite monument identifies the place, with this inscription;

"General John Stark's camping ground, August 14,15-16,1777.

"There are the red coats and they are ours or this  
night Molly Stark sleeps a widow.'"

## STARK'S ARMY

On the 14th, when Stark started to go from the Dimick field-camp near Bennington to the relief of Gregg he took with him "Colonels Warner, Williams, Herrick and Brush with all the men that were present" meaning thereby all the forces he had. Late contingents in small units and some stragglers came into town afterward during the next 48 hours. In the letter to Gates Stark did not mention his own field officers, the Colonels Nichols, Stickney and Hobart, it being taken for granted that they were with him. Of Seth Warner we know more than of the others.

## COL. SETH WARNER

Born in 1743 (and therefore 15 years younger than John Stark) in Woodbury, Connecticut, Seth Warner had been Vermont's leading officer in the field after the captivity of Col. Ethan Allen. His father, Dr. Warner, was in 1763 one of the first settlers of Bennington. Seth was a comely man, six feet three in height, had nut brown hair, sparkling blue eyes under a broad forehead, finely arched brows. So wrote DuPuy ("Ethan Allen", 1853) and that he sat on a horse with dignity, was a skillful huntsman and a practical botanist. Benedict observed that Warner "knew every roadway and trail in the vicinity of Bennington", his home. In 1833 the Hon. Edward Everett in the preparation of his short life of Stark (Jared Sparks series) wrote to Hiland Hall for information as to Warner's part in the battle, which caused Mr. Hall to make a careful study of the whole subject, a fruitful undertaking.

Stark and Warner had been good friends, associated in a number of places in war and peace. Warner died at 41 in 1784 in Roxbury, Conn. Stark was destined to survive him thirty eight years. Warner's "regiment" was what remained of a Continental unit that was at Ticonderoga but had been cut to pieces at Hubbardton. A "General Return" at Manchester on August 3rd, before the battle of Bennington, shows there were "fit for duty" that day only 79 men, out of a total of 99. Clark, one of the captains, wrote his wife of the disorder that many of the men suffered from, one common to changes of water, food, uncleanness of utensils or what not and which impairs physical stamina and prevents hard marching. Why Warner's unit had so few men was in a small way due to the absence of some on a scouting expedition under Capt. John Chipman. In 1828 aged Capt. Jacob Safford could not recall whether the contingent got back in time to march to Bennington.

As soon as he received word of the approach of the enemy Gen. Stark probably through Col. Warner, sent very urgently to Manchester for the Warner regiment. Lt. Col. Safford was in charge (brother of Jacob). For some reason, not evident, perhaps the condition of the men he did not get his men on the road at all until the 15th, the rainy day. To cover the short distance of 20 miles, the men had a good road to march on. About midnight, a mile above Bennington, the tired and sod-

den troops found shelter in a barn, which is still standing. From that time on Safford and his men seem to have allowed time out for everything. It was between five and six in the afternoon that they, most urgently needed, showed up to face Breyman; distance covered, six miles. The "first battle" begun at three and was over.

### NEW HAMPSHIRE MEN PRESENT

When Baum was doing his defensive work on the hill Stark had with him in the valley, as he reported, "My brigade and a portion of the state Militia." The Brigade was made up of the three newly enlisted New Hampshire regiments of militia commanded by their Colonels, Nichols, Stickney and Hobart. As rostered in New Hampshire these regiments were of 596, 536 and 264 men, respectively; total 1396. No roster just before the battle remains, if any were taken. Later the State Papers show that the following number of men were actually paid by the State; 601, 594 and 269 officers and men, total 1464. Including a staff of, say 10 for Gen. Stark, a total of 1474 is indicated.

But deductions are in order, first of 35 men, Capt. Wilson's Co. (Stickney reg.) left at No. 4 for guarding and other duties. For sickness and other causes preventing presence at the front, 10%, a low estimate, should be made leaving a net of 1296. This would allow for stragglers and small contingents coming in late. Of the items of illness and desertion a check exists, the report of "sick present" and "sick absent" on four separate days before the battle and two after, (Aug. 11, 15, 18 and 30) in the five companies of Stickney's regiment; those of Webster, Taylor, Clark, Kimball and Bayley. Out of a roster of 255 (companies of 35, 57, 45, 39, 43 and 36, respectively) the sick of both categories comprised just 10%. There were only two deserters, both after the battle, eloquent testimony of the patriotism of the men.

To about 1300 men of his own from New Hampshire, Gen. Stark was probably able to count on a quickly drummed up local force in Vermont of about 250, in addition to the reputed strength of Warner's old regiment of Continentals, or 390 in all. As may be seen in the more detailed examination of the subject in Notes on Bennington, a figure for Massachusetts of about 350 has been arrived at; grand total 2040.

With about 2000 fighting men, notwithstanding that the sprinkling of veterans among the raw recruits was thin, Stark had really nothing to fear if his reconnaissance of the enemy's forces did not mislead him. The figures given by historians of Stark's strength may be lightly regarded. Hardly any agreed during the last 150 years. The early ones did not have the source material to go into the subject exhaustively and those writing during the last half century do not seem to have been inclined to.

Dawson, a sound and penetrating writer, in his "Battles of the United States" (1858) came very close, believing with Judge Marshall (III.253) that about 2000 men were in Stark's army. Belknap gave it as only 1600. Fiske ("The Amer. Rev. "I.283-4, Houghton, Mifflin Co.)



whose account remained more of the lecture type, said that the "New Englanders outnumbered the Germans two to one, but they were a militia unfurnished with bayonets or cannon" &c. Hiland Hall the most diligent local historian ("Battle of Bennington", Centennial, 1877) made a much qualified statement, "His whole force might have numbered about 1600." Benedict thought "The number fell considerably short of 2000." He quoted Zadoc Thompson as "a careful historian, who estimated Stark's force at 1400 before the arrival of Warner's fragmentary regiment and Simond's companies, which would add, perhaps, 300 to the total", which, be it noted, would give Massachusetts barely 160 if Warner's regiment amount to 140. No estimate of the American strength is found in the dispatch which Capt. Barnes hurried to Boston for the Massachusetts Council. The interview with him and Gen. Lincoln's letter of Aug. 18th were published the former in a hand-bill at noon on Friday, Aug. 22nd, the best news the anxious patriotic public had had in a long time. Of the enemy, it gave, "1500 in their intrenchments" but "reinforced by 1000 and two field pieces". Of prisoners, "more than 700" including "147 Tories of this (Massachusetts) and other States." Parties sent out by Stark the day after the engagement "brought in about 100 more prisoners." The strongest statement was made by James Davie Butler, (1849) an authority relied on by generations of Vermonsters, that two days before the battle Stark had 1333 privates on the rolls "but perhaps not more than half that number were actually present after deducting the companies detached and otherwise weakened by sickness and desertion." The best indications as to desertion have been noted. All Vermont students of the battle, Butler, Hall, Benedict and Thompson, tend to equalize the opposing forces, rather than to have an effect, which could hardly have been intentional, of increasing the proportion of Vermont and Massachusetts troops. An analysis of "Plunder divided to 2250 men" will be found under Notes on Bennington. It is probably a reliable indication of the number under arms, if a small percentage, say 10%, be considered as the usual loading for officers, thus producing 2025.

#### WHAT OF THE ODDS?

Factors other than numbers were influential. The morale of Stark's men, fighting for their homes, with officers of experience and ability, with the rank and file composed of young men, with both young and old having the cunning of hunters, many using long barrellled muskets with great skill, may have resulted in a factor of three to one against Baum's forces. On the other hand Baum's forces were all seasoned troops, veterans of the battle fields of Europe, professional soldiers. In order to fight, Stark had to attack. And for 48 hours, from Thursday afternoon until three o'clock Saturday afternoon Baum was able to devote all his energies to intrenchments, barricades and obstacles. Considering the duration and intensity of the rain storm a good bit was accomplished. The two brass field pieces, if well served, would have given Baum an

advantage of a hundred soldiers apiece, especially had Baum known that the Yankee boys shared the Indian distaste for facing cannon point blank. These things may have reduced Stark's advantage to more nearly an even chance. The advantage that Baum had of reinforcements cannot be put into the scale for he was deprived of it, due to Breyman's slowness.

### THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON, AUGUST 16TH, 1777

Brigadier General John Stark, as never before or afterward in his career, was in supreme command of a force about to engage in a decisive contest. To a less chivalrous soul the responsibilities would have been staggering. The important consequences of the impromptu engagement could not have been forecast by him or by any one. He fully realized that the eyes of his own State, of Vermont, of Massachusetts and the country were on him. He was in position to strike the enemy. He struck immediately with all the force of his character and acquired skill.

During that anxious day in the rain his time had been filled with the minutae of affairs of the camps, of reconnaissances of the positions of Baum and the Tories with attempts to estimate their respective and total strength, in feeling out his enemy by scoutings, all momentarily affected by the uncertainties of the weather and what it might permit and when. The strain on the leader, a man of intense temperament, though of demeanor outwardly passive, was definitely accumulating. We might never have known the extent of it had not Gen. Stark been obliged to mention it in his letter of August 23rd to General Gates, as from one officer to another;

"I received yours of the 19th. I beg to be excused for not answering it sooner. I have been so sick ever since that I could not write, neither am I well as yet."

(Gates Papers, N.Y. Hist. Soc.)

When it came to test and trial John Stark showed his mettle as does any thoroughbred. It was said that after the affair an officer remarked to Stark that he would give fortune if in time of action he could rap his snuff-box with the General's coolness in giving orders. "Ah, Sir" replied Stark, "The coolness was all on the outside." It is in the nature of that kind of man to buckle after, not during, a strain.

The details as to the cleaning of the muskets, the adjustment of flints, distribution of balls, the stripping off of all unneeded articles of clothing, even as to the parading of the men, have never been told. The merest facts as to the division of the regiments and, in some cases, as to companies are all that we have. At the camps there were some left to guard wagons, horses, stores and equipment, yet not many. A curious survival is found in Solomon Safford's statement of 1834 to Hiland Hall. His Captain, Samuel Robinson of Col. Brush's local regiment, ordered

his 21 year old brother-in-law to camp duty. It seems that Brush's small contingent was not in Stark's general camp but about a half mile northerly, near the bend in the river. Safford said;

"On the 16th I remained with the knapsacks and other baggage during the day. When General Stark with Col. Warner rode past, the General inquired what I was doing and was told, and that it was by order of the captain. Warner then said to Stark 'the boy is doing right', to which Stark assented and they passed on."

Young Safford, who knew Warner well, was much relieved as he feared for the moment that General Stark might have entertained doubts as to his courage. It was a little thing, showing that Stark found no detail too small.

### PREPARATIONS

The first troop movements began before the main body left the field where it had remained for two nights and one long rainy day. At what time in the forenoon or mid-day of the 16th the preparations as to arms and ammunition were completed, no information exists, or even when the rain stopped and the skies cleared. It was necessary that all the muskets be put in order. Weather-proof cartridges of the present day had no counterpart then for dampness of gunpowder and flash powder would have been fatal.

The issue of the contest depended to some extent on the number of hours during which fighting would be possible. Yet the command figured and hoped that the work ahead could be accomplished after three o'clock on that long Summer day.

Owing to the necessity of deceiving the enemy Herrick's expedition must have been sent off in advance of any other movement. The experienced Ranger had with him, beside his own four companies, a portion of Col. Brush's local regiment, the available part of it. Heading due West from the camp ground Herrick's men went down across the river and climbed the long slope of the hill, keeping on Baum's side of the 841 ft. top. In many places, especially on cleared land and pasture the men could be seen from Baum's hill, some 2000 yards away. The method followed was to have the men go casually, by twos and threes. The lack of uniforms and being, for the most part in shirts and trousers, those countrymen looked, from a distance very little like soldiers. Going through woods and only occasionally coming out into clearings the movements would not particularly impress officers of Baum's entourage. At the time Stark was exciting their curiosity by certain massed movements out of his camp. Baum's deception was completed in a simple way. Reidesel's Memoirs (Digby's Journal, annotations by Baxter, p251) also show that Baum was told that the men



strolling along in shirt sleeves were really Tories intent on joining his forces. Reidesel, aiming, after a lost battle, to have some plausible excuse, declared that Baum suffered some of the enemy "to encamp on his side and rear". But there could have been no delay on Herrick's part. He would make his way as fast as the nature of his maneuver and the ground would permit. The timing of the whole action depended, within a moderate margin, on his getting to the north-west of Baum's camp on the hill about the time a similar movement by Col. Nichols from the opposite direction could be completed. Of Col. Herrick's route the beginning and the ending are definitely known; the intervening portions are necessarily constructive. After crossing the river and the road, Herrick must go into a cautious and concealed progress, in order to surprise the enemy. The group of Indians happened to be located near the way through the woods that Herrick took. In their temporary and unsheltered encampment the Indians with quick ears, became aware of the approach of an enemy. One aged survivor told of Herrick's men firing on Indians whereupon the latter fled into the woods, too apprehensive of defeat or capture to appear again. The decamping of the Indians is well authenticated on both sides. There were supposed to have been about one hundred of them. The firing was probably necessary, despite the warning it would give of a hostile approach. Yet another aged survivor of the Herrick-Brush force did not mention Indians and hence would not tell of the firing. The latter narrator, Jesse Field, indicated that part of his number were delayed in coming up to where the advance portion had taken its position, waiting for the appearance of Col. Nichols' men and the beginning of the pincers action.

The movement of Col. Nichols called for no dissembling. Having a quicker route to Baum's camp it would not be necessary to send off the contingent until the main army had moved from the two-night-camp-ground down to the bend in the river, a half mile northerly, where a hamlet, for some reason called "Sodom", enjoys an innocuous existence. While the start and termination of Nichols' route are quite clear the route is actually unknown. The terrain suggests strongly that he began at the mouth of a small brook ("B" on map) and followed it up to its principal branch. Taking the left he would trudge with his 200 men over a long, comparatively level stretch on the 600-700 ft. level and skirt the 940 hill. Going round the 1040 ft. hill, doubtless in dense woods, he would find himself directly back of the 956 ft. hill and could overlook Baum's camp. It was nearly three fourths of a circle but had the advantage of easy walking and of complete isolation. A somewhat shorter route, close to the present State line, would have compelled a stiff climb at the start and have risked exposure. The adoption of a third possible route, down the road in plain sight of Baum's camp, would involve mounting nearly 400 feet through a steep ravine, coming out close to Baum. It would have saved two miles but have involved almost certain discovery. At one point Nichols sent back to Stark for more men. He was fed 100. He may have been afraid that some of his lot might not be fresh enough

for a spirited action on the summit.

### "AMUSE THE ENEMY"

It is illustrative of the perfect woods technic of John Stark that the two encircling forces of Herrick and Nichols reached their destinations at practically the same time. But while the two expeditions were on their way, Stark indulged in a little side-play. To "amuse the enemy" was a military expression of the period, to denote something to claim his attention, cause his wonderment and accomplish a deception. It did not involve the wasting of powder. There is no reference to it in Stark's reports or in other authorities. Thomas Mellen (Stickney's Reg.) told of it many years afterward;

"We marched round and round a circular hill till we were tired. Stark said it was to amuse the Germans."

It was probably the 740 ft. hill, just above the level of Stark's camp. Marching round it would appear, as the "army" appears on the theatrical stage, going across then back through the wings to appear again in an apparently endless procession. Baum would not suspect that Stark had sent off any detachments. At a two mile distance, even through a glass, Baum might be led to fear that Stark had more men than ever.

About the time this was going on Mellen indicates that Stark and some one he could not recall, but who was probably Warner;

"Rode up near the enemy to reconnoitre, were fired at by the cannon and came galloping back. Stark rode with shoulders bent forward and cried out to his men, 'Those rascals know that I am an officer; don't you see that they honor me with a big gun as a salute?'"

The General was willing to take risks fearlessly in order to see for himself the ground of the coming engagement but knew enough to save himself as far as possible. No doubt Mellen told his story many times before Rev. Mr. Butler interviewed him. Mellen was in his 92nd year when Butler called on him in 1848 at his residence near Wells River, Vt. and so far from being bowed down or infirm "you would think him in the Indian summer of life" Butler added.

### MOLLY STARK

The historic episode involving the speech of Stark to his troops has had so many forms that a chronological review is provided in Notes on Bennington, to settle the matter. The spot was hardly where the marker on the camp ground has the famous words, but nearly a mile northerly.

There Stark was waiting with the main body of the troops after having sent off the Herrick and Nichols expeditions. It was probably in the road, at the foot of the 740 ft. hill, where the Walloomsac, flowing northerly takes a turn due west. At that point, and not so well anywhere else in the vicinity, Baum's hill can be plainly seen. It was customary in the 18th century for a commander to animate his troops by pointing out their enemies. At no other moment of the day would it have been so opportune. The waiting period offered the time and the view provided the inspiration. Stark's appeal was a clarion call. He did not swear, he did not rant; he pledged his life.

Becoming one of the highly vitalized utterances of American tradition, its persistent and protean survival bears evidence of an actual occurrence. Other great declarations in the history of the republic form, with it, an enduring list;

"If that be treason, make the most of it."	Patrick Henry,	1765.
"There are your enemies, the Hessians and the Tories. We must beat them or to-night Molly Stark sleeps a widow."	John Stark,	1777.
"I have not yet begun to fight".	John Paul Jones,	1779.
"Don't give up the ship"	James Lawrence,	1813.
"Damn the torpedoes. Full speed ahead!"	David G. Farragut	1864.
"You may fire when ready, Gridley."	George Dewey,	1898.

#### BAUM FACES HIS DOOM

On a grand height with its vista of superb hills, heavily forrested and separated by deep and beautiful valleys, the unlucky Brunswick officer awaited an attack on his positions. His hirelings were a long way from their beloved and equally beautiful fatherland. The quarrel had been none of their choosing; their hearts were not in it. They and their sovereign were mercenaries, concerned only with money. In the historic contests of the new world, perhaps of the old, no more incongruous forces had ever confronted each other. Baum could catch glimpses from time to time of Stark's little army as it slowly marched down the wet but hard gravel road by the side of the river. There was probably but one banner displayed, a small green flag.

Before the first bridge was reached ("The old bridge" on Hall's 1826 map) it became necessary for Stark to order off his last detachment. Even then strategy was employed. In his own words (to Gates) he said;



"I also sent Colonels Hubbard and Stickney with 200 men in their right and sent 100 men in their front, to draw their attention that way."

"That way" was down the river road toward Baum's hill. It was necessary to go slowly to permit the movements of Hobart (Hubbard represented the current pronunciation) and Stickney, against the Tory camp across the Walloomsac and on the flats, which they approached stealthily.

Somewhere (Durnford's map shows a number of fields) a corn patch was crossed. An order was given, perhaps by Stark - it was like him - perhaps by Stickney or Hobart, perhaps by some other hero unknown to fame, that each man place in his hat or cap a bit of corn husk. There was to be close fighting and the Tories were of their own kind and were similarly dressed. This phase of the affair is found in Caleb Stark's 1860 book, doubtless from a recollection of what Major Caleb told the son. He was not there himself.

"The reserve slowly advanced. The General ordered frequent halts and was observed often to look at his watch, saying to himself, 'It is time they were there'. The artillery of the enemy soon commenced to play upon the reserve, which advanced slowly as at first."

#### THE BATTLE STARTS ON BAUM'S HILL

The breast-work of felled trees that Baum erected was in two angles, partly covering three sides of his camp. The barrier presented was not against a foe climbing the hill, an obvious but amateurish anticipation. An engineer, Lieut. Durnford, was present. In London he made a map, date, 1780. The angles show and that they were designed to afford protection to the defenders approaching on the level ground to the north and west. The map shows in most places little resemblance to the actual topography (U. S. Geol. Survey). The log defense was too crude and unfinished. No doubt the severe rain storm prevented better work and when the time came the courage of the "Hessians" proved to be far below the sticking point. Except for axes the equipment for building anything like a redoubt had not been taken on the expedition.

Our knowledge of what happened when the assault on Baum's breast-work took place is mainly due to the thorough work of the Hon. Hiland Hall, a prominent citizen of Bennington, afterward Governor of Vermont. In his investigation of 1828 and 1833 he hit upon the plan of driving aged witnesses of the battle to the scenes of the conflict. He put down in clear language, not their disjointed and sometimes misplaced recollections, but their brief relations in as consistent form as was possible. Although 50 years had elapsed most of the men were in their seventies, which for them was far from dotage or senility. In

fact their memories had been kept bright from frequent repetition of their personal experiences. Two of the Vermont men in Col. Brush's portion of the Herrick party gave Mr. Hall some recollections. Silas Walbridge said;

"Our men came within ten or twelve rods of the redoubt and began firing from behind logs, trees, &c. and continued occasionally advancing until the Hessians retreated out of their works down the hill to the south. Nichols' men began firing about the same time we did and the action was short, from 15 or 20 possibly 30 minutes. We followed down the hill onto the flat."

Jesse Field (of Dewey's company, Brush's regiment) made a long statement, including;

"When we came in sight of the works we halted and it seems that the rear of our party had been detained from some cause and did not come up so quick as they ought to have done. We stood but a short time when the firing commenced from the party on the north. I recollect of hearing Lieutenant ----- exclaim 'My God, what are we doing? They are killing our brothers. Why are we not ordered to attack?' In a moment our Adjutant rode (sic) up and ordered us to advance. We pressed forward and as the Hessians rose above their works to fire we discharged our pieces at them and about the second fire they left their works and ran down the hill to the south or southeast. We followed on over their works and pursued down the hill. The day was very warm. They were in full dress & very heavy armed and we in our shirts and trousers and thus had much the advantage in the pursuit. Some were killed in their works. Many were killed and taken in going down the hill and others on the flat upon the river. After we passed the redoubt there was no regular battle. All was confusion. A small party of our men would attack and kill or take prisoners another party of Hessians. Every man seemed to man-age for himself and being by chance attached to a squad either under some leader or without any would attack any party that would come in their way. In this way the pursuit was continued until they were all or nearly all killed or taken.

In the first battle the party under Nichols might have commenced the attack two minutes before us and from the time we commenced until we entered the works it might have been five minutes though I think it was nearer two. It seemed but an instant. They appeared pannick struck at our first fire, ran over their works, down the hill & we after them. There was firing afterward though irregular & principally from our men

to prevent their escape. Such is my impression. I have always thought the second to be much the longest and hardest fought action."

It is apparent that the battle on the hill was very brief due to the Baum forces being attacked on two sides. Rising to fire in platoon formation according to the training of all European troops, the targets presented to the Yankee marksmen permitted deadly execution so that by the time they had re-loaded and fired again the destruction was so alarming that Baum and his officers lost all control of their men. The only way open was by flight down the hill toward the stations of their comrades fighting at the river level. The few who succeeded in getting down there must have demoralized the Canadians, the chasseurs and Fraser's equally few "marksmen."

### CARRYING THE BRIDGE POSITIONS

No eye witnesses were locally found by Hall to describe exactly how the battle fared down where Stark's direct attack took place, but fierce fighting ensued when the little column approached the bridge across the river. The position had been protected by the enemy by tearing down a small structure or two, probably sheds. The best troops Baum had, the bulk of the British of Gen. Fraser's division, and the Canadians, disputed the advance. On a little rise at the side, its position recognizable until recent years, (so an inhabitant informed the author) a brass cannon was placed with an earthwork protection in front, good against musketry. But so hot and persistent was the assault by Stark's men that the bridge was carried and its defenders broke and fled down the road, demoralized by the pell-mell descent of the Hessians from above. It was a mixed up, perplexed and bewildered horde. The mass had some fighting spirit for it took Stark's combined force an hour or more to subdue it. In his report Stark wrote that it seemed like one continued clap of thunder, so incessant was the firing.

The brass piece was captured and turned on the enemy. Well vouched for is the story that his men, not knowing how to serve it, Stark himself directed the loading and firing. The incident may as easily have occurred during the same sort of stage during the "second battle"; there is no way to tell. Hot and humid as the afternoon was and tired and satiated as the men were they, without formation or order, took after the enemy. Those who did not surrender, begging in their thick foreign tongue for mercy, were shot down or pursued. The game slackened, the excitement of the combat gradually calmed down.

At the time the bridge or main battle was in progress the assault on the Tory camp by Stickney and Hobart, with some Vermonters, took place. There the fighting was the most bitter. The people of "The Grants" had even more reason than the men from New Hampshire to despise and hate the neighbors who by evasion and in secrecy, by



treacherous information, and by affording sustenance, were aiding the invaders, and finally by themselves taking up arms. Parson Allen's patriotic appeal fell on ears worse than deaf.

Durnford shows the Tories ("American Volunteers" to him) on a slight rise near the river with breast-works facing south westerly toward the higher ground, the lines including two redans. This, if authentic, would imply some degree of skill by the European trained Lt. Col. Pfister, who commanded. Hiland Hall, on the contrary has a moderate curve, facing exactly the opposite. In his time the final obliteration had not taken place, indeed the spot of the bloody combat has been picked out by men still living. The defences were partly of logs, partly of fence material, and one report had flax plants as stuffing. The scene is now a lovely pasture.

Potter who had opportunities of hearing of the fight in his youth from aged veterans, composed his story for the History of Manchester (1856) but some statements should be discounted. In fact the bulk of the Tory band was captured, not killed, as the records show.

The regiments of Stickney and Hobart included only 800 men, of whom but 200 were in the Tory assault, according to Stark's own report. But only Ezekiel Lane of Raymond (of Stickney's regiment) was killed though two others died of wounds, (State, Rev. Rolls) Three men of Hobart's small regiment were killed (Zachariah Butterworth of Rumney, Eli Colby of Alexandria and Solomon Hobart of Plymouth) though two, of his four wounded, died later.

Thomas Mellen (Clark's Lyndeborough Co. Stickney's reg.) made a long and remarkable statement to Historian Butler of Vermont. Given later, a portion should be advanced, as it relates to the Tory ground and the following day;

"After breakfast I went to see them bury the dead. I saw thirteen Tories, mostly shot through the head, buried in one hole. No more than a rod from where I fought we found Captain McClary dead and Stripped naked. We scraped a hole with sticks and just covered him with earth."

McClary was a Bunker Hill veteran, the only son of Londonderry slain in battle during the Revolutionary war (Parker, 1853) and the bullet that killed him was "preserved as a sacred relic by his relatives as well as the bible he carried", Probably Mr. Parker did not know of Mellen's story of the finding of McClary's body, despoiled in its ghastly surroundings during the night by roving Indians or by Tory ghouls.

## THE PRISONERS

The end of the first battle was indefinite. Scores of the Hessians were chased into the woods, some to be apprehended the next day.

Thirsty and half starved, in an inhospitable and strange land, they surrendered individually and not unwillingly. The Tories were taken at the end in a greater proportion, having had little opportunity of getting safely away.

The gathering and securing of the great number of prisoners was an exciting task. Stark's men went about it with enthusiasm, under the direction of experienced officers. Brunswickers, British and Canadians were marched, guarded by enough Americans to prevent their getting away, but not being bound, to Bennington. Accounts vary but agree that the Tories, coming last, were tied two-by-two to a long rope. That may have been tied to a horse's tail, though other versions have it that a negro held the rope, mounted on a horse. The village, now "Old Bennington", was reached about six o'clock, probably a little before. Caleb Stark, (1860) had this paragraph;

"The prisoners were speedily collected and hurried from the field, escorted by a force sufficient to secure them. The remainder of these undisciplined volunteers, exulting in their success, could not be prevented from dispersing in quest of refreshment and plunder, not anticipating more fighting that day."

More than 150 Tories and several hundred of Baum's men were to prove a serious food problem, hence the move to the village. As many as could be confined were lodged in the church, a motley gathering for the square pews of the sacred edifice, and the aisles were filled. So great was the strain on the floor timbers that they cracked ominously. The prisoners tried to rush out and were fired on by the guards. Some were killed before it was understood what was the matter. Honorably buried, their graves are still pointed out in the church yard.

Peter Clarke's Diary (N. E. H. G. Reg. XIV), entry following Aug. 29th, is graphic;

"The wounded Hessians die three or four in a day. They are all in Bennington meeting house which smells so it is enough to kill anyone to be in it."

### A CALL TO ARMS

Few more stirring documents have been written during a battle than that subscribed to by Jonas Fay, Vice President of the Vermont Council of Safety. It was directed specifically to "The Gentlemen Officers nearest this place commanding regiments of militia in the several United States."

"Bennington, 16th August 1777, 6 o'clock  
Gentlemen- Brigadier General Stark from the State of New Hampshire

with his Brigade, together with the militia and the company of Rangers raised by this state with parts of Col. Symond's regiment of Militia are now in action with a number of the enemy's troops assembled near this place, which has been for some time very severe. We have now in possession (taken from them this day) four brass field pieces, ordnance stores, &c. and this minute four or five hundred prisoners have arrived. We have taken the ground although fortified by entrenchments, &c. but after being drove about one mile the enemy, being reinforced, made a second stand and still continue the action. The loss on each side is doubtless considerable.

You are therefore in the most pressing terms requested by Gen. Stark and this Council to forward the whole of the militia under your several commands to this place without one minute's loss of time - they will proceed on horseback with all the ammunition that can be provided conveniently. On our present exertions depends the fate of thousands."

The appeal bears internal evidence (four cannon) that it did not go out until the second battle was partly over. Having had to contend with one unexpected reinforcement the patriots were not minded to take further chances.

Back on the battle area the state of things was described by Jesse Field to Hiland Hall;

"Our men were then scattered all over the field of battle, some resting, some refreshing themselves, some looking up the dead and others in pursuit of plunder."

Those of the enemy who attempted the least obstructed way of escape, the open road back to San Coick mill, made the best time and drew pursuers further than those who took to the woods and kept Stark's men searching the bushes and thickets.

#### IN THE DISTANCE A NEW MENACE

The time of day was probably from five to half past five, for Fay's "six o'clock" was probably written, (six miles from the scene) earlier than the latter portion. Certain eager Americans far in advance became aware of a body of troops approaching from the west. Reinforcements for Baum should not have been unexpected for Burgoyne's great army was but a day's march off, on the Hudson.

Stark's "unpreparedness" for a second encounter has been variously regarded. He made no bones about it, which discounts any attempt to make of it a near-fatal predicament. A next-day-eye-witness account, referred to in Notes on Bennington, makes practically nothing of it.



The vigorous young men from New Hampshire, Vermont and Massachusetts were quick in recuperation and became fit for more fighting and marching after a short rest. Rallying was more difficult because of distance than from fatigue. Stark was not the man to allow any disorganized state to exist long. In Stark's letter (Gates Papers, N. Y. Hist. Soc. not the copy Caleb worked from in the Stark papers) it is clear he had begun to collect the men "but before I could get them into proper form" he wrote "I received intelligence there was a large reinforcement within two miles of us. I then gave orders to rally again" (that is, again gave the rallying orders) "in order to secure the victory" meaning to make victory certain.

Not knowing the size of the new force of the enemy Stark would not act precipitately. The responsibility was on his shoulders and he must be right before doing anything. A Vermont story ran that Warner counselled Stark to go ahead and fight immediately. It was probably not true but Stark was too sagacious a leader to order half-assembled men to rush ahead down the road and possibly come up point-blank against a body of Regulars with cannon.

#### BREYMAN'S ADVANCE AND THE "SECOND" BATTLE

We left Col. Breyman floundering in the mud some seven miles beyond Cambridge on the road where he had camped on the night of the 15th, the rainy night. After an early start he made slow progress to Cambridge, then marching Southerly he arrived at San Coick mill at 4:30 P. M. (his account) where he found his advance guard waiting in quiet and seeming security. Breyman had duly notified Baum that he was on his way, Baum received Lt. Hagaman at eleven at night, whereupon the latter posted back to Breyman to report having delivered his message. By it Baum was assured that a force similar to his own and as large would be with him the following day. Unfortunately for him Stark upset the time table, making his attack at 3 P. M. wiping out Baum and all his dispositions so that when Breyman arrived at the mill, only three miles down the road, there was not, Breyman indicated, a sound of battle. Col. Skene, who was there, told him nothing of it. That this amounted to deceit on Skene's part Breyman was soon to become suspicious, but his own instructions being to relieve and reinforce Baum he made ready to move on. His journey had ill prepared him for a contest. His horses were weak from under-feeding, an ammunition cart had broken down on the road, the troops, the heaviest marching troops in the world, had been halted time and again to redress the ranks; or had stopped "half an hour to collect the columns", as he put it.

Had Breyman pushed on promptly he would have been in time to have interrupted Stark's men in their helter-skelter task of rounding up the prisoners, fleeing down the road, perhaps in time to confuse the whole affair. The British-Brunswicker accounts are fairly full but there were natural attempts to camouflage a defeat and to hide personal shortcomings. Both Burgoyne and Skene were guilty of sly and mendacious

attempts in their letters to England by unduly stressing certain facts, withholding others, contriving that incorrect inferences be drawn, to lessen the blame for failure. Instance; Burgoyne's, "The failure of ammunition from the accidental breaking of a tumbril"; when no ammunition was lost. Burgoyne reported to Lord George Germain, following it up with a private letter to him. Skene wrote some ten days afterward to the Earl of Dartmouth. The latter's letter showed that he and Breyman, both mounted, and with half a dozen "Chesseurs" in front, marched about 1000 yards (presumably from the mill) and "saw the Rebels at the end of a Worms fence extending to the Eastward."

"I galloped up to them, at the distance of 100 yards and desired them to halt; some did - I then asked them if they were for King George, they immediately presented and fire confusedly, hit my horse but missed me. The Chesseurs advanced near enough to return their fire and begin the action, Major Berner immediately took to the side of the hill on our left flank and rushed the enemy so close, that they retreated before him. Lt. Col. Breyman always advanced in front to show his men an Example. Unluckily the Grenadiers did not Close with the Enemy but continued flinging away their Ammunition at too great a distance; the Canon two six pounders advanced within point Blank Grape shot & contined firing for an hour and a half and the Enemy continually retreated for about two miles, the Country was pretty open on our right with a River near our flank; on the left was an Easy Hill of Ascent thinly Wooded. Victory was at our command had the Grenadiers been quick on their March and not Wasted their Ammunition at to great a distance, which they wanted when the sun was setting; and I endeavored to supply by Galloping to the Ammunition Cart, which I brought up until I found them retreating; As Col. Bryman was not with them I rallied and took the Liberty of halting them at the mills of Sancoick, Lt. Col. Breyman was the last man of his party that Arrived in the night, it was my duty as Commissioner of Supplies to provide Carriages, which I did, and brought the Wounded and Baggage even to Knapsacks. We retreated to Cambridge, there till daylight and then Marched to Saratoga without hearing of any of the Enemy that we were informed had retreated during the Night to Bennington."

As analysis of even this portion of the long letter leaves noticeable "gaps" and much to be desired. The "worms fence" was of course the usual rustic zig-zag of split rails put through posts in holes chopped out for them. Mellen indicated that bordering the road on the enemy's left the lot comprised some 40 acres, probably of semi-cleared land. The "hill of Easy Ascent" was the one on which Baum made his camp and rough fortification. The chief value of Skene's account is in the evidence of lack of

officer control, or judgment in allowing the men to use up their ammunition, which raises the question, what were Breyman and Skene really doing all the hour and a half? The account omitted the disclosure of the near destruction of the force by the desultory but affective fire of the Americans. On the whole, a story raising doubts because of so much left out.

Skene found occasion to say in the letter that "the post Baum took was not a bad one.....He made a Disposition that covered his ground to the best Advantage but I find that he detached from his party and therefore weakened his post that should have been on the diffensive until the reinforcement arrived." Skene meant, of course, that Baum spread out his forces too much. He conveyed the erroneous impression that Baum took the offensive.

Breyman's own story of the "second battle" (his first and only engagement) is not better than Skene's but has a different angle or two;

"I noticed through the woods a considerable number of armed men (some of them wore blouses and some jackets) hastening towards an eminence on my left flank. I thereupon ordered the battalion Barner to move toward the height while the yagers and grenadiers advanced on the right. The engagement now commenced and lasted until near eight o'clock....The cannon were posted on a road where there was a log house. This we fired upon as it was occupied by the rebels. This drove them out and we then repulsed them on all sides and this too, notwithstanding they received reinforcements." Breyman then told of the end; "The ammunition was expended.....the cannon ceased firing." "I hastened with a number of men toward the cannon in order to bring them off. On this occasion the men received the most dangerous wounds, particularly Lt. Spangenburg, some fire-workers and some artillery; the horses were all killed and even if one had been alive it would not have been possible to have moved him. In order that not to risk everything, as I could not return the enemy's fire, as soon as it was dark I retired over the bridge, which I broke down, brought off as many of the wounded as I could and in company with Col. Skene arrived at about 12 at night at Cambridge."

To Burgoyne Breyman reported that he had dealt out 40 cartridges to each man and had had two ammunition boxes placed on the artillery wagons. Stark's ammunition is an unknown quantity. There was probably enough though it is doubtful if his men had the equivalent of 40 rounds each.



from Manchester, has bad timing and some confusion the implication being that the men arrived before the first battle was over and that there was no interval between the battles;

"The weather was extremely warm and after crossing the first bridge we were halted while the men drank at the river. Two sergeants were now requested to head the line and I with another went in front. About this time the firing which had gradually increased became very heavy and a general attack seemed to be made. We now began to meet the wounded and when we arrived at the second bridge the Hessians were running down the hill & the two pieces of cannon were taken. If we halted at all at this place it was but for a very few minutes. Here I was put in command of the left flank guard and the march was continued by the regiment down the road and by myself and guard across the flat. There was also a flank guard on the right. We continued our march until we came to the top of the eminence next beyond where the brick factory now stands"(1 1/2 miles below the second bridge-Hall's note; the present Walloomsack village-Author)" where I found the regiment had halted. On inquiring the cause I was told that a reinforcement of the enemy was near. I mounted a fence and saw the enemy's flank guard beyond the next hill, say half a mile distant. We were then ordered to form a line for battle by filing to the right but owing to the order not being understood in the rear the line was formed by filing to the left which brought many of our men into a sort of swamp instead of on the hill above, where we should have been. We however waited the approach of the enemy and commenced firing as they came up but owing, as I think, to the unfavorable nature of the ground, we soon began a retreat, which was continued slowly and in good order, firing constantly for about three-fourths of a mile until we reached the high ground west of the run of water, where we made a stand. The enemy had two pieces of cannon in the road and their line extended a considerable distance both below and above the road. A party of Hessians undertook to outflank us on the right and partly succeeded but were finally repulsed and driven back. The action was warm and close for nearly two hours, when, it being near dark, the enemy were forced to retreat. One of their pieces of cannon was taken near the run and the other a few rods below the brick factory. I should think the scattering fire continued an hour and a half before the first action had become general and that after it became general it lasted from 15 to 30 minutes."

## THE SECOND BATTLE - AMERICAN STORY

The enemy was still far enough away for the Americans to consolidate and make a quick plan for the encounter. It seems, from the accounts of the aged survivors, to have included a combination of offensive and defensive. The make-up of Stark's units has not been preserved nor which colonels were in command, but a considerable body was to meet the oncoming enemy in the road, bearing momentarily the brunt of an attack, which included facing the two cannon. Probably before an impact took place in the road flank movements began their work of distracting and confusing Breyman and Skene. Along the thin woods on the higher ground on the enemy's left, musket fire from behind trees and fences did deadly execution alongside the enemy marching on the road, but far enough away to make a counter attack ineffective. On the lower side of the road, next the river, the rest of Stark's little army was similarly employed, with less effect because of the terrain. It did not take long for this resistance in front and on both sides to demoralize the enemy. Their stories of what took place fill a gap, for a connected American narrative has not been found. Stickney's 1810 mention of a "Major Rann" is still obscure as is also another story of a major on a black horse. None of the six colonels ever wrote a line. Hall's preservation of the recollection of the veterans does not synchronize the movements. The original documents, signed by the testators, are preserved as a part of the manuscript collections of Gov. Hall's grandson, Hall Park McCullough, Esq.

Gen. Stark's report to Exeter will afford some light as to the 2nd battle.

The letter to Gates, generally of the same tenor, had a few differences;

"I then gave orders to rally again in order to secure the victory but in a few minutes was informed that there was a large reinforcement on their march, within two miles. Luckily for us, that moment Col. Warner's regiment came up fresh, who marched on and began the attack afresh. I pushed forward as many of the men as I could to their assistance. The battle continued obstinate on both sides till dark, but had day light lasted one hour longer, we should have taken the whole body of them."

Breyman's troops were tired and unsuited to the country. Any prolonged contest was bound to result in the discomfiture of the enemy, so that Stark's position was never desperate or in grave doubt. Stickney's story is discredited by better authenticated statements.

Four eye-witness accounts are available, those of Walbridge, Field, Safford and Mellen. Some mistakes are evident. The accounts are splendid for color. Jacob Safford's story, he being one of Warner's men

To Warner's men the "first action" was, of course, the beginning of the second battle. Mellen's account (Butler, 1849) while repeated for more than two thirds of a century, with its initial errors well "frozen in", is that of a man with a strong memory. He had, personally, been with that portion of Stickney's regiment that remained directly under Gen. Stark.

"We pursued the Hessians until we met Breyman with 800 fresh troops and larger cannon which opened fire of grape shot. Some of the grape shot riddled a Virginia fence near me, one struck a small white oak tree behind which I stood. Though it hit higher than my head I fled from the tree thinking it might be aimed at again. We skirmishers ran back till we met a large body of Stark's men, then faced about. I soon started for a brook I saw a few rods behind for I had drank nothing all day and should have died with thirst had I not chewed a bullet all the time. I had not gone a rod when I was stopped by an officer, sword in hand, and ready to cut me down as a runaway. On my complaining of thirst he handed me his canteen which was full of rum. I drank and forgot my thirst. But the enemy outflanked us and I said to a comrad 'we must run or they will have us'. He said 'I will have one more fire first'. At that moment a Major on a black horse rode along behind us, shouting 'fight on, boys reinforcements close by'. While he was yet speaking a grape shot went through his horse's head and knocked out two teeth. It bled a good deal but the Major kept his seat and spurred on to encourage others. In five minutes we saw Warner's men hurrying to help us. They opened right and left on us and half of them attacked each flank of the enemy" (Note that Safford spoke of left and right flank guards of Warner's regiment), "and beat back those who were just closing around us. Stark's men now took heart and stood their ground. My gun barrel was by this time too hot to hold, so I seized the musket of a dead Hessian in which my bullets went down easier than in my own. Right in front were the cannon and seeing an officer on horse back waving his sword to the artillery men, I fired at him twice. His horse fell. He cut the traces of an artillery horse, mounted him and rode off. I afterward heard that that officer was Major Skene. Soon the Germans ran and we followed. Many of them threw down their guns on the ground or offered them to us, or kneeled, some in puddles of water. One said to me; 'WIR SIND ein Bruder'. I pushed him behind me and rushed on. All those near me did so. The enemy beat a parley minded to give up but our men did not understand it. I came to one wounded man, flat on the ground, crying water or quarter.



I snatched his sword out of its scabbard and while I ran on and fired carried it in my mouth, thinking I might need it. The Germans fled by the road and in a wood each side of it. Many of their scabbards caught in the brush and held the fugitives till we seized them. We chased them till dark. Col. Johnston of Haverhill" (Lt. Col. of Hobart's regiment, who served 65 days and then, apparently, no more)" wanted to chase them all night. Had we done so we might have mastered them all for they stopped within three miles of the battle field." "But Stark, saying he would run no risk of spoiling a good day's work, ordered a halt and return to quarters. I was coming back, when ordered by Stark himself (who knew me as I had been one of his body-guard in Canada) to help draw off a field piece. I told him I was worn out. His answer was 'don't seem to disobey; take hold and if you can't hold out, slip away in the dark.' Before we had dragged the gun far Warner rode near us. Some one pointing to a dead man by the wayside, said to him 'your brother is killed'. 'Is it Jesse?' asked Warner; and when the answer was 'yes' he jumped off his horse, stooped and gazed in the dead man's face and then rode away without saying a word."

Jesse Field was on the side hill on the approaching enemy's left;

"Perhaps an hour before sunset" (in which he was, of course mistaken, as his uncertainty might imply, it being at least two hours, at that time of the year) "I heard the report of cannon and news soon came that we were attacked by a body of Hessians who had come to reinforce Baum. We went down upon the side hill north of the road. The Hessians were marching up the road, their cannon in front clearing the way. Our men kept collecting in front and on their right. Our party were on the side hill within from 12 to 20 rods from them, generally behind trees, and kept up a constant fire. The road appeared full of men and it was like firing into a flock of sheep. They kept firing but with very little success. The battle continued until dusk when they retreated and were not pursued far. My position was such, during this engagement, that I am not able to give any farther account of it nor relate the part which Warner's regiment acted though I have no doubt we were greatly indebted to them for our success."

Silas Wallbridge (Herrick's rangers, Capt. John Warner's Co.) had "gone back to where the battle began, to look for the wounded" and

"While there we heard firing, the beginning of the second battle. We made all haste to the scene of action and found all in

confusion. Some of the officers were ordered forward to give it to them, others saying, retreat, &c. Our men retreated for some time, finally made a stand. After hard fighting until about night we drove the enemy and took their cannon. This battle lasted an hour and a half to two hours." I have no personal knowledge of the part Col. Warner took in either of the battles."

The Americans fought as aggressively and determinedly in the second battle as in the first, though taken at a disadvantage. Stark in point of numbers had a superiority of more than two to one. The spirit of the men of New Hampshire, Vermont and Massachusetts was remarkable after the mid-afternoon first battle in the heat and with its considerable casualties. Even had Breyman been able to rally and make a stand down the valley, his position would have become overnight even more desperate, for somewhere between the Hudson and Bennington Gen. Lincoln and some 500 fresh troops were that night leisurely encamped, presumably on the Hoosic Valley route that led through San Coick. Breyman was out of ammunition, Lincoln had plenty of it. Even a large relief force from Burgoyne's main army would have been in jeopardy. The blood of the patriots was up. Yet even Dawson (Address, printed in Hist. Mag. 1870) said carelessly "Breyman's delay in all probability saved the Americans from defeat." Stark had 2000 at the start; the combined strength of Baum and Breyman was not over 1200. Stark was to beat them separately "One down, the other come on", Napoleon fashion.

When Stark in the dusk reluctantly called off his men it was the act of a prudent commander, determined to safeguard his men. His judgment was as sound as at Bunker Hill when he would not allow the men in his long battle line to cross the rail fence to try to complete the destruction of the veterans of Europe.

In five quick hours his men had dealt disaster to separate forces of disciplined troops. With an astonishing number of prisoners in his possession and with captured material of great value, including four almost priceless brass cannon, General Stark was satisfied to give his men their rest.

The struggle had ended so late, the men were so scattered, it was inevitable that they would have to spend the night in the open and where they could be grouped along the road and in the woods above it. Water was near all, spirituous liquor stimulated tired bodies, food was found and suppers cooked. The weary were soon to sleep the sleep of exhaustion near many in that last sleep that knows no waking. Hundreds had given up their lives or were seriously injured fighting in those rugged hills. Conrads all, boyhood friends, neighbors, some brothers, they kept the watches of the night comforting the living victims of the combat. Many pitifully wounded and agonized by pain, awaited without opiate or anodyne such relief as the times and the place afforded. The few surgeons went from one stricken man to another. Amputations were crudely

and hurriedly done and heated iron seared the quivering flesh.

The danger from Burgoyne's invasion had been very great; the foe had been a dismaying menace till now. It was a desperate cause still but the sudden success of the moment induced in all hearts a stern and fierce joy. As they saw the daylight fade on the tops of the hills and the sparks of the camp fires rise from the darkened valley, there came a solemn satisfaction, deeper than any other emotion to the patriots fighting for their lives and homes, that a great blow had been struck for liberty.



## NOTES ON BENNINGTON

### JOHN STARK'S FAMOUS APPEAL TO HIS TROOPS

No two versions are alike. None of them is strictly historical. But however worded, the stirring sentiment has taken rank with the first half dozen of the kind in the nation's annals. A search for the exact words has resulted in an assembly of varying and inconclusive texts. What Stark said would be brief. He had no theatrical instincts. He was responding in an eighteenth century custom. He probably said more than the meager tradition indicates, but the import of what he said, boiled down by his men, was that he pointed out the enemy and declared that if they were not beaten his wife, Molly would sleep a widow that night. He was pledging his life that victory should be theirs. All the troops could not hear a man even on horseback. There is no known warrant for Herrick (water color reproduced as a cut in Willey's Book of Nutfield, 1891) having Stark make his appeal standing on the bars at the entrance to a field, hanging on to a stone post. Herrick's article reaffirms that Stark's loathing of the Tories makes it likely that their name was not omitted, as some versions give the words. More than that, Herrick's remembrance of what had been told him included mention that the Hessians had been bought for seven pounds ten pence per head and Stark had asked, "Are you worth more? Prove it". Herrick was born two years after Stark died and may have listened to many tales of old men.

In point of time the first mention of Stark's remarks does not mention the name of Stark's wife at all.

"There are your enemies, the red coats and the Tories. We must have them in half an hour or my wife sleeps a widow this night."

(Caleb Stark's book, 1831,p230)

Because he knew that his grandmother's name was Elizabeth, Caleb refused to call her Molly. So there might be no mistake he showed his strange aversion to it by having a foot-note (1860, Memoir), "General Stark's wife's name was Elizabeth Page".

"Common report has attributed a brief address to the American General, such as, 'There, my boys, are your enemies, the red coats and tories. You must beat them or my wife sleeps a widow to-night.'"

In 1834 Edward Everett (1794-1865) had his rhetorical dress;

"Pointing out the enemy to his soldiers he declared to them that he would gain the victory over them in the approaching battle or Molly Stark should be a widow that night."

This was the first printed mention of Molly Stark. Everett, who made few researches, must have felt he had sufficient traditional grounds for bringing in the name "Molly." He will be remembered as the orator at Gettysburgh who made a now forgotten address when Abraham Lincoln essayed the few remarks which have become America's most precious classic. Both Everett and Jared Sparks (1789-1866) were Unitarian ministers and both became Presidents of Harvard College, were great scholars and famous men.

Hiland Hall's version, at the time of the dedication of the monument at Bennington, (1898) no doubt perpetuating a life-long currency of the words, was;

"There are the red coats and they are ours or this night Molly Stark sleeps a widow."

In 1844 Barstow (History of New Hampshire) made no mention of the incident, but in 1850 Lossing's "Field book of the Revolution" (I.397) Molly's name occurs:-

"See there men. There are the red coats. Before night they are ours or Molly Stark will be a widow."

Potter in 1852 ("The Farmers Monthly Visitor") indulged his propensity for using his own language and did not improve matters;

" 'There's the enemy, boys. We must flog them or Betty Stark sleeps a widow this night. Forward men, March'. And Colonels Nichols and Hendrich (sic) at the head of their respective divisions started for their posts."

In 1853 Samuel Adams Drake's article (N. E. H-G Register) said "Potter has been generally followed." He avoided naming the potential widow;

"Boys, there's the enemy. They must be beat or this night my wife sleeps a widow. Forward, boys."

Stark was born in Londonderry, where Rev. Edmund Parker was minister, long familiar with Stark anecdotes and the family. His history (1854) had this;

"Pointing out the enemy to his troops he exclaimed 'I will gain the victory over them in the approaching battle or Molly Stark will be a widow to-night!'"

Butler's Historical Address, 1849, to the Legislature of Vermont used the words "my wife:" but in 1853 DuPuy ("Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Heroes") had her "Molly Stark". The freedom of authors is shown in "Gathered Sketches" (Francis Chase, Hanover, N. H. 1856)

" 'Boys', cried he, as he pointed with his sword to the bayonets which gleamed from the high ground opposite, Boys, there are your enemies, the red coats and Tories. We must conquer them or to-night Molly Stark is a widow. ' "

In 1856 Potter (History of Manchester) still clinging to his word "flog", nevertheless evidenced the result of inquiries. They put him on the right track. Born in 1807 Potter from childhood had heard the praises of General Stark.

" The troops having been drawn out ready for the attack, Gen. Stark addressed them in a laconic and eccentric speech. 'There's the enemy, boys. We must flog them or Molly Stark sleeps a widow this night. ' "

It is Potter's foot-note that carries the significance;

"Judge Thurston, a native of Bedford, states that a school teacher, Mr. Wm. Hall, who used to teach in the 'Stark district' and who had boarded in General Stark's family, told him that the General was in the habit of calling his wife 'Molly'. This would seem to substantiate the traditional speech attributed to him at Bennington, which has been doubted, so far as it referred to his wife, from the fact that her name was Elizabeth, which common usage only corrupts and contracts into Bess or Betty. But Judge Thurston sets the matter right."

Descendants agree that she was called "Molly". First his grand-daughter, Mary Jane Dickey (1814-1903), wife of Albert Tenney of Londonderry, N. H., being eight years old when Gen. Stark died, when interviewed by Frederick Roy Martin (afterward general manager of the Associated Press) and George F. Willey of Manchester, told the story gathered for the Boston



Journal of Jan. 6th, 1895. She was then 81 but "smart" and on being rallied that it was a mistake - her name being Elizabeth - said to her interlocutors with emphasis;

"He did say, we beat them to-day or Molly Stark's a widow. Those who say he did not because her name was Elizabeth are wrong. My grandmother's name was Elizabeth but my grandfather always called her 'Molly'. It was a pet name he had for her. I know that."

Mary Jane's picture (Willey's Nutfield, p145) is that of a typical Scotch-Irish woman, with more than a trace of her grandfather. The words "I know that!" must have come out with a snap. Mrs. Louisa B. Robie, another granddaughter, also bore testimony, (interview in Manchester Union shortly before her death). Born in 1809 she had stood by her grandfather's bedside, "When its spirit took its flight on the 8th day of May, 1822".

"My grandmother on my father's side, Molly Stark, whose name has been interwoven into all the stories of the battle of Bennington, died some five or six years before her husband and I well remember her funeral. I lived in the house with Molly Stark and, by the way, you know there really was no such person as Molly Stark. Her name was Elizabeth Page but the General used to call her "Huldah" or "Deborah" or any other name which came into his mind."

A late confirmation is by Gen. Stark's great-granddaughter, Mrs. John L. Osborne of Manchester, born Marie Jeannette Abbott, 1858. Well grounded in her immediate ancestry, the Starks and the Gambles, Mrs. Osborne was Registrar of the Molly Stark Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution and a member, from its formation, until her death in 1942. She related to the present author twice that it was well and commonly understood that the General called his wife "Molly". She also said he called her "Deborah" and other names. Probably Mrs. Osborne never knew or had long forgotten that Elizabeth Page's grandmother was Deborah Kendrick of Newburyport, wife of Jeremiah Page (1667-1749) this fact having been independently developed for the "Stark Genealogy" (in preparation by the author). The General doubtless found or fancied that his wife had some characteristic or peculiarity in person or make up which harked back there and so took a playful delight (as men will) in adverting to it.

Finally there is the husband's own pathetic tribute. When her body was being borne out of the door at her funeral, the General, not being able to follow it to the grave, is said to have grieved "Good-bye, Molly, we'll never sup again in this world." Herrick's version (Willey's Nutfield, 306, 1898) "as the funeral procession left the lawn, the old man tottered into his room, saying sadly 'Goodbye, Molly, we sup no more together on earth'".

No authenticity is found in recourse to poetic effusions, such as Fitz-Greene Halleck's peroration; "For we must beat them, boys, ere set of sun, or my wife sleeps a widow. It was done." The Rev. Thomas C. Rodman's lines (copied, 1860, by Caleb Stark) show the exigencies of verse; "See there the enemy, my boys, now strong in valor's might. Beat them or Betty Stark will sleep in widowhood to-night."

Unfortunately, to cap a climax, there are words put into Stark's mouth, having no authenticity and ignoring a long line of precedents and his well known feelings, cut in enduring granite on the pedestal of the equestrian statue, dedicated in 1948 in Stark Park, "To-night our flag floats over yonder hill or Molly Stark sleeps a widow."

The words of Stark's famous appeal to his troops cannot be settled on except with the doubtful satisfaction of compromise. Historically the most likely form, engaging the great majority of suffrages, will remain, substantially;

"THERE ARE YOUR ENEMIES, THE RED-COATS AND  
TORIES. WE MUST BEAT THEM OR TO-NIGHT MOLLY  
STARK SLEEPS A WIDOW."

#### STARK'S REPORT TO NEW HAMPSHIRE

"Bennington, August 18th, 1777

Gentlemen- I congratulate you on the late success of your troops under my command; By express I purpose to give you a brief account of my proceedings since I wrote you last.

I left Manchester on Sunday the 8th instant and arrived here the 9th. The 13th I was informed that a party of Indians were at Cambridge which is 12 miles distant from this place on their march thither. I detached Col. Gregg with 200 men under his command to stop their march. In the evening I had information by express that there was a large body of the enemy on their way with their field pieces, in order to march through the country commanded by Governor Skene. The 14th I marched with my Brigade & a few of this states militia to oppose them and to cover Gregg's retreat who found himself unable to withstand their superior numbers. About four miles from the town I accordingly met him on this return and the enemy in close pursuit of him, within half a mile of his rear, but when they discovered me they presently halted on a very advantageous piece of ground. I drew up my little army on an eminence in open view of their encampments, but could not bring them to an engagement. I marched back about a mile and there encamped. I sent out a few men to skirmish with them, killed 30 of them with two Indian chiefs. The 15th it rained all day. I sent out parties to harass them.

The 16th I was joined by this State's Militia and those of Berkshire County; I divided my army into three divisions and sent Col. Nichols with 250 men on their rear of their left wing; Col. Hendrick in rear of their right with 300 men, ordered when joined to attack the same.

In the mean time I sent 300 men to oppose the Enemy's front, to draw their attention that way; Soon after I detached the Colonels Hubbard & Stickney on their right wing with 200 men to attack that part, all which plans had their desired effect. Col. Nichols sent me word that he stood in need of a reinforcement, which I readily granted, consisting of 100 men, at which time he commenced the attack precisely at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, which was followed by all the rest. I pushed forward the remainder with all speed. Our people behaved with the greatest spirit and bravery imaginable; had they been Alexanders or Charleses of Sweden, they could not have behaved better. The action lasted two hours, at the expiration of which time, we forced their Breastworks at the muzzles of their guns, took two pieces of Brass cannon, with a number of prisoners; - but before I could get them into proper form again I received intelligence that there was a large reinforcement within two miles of us on their march which occasioned us to renew our attack. But luckily for us Col. Warner's Regiment came up, which put a stop to their career. We soon rallied & in a few minutes the action became very warm and desperate, which lasted till night; we used their own cannon against them, which proved of great service to us. At Sunset we obliged them to retreat a second time; we pursued them till dark, when I was obliged to halt for fear of killing my own men. We recovered two pieces more of their cannon, together with all their baggage, a number of horses, carriages, &c. killed upwards of 200 of the Enemy in the field of battle, the number of the wounded is not yet known as they are scattered about in many places.

I have 1 Lieut. Col. since dead, 1 Major, 7 Captains, 14 Lieuts. 4 Ensigns, 2 Cornets, 1 Judge Advocate, 1 Barron, 2 Cannadian officers, 6 sergeants, 1 Aid-de-camp & seven hundred prisoners - I almost forgot one Hessian Chaplain. I enclose you a copy of Gen. Burgoyne's instructions to Col. Baum who commanded the detachment that engaged us. Our wounded are 42; ten privates & four officers belonging to my Brigade is dead. The dead & wounded in the other corps I do not know as they have not brought in the returns as yet.

I am, Gentlemen, with the greatest regard and respect,  
Your most obedient, Humble servt

John Stark

I almost forgot 3 Hessian Surgeons.

N. B. I have sent you by the post, Josiah Crosby, 174 dollars & two-



thirds, of New Hampshire currency, which I had to give Continental for to my men as there is scarce any other will pass here.

Gentlemen- I think we have returned the enemy a proper Compliment in the above action, for the Hubbard-town engagement."

#### STARK'S LETTER TO MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

The letter, dated Bennington Aug. 23rd, 1777, should be read in connection with the Report to New Hampshire, As between old friends, military men, the letter has certain interesting details and a few differences.

"Dear General- Yours of the 19th was received with pleasure and I should have answered it sooner, but I have been very unwell since. General Lincoln has written you upon the subject, with whom I most cordially concur in opinion. I will now give you a short account of the action near this place. On the 13th of August, being informed that a party of Indians were at Cambridge on their way to this place, I detached Lieutenant Colonel Gregg to stop their march, and, in the night, was informed that a large body of the enemy were advancing in their rear.

I rallied my brigade, sent orders to Colonel Warner, whose regiment lay at Manchester, and also expresses to the militia to come in with all speed to our assistance; which orders were all promptly obeyed. We then marched with our collected force in quest of the enemy, and after proceeding five miles, we met Colonel Gregg in full retreat, the enemy being within a mile of him.

Our little army was immediately drawn up in order of battle; upon which the enemy halted and commenced intrenching upon very advantageous ground. A party of skirmishers sent out upon their front, had a good effect and killed thirty of them, without loss on our side. The ground where I then was not being fit for a general action, we retired one mile, encamped, and called a council of war, where it was determined to send two detachments to the rear while the remainder attacked in front. The 15th proving rainy afforded the enemy an opportunity to surround his camp with a log breastwork, inform General Burgoyne of his situation, and request a reinforcement.

On the morning of the 16th Colonel Symonds joined us, with a party of Berkshire militia. In pursuance of our plan I detached Colonel Nichols, with two hundred men to the left; and Colonel Herrick, with three hundred men to the right, with orders to turn the enemy's flanks and attack his rear. Colonels Hubbard and Stickney, with two hundred men, were posted upon his right,

and one hundred men stationed in front, to attract their attention in that quarter.

About three o'clock P. M. Colonel Nichols began the attack, which was followed up by the remainder of my little army. I pushed up in front and in a few minutes the action became general. It lasted about two hours and was the hottest engagement I have ever witnessed; resembling a continual clap of thunder.

The enemy were at last compelled to abandon their field pieces and baggage, and surrender themselves prisoners of war. They were well inclosed by breast works, with artillery but the superior courage and conduct of our people was too much for them.

In a few moments we were informed that a large reinforcement of the enemy were on their march, and within two miles of us. At this lucky moment, Col. Warner's regiment (one hundred and fifty men) came up fresh, who was directed to advance and commence the attack. I pushed up as many men as could be collected to his support and the action continued obstinately on both sides until sunset, when the enemy gave way, and was pursued until dark. With one hour more of daylight, we should have captured the whole detachment.

We obtained four pieces of brass cannon, one thousand stand of arms, several Hessian swords, eight brass drums and seven hundred and fifty prisoners. Two hundred and seven were killed on the spot; wounded unknown. The enemy effected his escape by marching all night, and we returned to camp.

Too much honor can not be awarded to our brave officers and soldiers, for their gallant behavior in advancing through fire and smoke, and mounting breast works supported by cannon. Had every man been an Alexander or Charles XII they could not have behaved more gallantly. I can not particularize any officer, as they all behaved with the greatest spirit. Colonels Warner and Herrick by their superior intelligence and experience, were of great service to me; I desire that they may be recommended to Congress.

As I promised in my orders that the soldiers should have all the plunder taken in the British camp, I pray you to inform me of the value of the cannon and other artillery stores.

I lost my horse in the action and was glad to come off so well. Our loss is inconsiderable - about thirty killed and forty wounded.

Very Respectfully  
Yours in the common cause,  
JOHN STARK

Hon. Major General Gates.

N. B. In this action I think we have returned the enemy a proper compliment for their Hubbardston affair."

## THE FLAG OF THE "GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS" AT BENNINGTON

In the Museum at Bennington, its most appropriate place, in a glass case, reposes a bit of bright blue silk, about 17 by 19 inches in size, studded with thirteen five pointed stars. They are painted white. Two or three are smaller than the others and the pattern is irregular. Alongside is the largest known piece of the sea-green "float", the main body of the flag, also of fine silk. One edge of the star sprinkled canton shows where the green float was originally attached. The whole flag would have been, according to the usual proportions about three by four feet in size; suitable for a company or a small regiment.

As flags go these are but the relics of an ensign that deserved perpetuation almost more than any other in the history of the United States. General Stark took the flag, probably by common consent, and he could have had any souvenir of the battle he desired, and kept it as his own most highly cherished possession to the day of his death. Persistent search by a Stark enthusiast, Fred M. Caswell of Manchester, N. H. has (1946) resulted in verification that this flag was carried in the battle of Bennington. The New Hampshire PATRIOT of Concord in reporting in its issue of Tuesday, July 19, 1814, a political celebration in Manchester, stated

"The American Standard belonging to Gen. STARK, the Hero of Bennington - the same that was displayed on the heights of Woolloomsack - the same that put Baum and his myrmidons to flight - was borne in the procession by a grandson of the General, about eleven years of age. May it ever wave as victorious as on the plains of Bennington, and may it never find a less able defender than a Stark."

It was during the War of 1812. The Republican party was having a rally. General Stark strongly supported this party as backing his most vehement sentiments against the British. At the time the flag would stir the people in the prosecution of the second war with Britain. The General was feeble and could not attend, having but a few weeks before buried his beloved wife, "Molly". He could do no more and would do no less than have the flag carried by his own grandson. The boy having this honor must have been one of two whose ages would fit the case, Albert G. (1804-1856) son of John Stark, Jr. (1763-1844) in his 11th year, or, One, first son of Mary Stark, the General's daughter and Benjamin F. Stickney, who indulged some idiosyncracies in the naming of his children; One, Two, Mary, Indiana, and who at this period often acted as the General's amanuensis. This boy was 11 (1803-1883) and when he died



at Toledo, O. was "the last grandson of General John Stark."

When the disintegration of the flag, presumably intact in 1814, eight years before the death of the General took place is unknown, printed mention not being found again until nearly a hundred years after the battle. If it began to be tattered the cutting off of bits for souvenirs for descendants and others may have proceeded by easy stages, after which preservation would become impossible. It remained in the family, coming down from one generation to another. For some years it was kept by the General's granddaughter, Mrs. Louisa (Albert G.) Robie. On August 19, 1891 when the Battle Monument was dedicated, a special train brought nearly four hundred distinguished men and women from New Hampshire, and they carried the battle flag of Gen. Stark, as the book (1898) records;

"With this party also was, perhaps, the most cherished relic of the day, a portion of the battle flag of Stark, that he had used upon the battle field, which the Monument overlooks, one hundred and fourteen years before, and which is now in possession of his descendants."

Thirty six years later the precious ensign made its second and last trip to Bennington as it had been acquired by the Museum for safe-keeping in perpetuity, directly from Mrs. Jennie L. Osborne of Manchester. The attestation of its genuineness is in full legal form and there is a genealogy delineating its transmission. Mrs. Osborn's long affidavit is dated Sept. 6, 1927. She told Mr. Spargo that the General had kept the flag pinned up in his room at home.

Shortly before her death, Sept. 7, 1906, at the great age of 97 years, a reporter for the Manchester MIRROR wrote;

"Mrs. Robie exhibited tattered remnants of Stark's battle flag at Bennington. It has mostly crumbled to pieces, but a small section of the ground work has been preserved and the thirteen stars are 'all there'."

By this time the canton and what remained of the green float had become separated. When the flag passed to the keeping of Mrs. Osborne she placed the relic in a safe deposit box. The creases in the fabric are still in evidence but the silk shows no sign of actual "crumbling".

### THE GREEN MOUNTAIN FLAG, HISTORICALLY

In 1928 Mr. John Spargo published at Bennington his book "The Stars and Stripes in 1777". He stated his conclusion "There is no evidence of an earlier use of thirteen stars on any American Flag". The literature on the subject of the national emblem is extensive but much of it is as Spargo stated "of amazingly worthless character". Much source

material has again been examined and the conclusion of Mr. Spargo at that time is confirmed. Advantage has been taken of the extensive researches by Frank E. Schermerhorn of Philadelphia for his elaborate forthcoming work on the Flag, under the auspices of the Color Guard of the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution.

Only an incomplete break with Britain was involved when the new combination was displayed at Cambridge on January 2, 1776 and what is now called the "Grand Union" flag was flown in Washington's army. There were no stars, but the red float was alternated by white stripes, probably sewed on the red, while the canton consisted of the old crosses, the English Saint George and the Scotch Saint Andrew. This, of course, became outmoded on the Declaration of Independence on July 4th, 1776, but the adoption of a Standard for the new Union of States by Congress was strangely delayed.

In confining the story to the flag of Gen. Stark (Aug. 16, 1777) it will not be necessary to examine and characterize the claims made for other flags, like that carried at the Battle of Cooch's Bridge, at Brandywine, at Fort Schuyler, of the Gen. Philip Schuyler flag, an exception being, necessarily made as to the "Fillmore" flag, taken because of its Bennington involvements.

From the very beginning latitude was assumed by the various states and by regiments as well. Congress was prompted to bring about a measure of uniformity. Changes were going on in the progressive use of stars and stripes, but only the most meager inklings have come down to us. Sandwiched between resolutions brought into Congress by the Marine Committee on June 14, 1777, was this;

"That the flag of the United States be thirteen stripes alternate red and white, that the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation."

The Marine Committee was busy with a number of matters. Capt. Roach was suspended and Capt. John Paul Jones was made Captain of the Ranger. The imminent danger of mistaken identity and of capture on the high seas made the adoption of a uniform flag a necessity. There is nothing to show that about this time any attention was being paid to produce an official flag-pattern for Army guidance. The "Ranger" did not sail from Portsmouth (N. H.) until Nov. 1, 1777 but we may be sure that John Paul Jones had his flag ready to fly. The Marine Committee would not have selected stars for the ensign had not some previous use in the colonies suggested it. Such was the case, for in Rhode Island there were the seal of Providence, 1680, seal of Portsmouth (R. I.) 1676 and the First R. I. Regiment (exact date not clear). The Journals of Congress on that day (June 14th) made no mention of whether the stars were to be five, six or seven pointed. The public knew little of the choice for a long time as official promulgation was not had until the Secretary of Congress announced the action on September 3, 1777 (Johnson, "The National Flag, p28) though on Aug. 30th,

1777 the Philadelphia Evening Post mentioned it. Dr. Thacher in his "Journal" entry, ascribed to Aug. 3rd is not conclusive for much of his matter was written up, as internal evidence shows, long afterward. The physical transmission of the Flag resolution by the middle of August to Bennington and vicinity would have been possible, but the Green Mountain Boys flag had no stripes, so hitching the construction of this flag to the resolution of Congress becomes absurd. It is also far from probable that John Stark at Derryfield and John Paul Jones at Portsmouth had any collaboration.

What then was the origin of the green flag? Only conjectures remain to avail us. On January 16, 1777 at Westminster, Vermont declared itself an independent state. On July 8th at Windsor, a Constitution was adopted. Yet the flag did not reflect these steps for it had thirteen not fourteen stars. The haphazard arrangement of the stars betokens hands and eyes unused to such work. Was there no white silk to obviate painting the stars white? There was probably haste.

Of which green mountain regiment was the flag the ensign? Col. Samuel Herrick had a regimental unit known as "Rangers", reported to have been garbed, at least in part, in green. The men, like Herrick, were of Bennington and vicinity. The records of the Vermont Council of Safety of this period are lost so that the various small units in "The Grants" cannot be traced. There appear to be no dependable group records. As to possession of the flag, presumptions tend to come to rest on the Herrick companies. Col. Brush, who was of the Herrick companies in the battle appears to have succeeded to the command of Robinson's regiment, which had on the retreat from Ticonderoga on July 6, 1777 only two companies. No Warner regimental flag is known and anyway, it became a Continental unit after July 8, 1776.

Pictorially little dependence can be placed on the illustrations by Lt. Lefferts, (1873-1893) in Wall's attractive volume, (N. Y. Historical Society) for Lefferts studied Revolutionary War uniforms last of all and had not completed that work when he died in 1893. "Green Mountain Rangers 1776" have two colored plates showing long light green cutaway coats, buckskin breeches, but one must conclude that there was meager data as the genesis of the quite specific descriptions and pictures. There is no mention of the Brush, Herrick or Robinson regiments.

### THE "1776" FLAG, IN THE MUSEUM

Prominently displayed between sheets of plate glass in a bronze frame of great cost and beauty, the Bennington museum preserves another interesting flag. It is of very fine, thin, homespun linen, about 10 by 5 1/2 feet in size. The original colors are well nigh gone. The flag has a peculiarly genuine appearance. Thirteen stripes alternate, red and white, the top and bottom ones being white. The canton, or union, is of dark blue and is very large, extending to within four stripes of the bottom, the figures "76" being in the center, sewed on, both sides, their form being of



an early period. Surrounding "76" is an arch of eleven seven pointed stars. At the top of the canton are two stars, one in each corner. The arrangement is artistic. Probably no standard was followed. The two stars may represent New Hampshire and New York, the states out of which Vermont came.

Mr. Spargo in his "Stars and Stripes in 1777" makes strong claims for the flag and they should be stated; (it is) "The oldest known stars and stripes flag; the actual flag used by General John Stark in the battle of Bennington; the first Stars and Stripes flag known to have been used by any of the land forces of the United States, and, the first Stars and Stripes flag to be raised in a victory over the enemy in the War of Independence." Mr. Spargo states his historical, biographical and ancillary grounds impartially but more confidence could be felt in the claim that this flag was carried in the battle of Bennington if the claimant was not Philetus P. Fillmore. He was born in Middlebury, Vt. in 1803, moved to Aurora, Ill. in 1852, his death and where not being available. He died leaving a large and miscellaneous collection of relics. Unfortunately, as Mr. Spargo stated ("Stars and Stripes") "his mental powers were weakened and the eccentricities he had long manifested were intensified" before he passed away.

A Fillmore Genealogy (H-G REGISTER, 1857) gives Nathaniel Fillmore (born about 1740, married 1767) as a Lieutenant in Elijah Dewey's Company, served in the battle of Bennington. Septa Fillmore was an uncle of Philetus and, about the time of the War of 1812 kept a hotel at Chazy, Clinton County, N. Y. a town bordering on Lake Champlain and rather too close to the Canadian border for safety. He served in the war, as reported, and later patriotically displayed the flag on the front of his hotel. Philetus Fillmore received the flag and in 1876, the Centennial year, had it flown in front of his Illinois home, as having been "carried in the Battle of Bennington."

There is nothing to show that it was not so carried. Its size, however, is against such a presumption. The use of stars and stripes in combination is not historically shown during the year 1776, though red and white stripes alone were not unknown by January 2, 1776. The action of Congress involving stars was not taken until June 14, 1777. The use of stars in Rhode Island did not include the display of stripes. The first authenticated use of thirteen stars was in the combat at Walloomsac on August 16, 1777 (the small green flag) but there were no stripes. Although the "1776 flag", now so carefully preserved at Bennington, may have antedated the choice of Congress (promulgated Sept. 3, 1777) the grounds for so considering it appear to be debatable. That it was carried in the battle of Bennington depends, as far as ascertainable, on the assertion of Philetus Fillmore.

## THE LT. DURNFORD MAP OF THE BENNINGTON BATTLE AREA

He was an officer in one of the 10 Light Infantry companies under the Earl of Balcarres, but, detached from his corps, was evidently taken along as an Engineer. How much he had to do with Col. Baum's choices of position can only be inferred. Gen. Burgoyne to Lord George Germain (Aug. 20th) said of the make-up of Baum's force; "Capt. Fraser's marksmen, which were the only British". "Gates Papers" confirm Lt. Durnford's presence at Bennington. He is named on a paper as one of seven British officer prisoners with the word "Ingneer" following his name. As an engineer he would have carefully observed the physical features of the locality as well as the roads, bridges, &c. The scenes would have made a strong impression on his mind at the time but when preparing his map, probably by request of General Burgoyne for use at his House of Commons appearance in 1780, a lapse of several years would dim the relationship of the ground contours which would have the effect of some wrong placing of the several troop positions. As Lt. Durnford failed, like most engineers, to put an arrow indicating the points of the compass it is necessary to orient the sketch so that the top will be West. It is also probable that less area in cultivated fields existed. The topographical shortcomings are manifest when compared with the U. S. Geological Survey. Durnford, on the conclusion of the battle was doubtless hurried to Bennington village and there confined until the captured officers and men were marched down into Massachusetts and from thence across the state.

## COL. SETH WARNER IN THE BATTLE

There was glory enough for all. Gen. Stark did not stint his praise as to Colonels Warner and Herrick, both local men, familiar with the whole area. In his letter to Gates he said;

"Colonels Warner and Herrick by their superior intelligence and experience, were of great service to me; and I desire that they be recommended to Congress."

Gates was the Continental General in command and could make such recommendations. Stark did not single out his own Colonels (Nichols, Stickney and Hobart) as their actions spoke for themselves and they were, moreover, militia officers of New Hampshire.

Isaac Tichenor, afterward Governor had a grievance against Stark who had refused him an escort for men and cattle a few days before Bennington. He made a statement to Hiland Hall in 1833 and promised to make "a particular one...in his own hand in a few days," which he never did, Hall evidently not satisfied with this preliminary one;

"Warner was consulted by Stark as to every movement made upon the enemy, that Warner went into the battle by the side

of Stark, was on horseback all day and in active command. It was contrary to the first opinion of Stark & at the earnest solicitation of Warner that the second action was ventured."

Col. Warner seems to be deserving of all praise at all times in his career, but Tichneor and a certain recent historian who turned the foregoing into slurring comment, was, like a few Vermont historians, inclined to place Warner on an equality, or even above General Stark.

That Warner was not a well man at the time, yet giving to Stark and his country the best in him that day, is derived from young Safford. He, when an old man told Mr. Hall in 1833; "I remember he (Warner) was not in good health and I have the impression that he had been in Bennington some days". In his notes, embodying Safford's ideas, Mr. Hall put down and then crossed out "Out of health and I presume had been with his family." Even a year later Stark wrote Warner from Albany (July 9, 1778) "I should be obliged if your health will permit you to come and take command of them and assist me in the further operations of the campaign."

#### COL. HERRICK'S ROUTE

In 1833 Silas Walbridge told Hiland Hall the make up of this force. It consisted of "four companies, perhaps 200 men, together with Brush's regiment of militia or a part of them, the Bennington and Pownal men certainly." The second time the party crossed the river was "below Rensselaer's mills" (San Coick) about 2 3/4 miles from where they crossed the Walloomsac after leaving the camp. But on Hall's 1826 map "Col. Herrick's party" crossed less than a mile down the river from the bridge the enemy was holding. The hamlet Walloomsac grew up where a short road ran N. E. in early times. Skirting the 600 and 700 ft. levels this would afford an easy approach and a safe one and one not involving Walbridge's wider detour when time was important as well as concealment. Jesse Field of Dewey's Company indicated that the river was forded (no bridge involved) and it was "below the enemy's camp" a not very definite description.

Herrick's route on the bronze battlefield tablet on the heights that Baum occupied is probably erroneous in having the crossing of the river very close under those occupied heights, making the party come out almost if not quite in sight of Baum's sentries. Capt. Frank L. Stevens (deceased 1942) official Custodian of the Battlefield, well informed but lacking some of the Hall data, indicated to the author that Andrews who formed the wax model from which the bronze was derived, was not in possession of the needed facts when the work was in process. At all events the route of Herrick's men there shown seems to be too short and not roundabout enough.



## BATTLE FIGURES TESTED

"Plunder money divided to 2250 men." This pithy entry, without moral trimmings, occurred in the diary of Capt. Peter Kimball of Boscawen, N. H. (Stickney's regiment) and historians should be grateful to Peter. In the administration of an old-time custom, "to the victors belong the spoils", the implementing of exact justice required that all those not entitled by right to share should be eliminated and that measures be used to turn into money, or equivalents of money, in the appraisement of especially desirable captured souvenirs, everything salvaged. No copy of Stark's order has been found to survive but in his letter of Aug. 22nd to Gen. Gates he stated;

"As I promised in my order that the soldiers should have all the plunder taken in the enemy's camp, would be glad if your honor would send me word what the value of the cannon and other artillery stores above described might be."

Gordon (History, 1788, Vol. II, 358-9) was not necessarily belittling the custom, in paraphrasing from the Stark-to-Gates letter;

"The courage of the men was sharpened by the prospect of advantage for in General Stark's Orders they were promised all the plunder that should be taken in the enemy's camp". The prospective possession of a few gimcracks would have added little to the spirit of men fighting for their homes. John Wallace wrote in his Diary, on Sunday the day after the battle, "about ten loads of plunder came to-day from the lines". Nearly a month later Wallace had it (Sept. 14th) "One wagon load of plunder came into town, valued at one hundred pounds, lawful money." Peter Clark's Diary (N. E. H. G. Reg. XIV) August 29th entry was, "All this week they have been venduing the plunder that we took from the enemy, which if justice is done there will be considerable to each man." It is evident that Gen. Stark was taking prompt action to keep his promise. One of his characteristics was his scrupulous honesty with his men, a quality which always commanded their confidence, which confidence was of inestimable value to the cause. After measuring the theoretical value of everything from a brass cannon to a dull razor, the mechanics of cash-versus-rummage-sale-equivalents must have beggared description.

In such distributions there was usually a moderate "loading" whereby officers and privates drew in proportion to pay. There were about 175 officers. Even supposing that a colonel should rate, in a spoils distribution, several times a sutler, collectively the officers would not pull down the recoveries of the men more than 10 or 20 per cent. It is not even certain that "loading" occurred. Stark may have set the example, having taken for himself only a large powder horn (which may still be admired in the Museum at Bennington) on which was beautifully

scratched or etched Chester Cathedral in England. DuPuy (1853) was perhaps nearer right than usual when he stated that "Prize money, equally divided among the soldiers was Five dollars each". Aged Thomas Mellen told Dr. Butler, on this subject;

"On my way back I got the belt of the Hessian whose sword I had taken in the pursuit. I also found a barber's pack but was obliged to give up all my findings till the booty was divided. To the best of my remembrance my share was four dollars and some cents."

Gen. Gates was prompt to assist Stark in following the custom that he (Gates) knew was prevalent in the British Army during his time. The letter August 27th (Gates Papers) authorized 5 sh. per pound for cannon, guns, bayonets, &c.

Nearly 2000 men fought in or were concerned with the battle, if a loading of as little as 10% for officers be figured. As Stark's regiments from New Hampshire have been found well documented in State Papers and the like, the size of doubtful elements in the Vermont and Massachusetts units would be reduced to small proportions.

## MASSACHUSETTS IN THE BATTLE

"Some of the militia from the State of Massachusetts," Lincoln's language, would not, in itself indicate any great number, perhaps 200 to 300. Stark expressed it; "Col. Simons with some militia from Berkshire county." The units that came from across the line had been summoned in great urgency and far from full enlisted companies was the result. Massachusetts archives do not present a convincing picture. Professor Perry of Williams College, devoted some time to building up a case for a considerable number up to 500, but it seems that hardly 350 is dependable. Of Perry's presentments, Spargo comments, while inclining to a figure approaching 500, "due account must be given to and proper allowance made for the statement of contemporaries and generally believed, that many Massachusetts men arrived after the battle was over, too late to participate." The following eleven companies had men in the battle, according to local report and tradition. Only two of the pay rolls are extant, those of Capt. Clark of So. Williamstown, 65 men, and of Capt. Wm. Douglas of Hancock, 26 men. Capt. A. Babbitt of New Ashford, 19 men, Capt. Daniel Brown of Lanesboro, 46 men, Capt. Samuel Low of Cheshire, 44 men, Capt. Enos Parker of Adams, 51 men, Capt. Aaron Hawley of Richmond, 26 men, Capt. Ashley of Stockbridge, 38 men and Lt. William Ford (Rev. Thomas Allen assisting), 22 men; these nine groups reputedly being engaged in the battle; Col. Brown's regiment. The evidence requires confirmation. Seventeen men did not march till the day after the battle. To the total, 337, should be added men (no figures available) of Capt. Nehemiah Smedley and Capt.

Jonathan Danforth. If given the average of the other nine (37) a total of 411 is found. Even if 10% (a low estimate) is deducted for straggling and illness, the resulting total, 370, indicates more men fighting in the actual battle than the language of Stark and Lincoln reasonably implies.

### VERMONT TROOPS IN THE BATTLE

The "State militia" Stark referred to in his Report is hard to size up, numerically or by units. Vermont historians have done the best they could in handling the meager records. President Benedict in his "Vermonters in the Battle of Bennington" (Vt. Hist. Soc. Collection, Vol. I.) found two local companies "on the wide circuit" with Col. Herrick's party; Elijah Dewey's Co., 78 officers and men, and Samuel Robinson's force, list showing 76 privates. Benedict found pay rolls of only one company but believed there were four companies in all "194 officers and men." Hiland Hall was not able to estimate the number of men with Col. William Williams "from the east side of the mountain" (Wilmington and vicinity). Williams had been recently "stationed at Manchester" where on Aug. 3rd he had 100 men fit for duty out of 126. Benedict considered the force was "not less than 100". The other Col. Williams, "Col. John of White Creek, now Salem" fought "under a commission from New York State" as Nelson Gillespie, President of the Hoosick Valley Historical Society ("New York at Walloomsac" in Vol. V of N. Y. State Hist. Soc. 1905) wrote, patently unable to estimate the number of New York men who were "preferring to act with Vermont troops." Gillespie gives 42 names, picked up variously, as having, possibly, fought on August 16th but the data is hardly more than sketchy. Gillespie distinctly repudiated the saying "Hoosick furnished only Tories at the battle of Walloomsac."

In endeavoring to make a fair computation, a beginning should be made with the two companies of Brush's regiment (Dewey's and Samuel Robinson's). Adding Herrick's "Rangers", say two full companies, the four averaging 60 officers and men each, it remains to estimate Col. William Williams' force. Eighty were present Aug. 3rd at Manchester. To all these the reputed strength of Warner's regiment at Manchester, would add up to a total of 460. Spargo, an impartial examiner, found "about 475 men.....probably not far from the mark" and concluded "It is safe to say that Vermont did not furnish more than 500 men" (Ben. Battle Mon. pp 68-9). Hall's idea of Bennington as having, in 1775, (men, women and children) 1500, indicates that many from farms and other villages rallied to the emergency call. If 10% be deducted from the estimate of 460, as has been done in other cases, for stragglers and illness, it will be seen, nevertheless, that the sparsely settled "Grants" presented a fine response, in having a net of 414 fighting men in the actual battle.



## HISTORICAL BUNCOMBE

The History by Rev. William Gordon, 3 vols. (London 1788, New York, 1789) is not reliable because of lack of materials current just after the Revolutionary War ended. He took the wording from Stark's Report to New Hampshire in part but interlarded his own ideas;

"The Royal officers were astonished to see how undauntedly they rushed on the mouths of the cannon. Both men and officers are entitled to much honor for their gallant behavior. Colonels Warner and Herricks' superior skill in military matters was of much service to the General who was much less conversant with them than they."

The text of the Official Report was "We forced their breast works at the muzzles of their guns". To Gates he wrote "Too much honor cannot be awarded to our brave officers and soldiers for their gallant behavior in advancing through smoke and mounting breast works supported by cannon." The men were far too clever and spry to rush on the mouths of cannon. There were only three moments when they had to face any. The first, when the one small field piece was discharged, probably only once, placed in the log barricade on Baum's hill. The second was when Stark's own directed men climbed up and took the companion piece near the bridge, probably from behind its embrasure, although during the firing. The third would be when Breyman was advancing up the road with his two six pounders. Just what took place then is not chronicled, but there was undoubtedly great bravery displayed, especially as the Americans had not been trained for such approaches.

However, in attributing to Stark less familiarity in "military matters" than Seth Warner and Samuel Herrick, Gordon was assuming too much from Stark's generous praise of those men. He was not well versed in the careers of the three men.

## THE FIELD PIECES

"My Cannon". Baum had two three-pounders. Stark's men captured them first and later the two six pounders that Breyman used "to clear the way". After that the four went into the Continental army's equipment. The two smaller pieces became a part of the ordnance of Gen. Hull in the war of 1812 but were captured when Hull had to surrender Detroit, Aug. 6, 1812. When the Americans compelled the surrender of the British and Fort George at the mouth of the Niagara river May 27, 1813, the two captured pieces found their way to Washington and were left outside the arsenal, discarded as obsolete. No effort seems to have been made by either New Hampshire or Vermont to discover them. It remained for that indefatigable antiquary, Henry Stevens of Barnet, Vt., to be successful in a search and in 1845 Vermont asked the U. S. Govern-

ment for them. The pieces were ordered newly mounted and then were reconditioned at the Watervliet arsenal. On their way to Montpelier they became the chief objects in a celebration at Bennington, on the 71st anniversary of the battle. In March 1925 one of these cannon was loaned by the State to the Museum at Bennington, the other being placed in the portico on the left of the main entrance of the State House at Montpelier. One of the six pounders was lost at sea when the privateer on which it was serving went down, a marine casualty. The other, beautifully polished rests on a handsome pedestal in the center of the small (non-fire proof) Public Library in the village of New Boston; N. H. 18 miles from Manchester. After Gen. Stark's time its possession alternated between Goffstown and New Boston, having been loaned to the 12th N. H. Militia of the two places. During contentions it was at times hidden in a barn, covered with quilts and hay. A carriage, evidently post-Revolutionary, is now stored in an undertaker's barn, where it was viewed by the writer. Gen. Stark always called it "My cannon". It was cast in a French Government foundry near Paris in 1747, profusely ornamented about the breech, and still very handsome with only a few pits about the muzzle. The French lost it to the British and Burgoyne added it to his equipment. A large photograph of it, mounted on its carriage, is in Willey's Book of Nutfield, p308.

When the equestrian statue of Gen. Stark was dedicated on Sept. 12th, 1948, the New Boston library yielded its center piece, the carriage was resurrected, and a gun crew dressed in Continental uniforms came in a motor truck to Stark Park. The large audience heard the cannon fired three times; for safety some intervals between. A charge of 1 1/2 pounds of powder was well rammed down, making a very loud noise. Few present realized that they were hearing what Stark's men heard after defeating Baum, when the "second battle" came on. Fewer yet knew that this was one of the two pieces that Breyman used "clearing the way" and that it killed and injured many of our men. Its capture by the untrained militia formed one of the heroic incidents of the battle.

Because it was printed in 1827 no authenticity need be implied. The story that Swett included as to Stark, in his "Bunker Hill" has not been credited by historians, for good reasons (it never happened) and it was not noticed by Caleb Stark (1831) or by Edward Everett (1834). Close students of Swett's Bunker Hill material, very controversial, could be led to disbelieve much of it, if no better than this;

"Stark will be recognized as the Hero of Bennington, where he practiced an ingenious deception to strike panic into the enemy. He had one iron cannon but neither powder sufficient for it nor balls. He ordered an officer to load it, who objected the want of balls, 'No matter' said Stark 'Load it with blank cartridge and let the discharge be the signal for all the troops to rush on'. The Hessians were panicstruck at the thundering report, his troops rushed on with loud hurras and the victory was complete."

The records are definite enough to clearly indicate that Stark had no iron cannon and he would not have brought it to the battle front with no ball for it.

#### PARSON THOMAS ALLEN OF PITTSFIELD, MASS.

He had been chaplain of the Massachusetts forces at the battle of White Plains and was in the evacuation of Ticonderoga. At home he was a zealous pastor. Col. Benjamin Symonds of Williamstown, a veteran of the 1776 campaign, commanded the northerly of the three Berkshire County regiments. He relayed the urgent call and Rev. Mr. Allen responded at once. There were only 22 Pittsfield men who could be rounded up at the moment (names in Smith's History of Pittsfield, p479) and they marched under the immediate command of Lt. William Ford. Parson Allen drove his sulky in making his parish calls and in this he journeyed to Bennington, some 30 miles, in the rain. Stark's language would make the parson's arrival after midnight, that is in the early morning of the 16th, the day of battle. Caleb Stark's Memoir (1860) had:

"At one o'clock on the morning of Aug. 16th the camp was aroused by the arrival of the Berkshire volunteers, led by Colonel Symonds--those from Pittsfield being conducted and commanded by their pastor, Rev. Thomas Allen. This worthy, patriotic and exemplary descendant of one of Cromwell's Ironsides, proceeded at once to the general's quarters (a log house) and addressed him in substance as follows;

'The people of Berkshire have often turned out to fight the enemy, but have not been permitted to do so' (He was probably referring to the evacuation of Ticonderoga, which he condemned; Author). 'We have resolved that if you do not let us fight now, never to come again.' 'Would you go now in this dark and rainy night' inquired the general? 'No; go to your people; tell them to take rest if they can and if God sends us sunshine tomorrow and I do not give you fighting enough, I will never call upon you to come again'.

The storm continued until nearly noon on Saturday, the 16th of August. When the rain ceased the clouds suddenly broke away and the sun came out in full splendor." (pp58-9)

Thomas Allen, born 1743 died at 68 in 1810, 46 years a minister. Knowing that some Massachusetts Tories were in the breast work about to be stormed, it took courage for Mr. Allen to approach, mount a fallen log and "call upon them to surrender, promising them good treatment." Smith's "Pittsfield" recounts that the Tories cried "There's Parson Allen, let's pop him."



Bullets whistled by him, struck all around but spared the minister. Turning to his brother, Lt. Joseph Allen, second in command of the Pittsfield militia under Lt. Ford, he said "Now give me your musket. You load and I'll fire". It is indicated that he did so before the word came to begin firing. Years afterward the Rev. Dr. Field, asked him, presumably about shooting to kill. The Parson replied that he had observed flashes from behind a certain bush followed by the fall of one of Stark's men, and that he fired that way "and put the flash out".

Mr. Allen during the evening of the battle wrote a general account which was printed in the "Connecticut Courant" on August 25th repeating the prevailing but erroneous idea that Burgoyne's expedition had consisted of 1500 men. Mr. Allen did not give the American forces. He explained that it was "Col. Rossiter and Major Stratton" who "directed and collected our forces", presumably in preparation for the fight against Breyman. Of his own haranguing the Tories behind their breast-work, Parson Allen made no mention. Caleb Stark related of him;

"After the action he secured the horse of a Hessian surgeon which carried a pair of panniers filled with bottles of wine. The wine he administered to the wounded and weary, but two large square case-bottles he carried home as trophies of his campaign of four days."

Smith's "Pittsfield" indicates that the bottles were preserved in the Allen family for many years and "some branch probably has them still." Ritchie's fine engraving of his portrait as he appeared in 1799 at 66 is inspiring. In that year he had gone to London to bring home an infant grandchild, his daughter having died there. One day he saw King George in a coach drawn by six cream colored horses. Parson Allen wrote a tremendous denunciation but concluded, "May God forgive him so great a guilt."

#### THE LOSS OF GENERAL STARK'S HORSE

Another instance of how serious and supposedly accurate historians distort incidents is found in General Stark's simple statement in his letter of Aug. 22nd to Gates "I lost a horse in the action." So we have it; (Headley) "Stark's horse sank under him." (Everett) "The General's horse was killed in the action", (Irving) "The veteran had a horse shot under him". In 1876 Prof. J. D. Butler called Edward Everett's attention to an "advertisement" by Gen. Stark showing that the horse had been stolen. Everett acknowledged the error and sent Butler some books for his library as his "Reward". The General actually wrote the following at Bennington September 7th having for nearly a month been unsuccessful in getting on track of the lovely young mare he especially prized. It was not until Oct. 7th that the Connecticut COURANT printed the following;

## " TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD

Stole, from me the subscriber, from Walloomscock, in the time of action the 16th of August last, a brown mare, five years old, had a star in her forehead. Also a doe skin seated saddle, blue housing trimmed with white, and a curbed bridle. It is earnestly requested of all committees of safety and others in authority to exert themselves to recover said thief and mare so that he may be brought to justice and the mare brought to me, and the person whoever he be shall receive the above reward for both and for the mare alone, one half of that sum. How scandalous, how disgraceful and ignominious must it appear to all friendly and generous souls, to have such sly, artful, designing villains enter into the field in the time of action in order to pilage, pilfer and plunder from their brethren when engaged in battle.

JOHN STARK B. G. D. "

## THE SAN COICK MILL

The McCullough collection includes three photographs of this and adjacent structures, a mill building of the ordinary type of New England and New York, the main part with gable toward the descending road, the peak of the roof extended, in the usual way, to house the pulley and rope for hoisting grain. It is hard to imagine that in that building, in a far off day, Col. Baum sat writing on the head of a barrel a message to Gen. Burgoyne. There seems to have been a 10 foot dam (of "Little White Creek") close by the mill, the pen-stock being short, if any. The buildings disappeared many years ago leaving at the present time traces of the stone walls of the cellars.

On the very day of the Bennington battle, hours before he found it necessary to flee for his life, Philip Skene, "Commissioner for Supplies", wrote to John Skimmings "Deputy Assistant to Lt. Governor Skene at Sancoick mills" an order to take charge of the mills; let Mr. Bull do the grinding "as he is a good miller" and "Mr. Francis Brock that of the cowpers" (take charge of the coopering) but adjured him that "the Millers must Grind, as fast as possible without heating the flour, and the Cowpers must make casks as fast as possible for carrying the flour".

The mill with all its valuable contents, fell, of course, into the hands of the valiant men of Stark's army. Weeks later, after the battle, Gen. Stark made his headquarters here, living in the large residence of Col. John Van Rensselaer, owner of the mills. He here remained for some time, so seriously indisposed that he could not march his brigade toward the American army under Gen. Gates, and was, at the last moment, obliged to entrust its transfer to his chief of staff, Col. Ashley. The original Skene letter, written in a spirit of amazing confidence that Stark would not be successful, is in the McCullough collection.

## THE HOUSE WHERE BAUM DIED

In 1877, at the Centennial, the Rev. Albert Tyler of Worcester observed of the site;

"house not standing but the cellar and rubbish once comprising the structure still marks the place. Here Major Pfister, who commanded the Tories, was carried on the back of one of Stark's veterans....Both were buried on the banks of the Walloomsac near by, but the place of their burial is now unknown."

As to Lt. Col. Baum, it is regrettable that his body was not placed with those of his men in the present yard of the old Bennington church. Successive spring floods probably washed away the bones of both hired foreigner and wrong-minded Tory many years ago. Their graves were not marked.

An excellent photograph of the house in which both men passed away, in spite of all surgical skill, is in the McCullough collection. The house was of the common one story type but had a peculiar extension toward the road.

Capt. Matthews, whose house it was, kept Baum's complete uniform; coat, breeches, boots, hat, belt, &c. They descended in the family and were eventually taken west, exhibited in Milwaukee briefly. They were placed in a closet in Chicago but have now been completely lost. Baum's sword and his camp stove (erroneously thought to have been a camp kettle) are in the Bennington Museum.

The sword became the property of Lt. Robinson shortly after the battle and remained in the family until Mr. McCullough bought it.

## BAUM'S BODY SERVANT

One of the Brunswickers who preferred to stay in America to going back to his own country was the servant and waiter, who became known in the town of his adoption, Weare, N. H., as Henry Archelaus, the surname being some obvious corruption (and not that of the Biblical son of Herod) who after the death of his master, Frederick Baum, found his way to the interior of Stark's native state and raised a family, doubtless well known to Gen. Stark, as we learn from Little's History of Weare (1888). Caleb Stark in the Memoir (1860) had, of the preliminary to the battle, "Col. Baum with his glass observed the movements of the flanking parties and supposed they were running away." He appended a foot-note "so said his servant and waiter, Henry Archelaus, who died at Weare, many years ago."

Little heard, doubtless from the lineal descendants that "Henry Archilas was the body servant of Col. Baum, and, aided by a Hessian surgeon, bore him off the field of battle. He afterward served in the



Continental army". Gen. Stark and Henry Archelaus both married Pages, probably very distantly related. Herrick wrote that Henry Archilaus died very old and that the Hessians of Bennington (meaning the Brunswickers) were evidently of a better class than those at Trenton. The Archilas-Page children are given by Little.

Probably it was not the same servant but in a letter to Gen. Gates from Gen. Lincoln from Bennington on Aug. 23rd (Gates Papers) we find, "Capt. Greenleaf brings you Lt. Col. Baum's servant. The Colonel before his decease requested that the man might be suffered to return and take care of his effects. I am informed he is not a soldier." Lincoln enclosed several letters, evidently in German "from the officers here.....who appear to be gentlemen of character."

### DOWN AT THE BRIDGE

The grading of the new concrete highway is largely responsible, but those who wish now to visualize the intimate contacts must turn down the steeply curving road off the highway a few rods to where an iron bridge replaces (the old abutments are still there, close by) an ancient wooden structure succeeding one that Stark and his victorious troops forced their way across after the battle on the hill was so quickly over. The quiet environment, a solitude but for a post-Revolutionary brick house, lends itself to retrospect. Under an aged sycamore the broad ford is seen, where for generations, when the stream permitted it, horses watered. On the bank, some 40 feet above the road the scooped-out setting for the cannon (a little three pounder) was identified by men still living. A bare quarter-mile across the low fields was the Tory camp with its breast-work, where bitter but mis-guided settlers fought vainly for their lives. Signs of that breast-work were discernible, Mr. Foster who lived in the brick house, the State's tenant, told the writer, when he first knew the locality some forty years ago.

### A PROSE EPIC EXPOSED

Most of the genuine stories of the battle are composites. Some have expanded meager facts beyond all reason. Modern material has been the means of checking romantic treatment but in no instance so happily as has concerned one particular account of the battle which should have been interred generations ago. Known as the Gletch story, it purported to be by a German soldier of that name, an eye witness. In the first volume of the Vermont Historical Society's Collections (1870) it is conveniently printed in full. It was not until 1905 that the story was proven by the Hon. G. G. Benedict, President of the Vt. Historical Society (printed in Vol. V, pp123-6 of N. Y. State Hist. Association) to have been word for word copied from a novelette printed in England in 1829. We can agree with Historian Benedict that "It was a pretty fair piece of fiction". It was written by the Rev. George Herbert Gleig, whose name was not unlike that of

the reputed relator. The early 19th century style of the piece has the characteristics, decidedly outmoded now, of the educated writers of the time. Some locutions bear internal evidence of origin in an English, not a German mind. An American re-print was done in Philadelphia in 1833. Through a clever handling of obtainable facts, the terrain and the weather, the fictional genesis was not suspected until Historian Benedict found the more than adequate proofs. In his 1905 expose<sup>1</sup> he wrote:

"In spite, however, of these and other suspicious features of this Gletch account, it passed muster for over 50 years and is cited by almost every writer who has undertaken to describe the battle of Bennington during the past half century."

### UNVERIFIED STORIES

Were it not that it appears in the "Early History of Bennington" and by Rev. Isaac Jennings, pastor of the 1st church (1869) the following, which Gen. Walter Harriman of New Hampshire contributed to the N. E. Hist. & Gen. REGISTER in 1880, in an article on Col. Seth Warner, would not be given a second re-print;

"General Stark's men it is evident were in no condition to meet this fresh and more powerful foe. It is said it was with difficulty he himself could be roused to meet the new danger, so worn out and stiffened had he become. Contrary to his first impression and on *THE EARNEST APPEAL OF WARNER*" (the italics of Jennings) "Col. Breyman was immediately resisted instead of a retreat being ordered to form the scattered forces in order of battle."

If one can imagine John Stark worn out in three hours and inclined to order a retreat he will have no difficulty in being duly impressed by the Bennington pastor.

One of the few contemporary accounts (dated Aug. 17th) of the battle "Account by a gentleman who was present in the action" will be seen to refute the exaggerations as to Stark's "unpreparedness" for the second encounter;

"One field piece had already fallen into our hands. At this time our men stopped the pursuit to gain breath, when the enemy being reinforced our front fell back for a few rods for conveniency of ground and being collected and directed by Col. Rensselaer and reinforced by Major Stanton, renewed the fight with redoubled vigor."

("Pennsylvania Evening Post, Sept. 14th, 1777, re-printed by Frank Moore, 1859 and again in 1890).

The chirography was bad; for Rensselaer and Stanton read Warner and Safford.

In Col. John Peters' own hand (he the commander of the "Queens Loyal Rangers" a Tory outfit) the attempt is made to deceive the British Government ("Memorial to the Lords of the Treasury") into giving him half-pay for life. It was in 1785 (he died in 1788 in London) that he showed his monthly return of Oct. 2, 1777 of only 154 men, out of a regiment of 452 formerly (Aug. 7th) with the inference that the remainder, 252, had been killed or were taken prisoners at Bennington. He recited that he had lost half his corps and that on his return to Burgoyne the latter had thanked him for his work, &c. &c. If he was in the battle himself (of which there is no record) he made sure to get safely away. Born in Hebron, Connecticut of a fine family, he was a graduate of Yale in 1759, became a lawyer, member of the first Congress but for some reason became a Loyalist. Did his lies to get on the half-pay list deceive the King's Ministers?

Among the Tories made prisoner at Bennington was Matthew Thornton of the same name as his uncle, Signer of the Declaration and a patriotic and important public man, living at Merrimack, a few miles down the river from Gen. Stark. After an escape nephew Matthew was caught and examined at Plymouth, (N. H.) and claimed he had been with the Hessians as a prisoner and was made to drive wagons. But Charles Johnson of Plymouth, who was with Col. Nichols in the first attack, found Thornton within the breast-work with no wagons near him. He was a thorough-going malcontent. Even a great patriot like Matthew Thornton could, like Stark, have foes of his own household. (N.H.State Papers, VIII, 700)

Potter's "Military History of New Hampshire" (1866) his final (and considered a standard) work has (1.320) this lurid account. Potter, in the height of composition seems to have forgotten, if he ever knew, that Gen. Lincoln himself reported two days after the battle that there were captured (alive) 155 Tories and that nearly all the Tories were in their own separate breast-work or intrenched camp.

"Col. Thomas Stickney and Col. David Hobart led against the Tory breast-work where there was the most desperate fighting. The Tories expected no quarter and gave none, fighting to the last like Tigers. They were completely surrounded within their fortifications and the work of death was finished with bayonets and clubbed muskets. Hobart and Stickney saw the work thoroughly done."

## A STARK SWORD AND OTHER MEMENTOS

Gen. Stark's sword. No service sword has survived, though one may easily be exhibited somewhere unmarked. The one mentioned in 1877 by Rev. Albert Tyler of Worcester (present at the celebration and



whose queer booklet of 1778 is now a rare museum number) is a fancy, straight dress affair of Spanish manufacture. If Stark ever owned it, Mr. W. S. B. Hopkins of Worcester, through whose grandmother's family (the Stinsons of Dunbarton) it came down, can offer no verification beyond tradition.

Two swords, a cartridge box, a carbine and a brass drum presented by Gen. Stark to the State of New Hampshire, after being lost for many years, are now preserved in a case in the "Museum building" of the New Hampshire Historical Society. Similar mementos were given by Gen. Stark to the Vermont Council and suitably acknowledged by President Thomas Chittenden at Bennington, Sept. 20th, 1777. Massachusetts gratefully acknowledged and proudly kept the souvenirs of the victory that Stark presented immediately after the battle.

Minor mementos of the battle are preserved in widely scattered places not possible of mention in any list. For example a "Hessian" bayonet is owned by a Stark descendant, Mr. John Stark Cameron of Scarsdale, N.Y

#### THE GENERAL AND FIELD STAFFS; AMERICAN

His personal staff may be found in Vol. XV, State Papers-Rev. Rolls II, at page 140. The members were all volunteer and were paid from July 18th to Oct. 4th, a period longer than any of the enlisted men. Major Peabody, paid for 68 days at \$50 per month, was Capt. Stephen Peabody when he marched from Amherst, N.H. to Ticonderoga. He seems to have served briefly as Lt. Col. of a Rhode Island Regiment in January 1778. "Mr. John Casey" was paid for 69 days and was Gen. Stark's clerk, the man who kept the accounts, wrote the dispatches and was generally useful. He was of Epsom, provided for Gen. Stark by the Committee of Safety. He got only \$27 a month, the pay of a Lieutenant. He was not in any sense a military man, does not seem to have entered the service, being heard of again only as a witness to two signatures, (July 6, 1779) at Epsom; two lieutenants making their "marks". We grant him his modicum of fame for he was probably responsible, in his modest way, for the physical execution of General Stark's orders, letters and other martial epistles.

Col. Samuel Ashley served 66 days and was of Winchester and his regiment, of militia, had marched for Ticonderoga, got near Otter Creek, returned to No. 4 and went on again only to meet the army in full retreat, after the surrender of the fortress. From Sept. 21 to Oct. 17 he was adjutant to Col. Bellows' regiment and marched to join Gates. In June, 1778, he was muster master in a Rhode Island regiment, which got 4 months pay in advance. "Robert McGregore, Esq." was a neighbor of Gen. Stark, residing in Goffstown. He had been a Lieutenant in Col. Moses Kelley's regiment, going to Ticonderoga July 1, 1777, but was ordered back. In October, 1778, he served as Adjutant of Kelley's Rhode Island regiment for 24 days. Under Gen. Stark he drew

pay from Oct. 7 until the 30th inst. coming on after Casey had gone. There were three "servants" (un-named) attached to the staff of Gen. Stark.

Of the three colonels, Nichols, Stickney and Hobart, brief notices are in order. Col. Moses Nichols was of Amherst, then County seat of Hillsborough. His regiment, raised in the central part of the state, had the greatest losses of the three at Bennington, 14 being killed or dying shortly afterward. Before Bennington he had been a member of the General Court, after the battle he was as Justice in Amherst, later a militia general, dying in 1790. Col. Thomas Stickney was of Concord, his 536 men being mustered from the northerly towns. In 1778 he became a member of the General Court. The pay rolls of this regiment were useful in showing the number of sick, absent, on command, on furlough, &c. Col. David Hobart was of Plymouth, a border town, his five companies, only 264 men, also included volunteers on the west side of the Connecticut river, where there were hotbeds of Tories.

#### STARK'S BRIGADE; LOSSES IN THE THREE REGIMENTS

Regiment of Col. Moses Nichols of Amherst. It was a large regiment, showing as enlisted 596, though 601 were paid, as per Revolutionary Rolls. The accounting sworn to by the Captains. Why was Nichols left out when Stark hastened to acknowledge obligations "to Colonels Warner and Herrick" whose superior skill was of great service" &c.? Only half of Nichols' regiment was attacking Baum. It is impossible to locate where the preponderance of Nichols' losses occurred. Half of the fatal casualties to the Americans in the battle were the 14 of Nichols' regiment, killed or who died of their wounds.

Killed in Mack's Co. were Joshua Fuller of Surry, Michael Metcalf of Keene and William Woods. Fuller was a veteran of Bunker Hill. Other veterans were Lt. McClary of Londonderry, Reynold's Co. and John Kincaid of Windham, Wilson's Co. as was also Asa Lewis of Milford, Brandford's Co. Stone's Co. lost three men, Joseph Wilson of Rindge, Serg. Nathan Mixer of Fitzwilliam and Ebenezer Perry of Wilton, the latter one of the Lieutenants. In Carleton's Co. the town of Westmoreland lost two privates, John Ranstead and Benoni Tisdale. The latter was a fifer. Did his shrill notes echo on the heights and then were stilled forever? Westmoreland and the state should know more of those who made the supreme sacrifice that day. Presumably dying of wounds were Joshua Conant of Londonderry (Reynold's Co.), Jeremiah Parker of Stoddard (Parker's Co.) and Archibald Cunningham of Francestown, all three in August and September.

Regiment of Col. Thomas Stickney of Concord. This too was a large regiment, enlisted total 536, but paid running as high as 594, (State Papers, XV). Some unaccountable discrepancies are shown. Only one man was killed in the battle, Ezekial Lane of Raymond

(Dearborn's Co.) though several died shortly afterward. These were Samuel McAfee of Bedford (McConnell's Co.), Thomas Hooper of New Boston (Clark's Co.), Major James Head of Pembroke and John Moore of Candia (Dearborn's Co.) and Ensign Andrew Pettingill of Salisbury (Kimball's Co.) all in August except the last named who died December 12th.

Regiment of Col. David Hobart of Plymouth. Five men were killed or died of their wounds; Corporal Zachariah Butterfield (Elliott's Co.), Eli Colby, Alexandria (same Co.), Solomon Hobart of Plymouth, Philip Eastman of Walpole, (a sergeant in Webber's Co.) died a few days after the battle, as did Capt. Jeremiah Post of Orford. Lt. J. Vaughan was made Captain in his place.

### PRISONERS AND MATERIEL

As some features are better stated it is preferable to take Stark's letter to Gates, 6 days after the battle, than Stark's Report of the 16th to the New Hampshire authorities:

"We recovered '(in the two actions)' four pieces of brass cannon, some hundred stands of arms and brass barrell drums, several Hessian swords, seven hundred prisoners, two hundred and seven dead on the spot. The number of wounded is unknown."

The Report was more explicit as to prisoners:

"I have one lieutenant colonel, since dead (Baum) one major, seven captains, fourteen lieutenants, four ensigns, two cornets, one judge advocate, one baron, two Canadian officers, six sergeants, one ade-de-camp, one Hessian Chaplain, three Hessian surgeons and seven hundred prisoners."

When Gen. Lincoln arrived at Bennington on the 18th, he wrote to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety giving no credit to Gen. Stark specifically but to "officers and men" generally. He explained his own absence and then added:

"We were under the necessity to forward the prisoners to the State of Massachusetts. They are now under the care of Gen. Fellows.....There are now in our hands thirty seven British soldiers, 398 Hessians, 38 Canadians, 155 Tories."

Massachusetts had furnished the fewest men except New York. Vermont being poor and thinly settled was in no position to care for a large number of men. New Hampshire had sent the largest force, entailing the greatest expenditure and would have been badly served if made to bear much additional expense and, it was also a long and hard journey to the communities of the state.



The story of the cavalcade is obscure. Most the captured men reached Lanesboro, between Williamstown and Pittsfield, by the 19th of August. J. E. A. Smith (History of Pittsfield, 1869) showed how many individuals dropped off, one by one, in Berkshire and Hampshire counties. They hired out there and eventually became settlers. A number found their way into New Hampshire, settling in Londonderry, Litchfield, Weare; their descendants bearing such names as Longa, Ritterbusch, and Schillenger.

Secretary Fay's letter of October 6th, evidently referred to American sick, not prisoners, when he noted 100 sick with "only Dr. Hovey there, who is to be called off". He asked Gates to help with "Doctors, Surgeons, or Medicines". On the 25th, Gates was asked for barracks because there were "great numbers of soldiers, &c. passing through."

In Gates Papers (box 7) is a paper headed "An account of the enemy's loss."

"found dead on field, including Tories, 222; Officers dead (list given), 41; Of different sorts, wounded and come to hand, 100; Not wounded, British, 37; Hessians, 398; Canadians, 30; Tories, 55; - total 991."

The number of Tories may have been 155. That is the number which Gen. Lincoln on August 20th gave President John Hancock from Van Schoick's Island. In his "P.S." he said "As the killed and taken at Bennington amounted to 936, I am confident they are 1200 less for that defeat" (referring to Burgoyne's total forces." The understatement of the list (100) would, if corrected, make the total 1091.

Gen. Stark in the letter printed in 1808, referred to the Tory prisoners;

"Not doubting that the ladies will be as patriotic in furnishing every aid as they were at Bennington in '77, who even dis-mantled their beds to furnish cords to secure and lead them off".

This must have related to the exit of the Tory prisoners from Bennington, not to their arrival from the field of battle, though the story of the double row of Tories entering Bennington, tied together along a rope was also true, probably.

#### WHOSE VOICE WAS IT?

How accounts tend to cancel each other is illustrated by the following from the "Collections" (1822) of Farmer & Moore. Acknowledging as their chief source, Major Caleb Stark, the story, as to the second battle said:

"Major Ran came up with 200 fresh troops sent on to keep the enemy in check until he (Gen. Stark) could rally his scattered numbers. He gave orders with all the force of his lungs to drive on or they would lose the honor of the victory for the main body was at hand. They were so closely engaged that the enemy heard him and immediately gave way."

It should not be overlooked that in the same volume of "Collections" (pl39, et seq.) under Peterborough it is related that Lt. Samuel Cunningham,

"fell into an ambushment of Tories several miles from the main army. Cunningham's coolness and consummate address supplied the want of numbers.....With the voice of a lion he called on one of his officers to bring up a body of 500 men to flank the enemy, The Tories fled and left behind them their baggage and plunder."

The garbling of this, evidently the same story, is so obvious (unless one chooses to believe that two such episodes occurred during the same battle) that neither yarn can be believed.

#### JOHN WALLACE AND THE "MOLLY STARK TRAIL"

One of the first references to this grand scenic highway of the present day across the Green mountains, is found in the diary of John Wallace, one of several soldiers of that family from Londonderry, N. H. He was one of the men whose time was up before the battles of Saratoga. To get himself home more easily he bought a horse in Bennington. He described his journey, beginning Sunday, September 16th, 1777. He said "It was over the worst road I ever travelled, through mire and ruts, over mountains and through Dales." He rested at "Col. Williams over night," (Wilmington, 20 miles) and when he came to the Connecticut River he and his companions "crossed it in a canoe" and "we swam our horses" and soon "Came into a town." The town would be Brattleboro.

#### SIAS AND GEN. STARK

Capt. Benjamin Sias, (1747-1799) was of Loudon, N. H. and later of Danville, Vt. He raised a company in Loudon and Canterbury for the expedition under Gen. Stark against Burgoyne. The late Soloman Sias (1829-1911) of Schoharie, N. Y. told what had been told him by his uncle, Charles Hewes, of an incident, which Soloman Sias, then in his late years, told the author;

"At the beginning of the battle of Bennington, one of the most famous of the smaller fights of the Revolutionary War, Capt.

Sias having brought up some soldiers to Gen. John Stark, the commander, went back after more men and when the noise of the battle began he was some five miles away. He and his men started at once and ran the entire distance to get into the fray. On arrival, however, he was ordered to take charge of the wagons in the rear. This was too much for the Captain, who, mopping his face from hair to chin with his bent elbow exclaimed (deacon though he was) "I think it is a damned shame after running five miles to get here not to be allowed to fight." On hearing this Gen. Stark ordered Capt. Sias to the front with his men where they proved a strong reinforcement to the continental troops."

In Stickney's regiment, Capt. Sias' company shows a roster of only 38 men and the cold light of history does not disclose any dead or injured in the battle, but this does not prove that a man like Benjamin Sias did not do good work with his men.

#### ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS

For 169 years commemoration exercises have been held with hardly a break. Thirty nine years after the battle the Committee tried to get Gen. Stark himself to attend. The invitation of July 25th was mis-carried and he did not reply until Sept. 20th (1810) the subject moving him deeply (see text in "The Later Years" chapter).

The Centennial celebration was held in the presence of enormous crowds, (some 50,000 people overflowing the 5000 population village) President Hayes and Mrs. Hayes, Secretary of State Evarts and others of the cabinet were present and Governor Horace Fairbanks of Vermont, other Governors, President Bartlett of Dartmouth college. Aged poet, William Cullen Bryant wrote an original poem for the occasion. In 1879 a volume was published by authority of the state of Vermont (Tuttle Co. Rutland) giving the full account, including steel engravings of Gen. Stark, Rev. Thomas Allen, Ex-Gov. Hiland Hall and others. It was the greatest day Bennington ever saw and John Stark's name and fame were on every lip. To render the occasion more notable his descendants journeyed from New Hampshire as guests of honor. Three sisters, grand-daughters of the General (through his daughter Sophia, who married Samuel Dickey), Mrs. Charlotte Stark Campbell (1826-1908), Mrs. David Thorpe (1812-1881) and Mrs. Daniel Graves (1820-1905) were accompanied by another grand-daughter, Miss Abby Stark, (1805-1881). There were also three great-grand-children Augustus H. Stark (1834-1902), Elizabeth P. Stark (1827-1896) and Miss Eleanor Gamble (1830-1910), all accompanied by Mr. Joseph M. Rowell, born 1809, a Stark connection who remembered the General well as did Miss Abbie, who told President Hayes of incidents she recalled of the old hero's latter days. The



precious 13 starred-green Flag and other mementos of the General were exhibited in a store window in the village of Bennington.

For the dedication of the monument in 1891 (August 19th) a procession of nearly 5000 people were in line with over 500 carriages and saddle horses, President Benjamin Harrison making two addresses, governors, ex-governors and generals vying with each other in hailing the greatness of the battle and of General John Stark. Few heroes of the Revolutionary War have had more or greater honors paid to them than he, one of the surest tokens of true importance.

On August 18th a special train of 15 cars had left Concord carrying the New Hampshire delegation to the dedication ceremonies of the sky piercing monument at Bennington. At Manchester three grand-children and one great grand child were taken on, bearing the General's most precious possession, the remains of the flag which had accompanied him to victory 114 years before. The proud Stark grand-children were; Augustus H. Stark, (1834-1902, then 57) Miss Elizabeth P. Stark (1827-1896, then 64) Miss Eleanor Gamble (1830-1910, then 61 and Mrs. Jennie A. Osborne (1858-1941, then 33).

For the sesqui-centennial in 1927 Governor Huntley N. Spaulding made the dedicatory Address when the bronze and granite marker of Gen. Stark's first camp was unveiled by Mrs. Osborne, the General's great-grand-daughter, the memorial being the gift of the State of New Hampshire. It was on the site of the Dimick Tavern, now a field on the edge of the city of Bennington.

## RUM

Like all commanders of the period Gen. Stark was careful to provide rum or other obtainable spirituous liquor for his army. To all armies of that day liquor was a matter of sustenance, after a battle as well as fortification before one. A letter to Gen. Gates (N. Y. Hist. Soc.) dated Bennington Sept. 1, 1777 shows how Stark endeavored to replenish his meager supply following the combat;

"I had two hogsheads and one barrel from our state's old spirits in the time of engagement which was an article which they much needed."

"As my troops and myself are and have been entirely destitute of any kind of spirits ever since" Gates was asked to replace the consumed liquor.

From his time in the Ranger service until his death, a period of seventy years, John Stark was a steady imbiber of rum. There is no instance of his ever having exceeded a moderate quantity or that he was in any sense a toper. He was not that kind of a man. Rum was generally of good quality and cheap. French brandy was good but of limited supply. The New England habits did not run with the English as to Spanish and Portuguese sherry and port. Keeping rum in the house for "treat-

ing" guests and for occasional use in the family, was a universal custom. It is of record that some of the ministers partook too freely. Nevertheless sentiment was strongly against liquor being used to excess by anyone, rich or poor, old or young. This served to control consumption in a large degree.

As a military man, when he was out of spirits (*frumenti*) Gen. Stark let it be known in no uncertain words, be his superiors Washington himself or lesser officials. But of all men John Stark was the last to tolerate shiftless toppers.

BENNINGTON TO THE SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE  
AUG. 16TH TO OCT; 17TH, 1777

How great a blow had been struck for liberty Stark and his men would not be able to sense for some time. They knew that their valiant exploit had resulted in an immediate success, the most astonishing. They also knew that it was the first smash against Burgoyne's invasion. They could have had little anticipation of the chain of events that were to constitute a linking of direct consequences that historians should make clear, that the path of victory beginning on the road by the Wall-oomsack and continuing on the banks of the Hudson, would, after greivous disappointments and delays running into years, finally result in that great Independence in the New World that had its proportionate part in initiating the overthrow of decadent monarchial power across the sea in the French Revolution.

Well might the orator, Phelps, in the distinguished presence at Bennington say, when the Battle monument was dedicated in 1891;

"It is not numbers alone that give importance to battle fields. The fame of Thermopylae would not have survived had the Greeks been a great army instead of three hundred."

Thomas Jefferson wrote;

"This success was the first link in the chain of events which opened a new scene to America. It raised her from the depths of despair to the summit of hope and added unfaded laurels to the brow of the veteran who commanded."

Washington, in a letter to General Putnam of Aug. 22nd wrote (for official considerations discouraged his communicating with militia General Stark direct);

"As there is not now the least danger of Gen. Howe's going to New England, I hope the whole force of that country will turn out and by following the great stroke struck by Gen. Stark



near Bennington entirely crush Gen. Burgoyne, who by his letter to Col. Baum seems to be in want of almost everything."

(Sparks "Washington" Vol. 42.)

Trevelyan, the British historian, whose perspective had the additional advantage of later years, was not at fault in summing up;

"Bennington.....proved to be the turning point of the Saratoga campaign, which was the turning point of the war."

## SUMMARY OF THE PERIOD

Stark's part between Bennington and the end of Burgoyne needs some rescue from obscurity and a correction of false lights that in-different research and long unpublished letters has left him in. The characters of Gates and Lincoln were not far from what time has left their reputations in, but Stark has suffered from the lack of a connected account. His unfortunate illness, his trip home to raise new forces interrupted what would otherwise made him a more prominent actor, either in the midst of the two battles or in timely attacks on the flanks. His new force, with additions supplied, was finally to close the northern gap, showing Burgoyne he could not escape, hastening his surrender. During Stark's difficult period Gates only once showed impatience in dealing with his friend, a tough customer, consistent throughout. Not signaled by a re-sounding clash of arms in a bloody engagement Stark's part has been lost sight of and though a minor role was left to him he played it well.

## SCHUYLER AND LINCOLN

One of the first to congratulate Gen. Stark was warm hearted and responsive Philip Schuyler, in the hour of his being supplanted. He penned this and sent his messenger to Bennington;

"I do myself the pleasure to congratulate you on the signal victory which you have gained; please accept my best thanks. The consequence of the severe stroke the enemy have received from you, their progress will be retarded and we shall yet see them driven from this part of the country. Gen. Gates is at Albany and will this day re-assume the command. I am, dear General, your most obedient,

Ph. Schuyler."

Hail, Philip Schuyler, ardent and unselfish patriot, tried and found wanting, but ever faithful. History has long since done you justice, even with the mass of papers, in storage at the New York Public Library, hardly sampled by biographers. Judiciously Justin Smith said of him ("Our Struggle");

"It was not the General's fault that he lacked the breadth of beam and weight of metal for the heaviest of burdens and the mightiest of battles."

Two men more dissimilar than Schuyler and Stark were never associated during the war. Yet there was mutual recognition of the harmony necessary for teamwork in the common cause.

Lincoln asked Schuyler about the disposition of the Tory prisoners "most of whom belong to the State of New York." Schuyler wrote him;

"The Tory prisoners you will please sent to Albany. Col. Brewer might take them in charge. He left this last night, with what ammunition can be collected here."

(original letter in McCullough collection.)

Among the forces that failed to get to Bennington on time were those from Connecticut under Col. Charles Burrell. At Pittsfield his 400 men were met with orders from Lincoln to come no further. He wrote Gov. Trumbull and of the battle that "This was all performed by militia under General Stark. Gen. Lincoln came with a number from our army at Half Moon but the action was over before he arrived." ("August 19, 12 o'clock at night".)

#### STARK'S DEPLETED REGIMENT

Order books and rosters have disappeared but of the 1500 men Stark had from New Hampshire, from one cause or another only effectives of 700 to 800 remained after the epidemic of measles came to San Coick.

From Van Schoick's Island, at the mouth of the Mohawk, at the Hudson, Gates at once wrote Stark of his sincere appreciation, calling on Stark for suggestions, and making arrangements to use the precious brass cannon Stark had captured;

"The whole country resounds with the fame of your victory which comes so authenticated that I have the same confidence in it as though I heard it from yourself. In a few days, perhaps hours, I think I shall be able to transmit the news of a like happy determination of our affairs at Fort Stanwix. When the wings of Gen. Burgoyne are thus discomfited I shall rejoice in yours and Gen. Arnold's assistance to try our best with Him and His Main Body. Congress having thought proper to recall Generals Schuyler and St. Clair, have again reinstated me in the command of the Northern Department. I wish earnestly for your and General Lincoln's opinion upon the best method of co-operation with the main army now at Half Moon. I set out to join the army where I shall expect from Gen. Lincoln his and your sentiments in regard to our future movements - and if it is proper should be glad to confer with

you both upon that subject. The great service yourself, Col. Warner and the officers and soldiers under your command have rendered to the United States not only demand but most assuredly will meet with all the honor and reward Congress can bestow. Should you and Gen. Lincoln be of opinion that your march to the New City with your whole force and the field artillery taken from the enemy is a good measure I will directly order a floating bridge to be thrown over the North river at that place. The Continental regiments and large bodies of militia from all quarters are upon Full march from Peekskiln to join the Northern army. I have ordered Major Stevens to send you immediately from hence two officers and twenty artillerists to take charge of and manage the field pieces.

I am, dear General, your affectionate humble servant,  
 Horatio Gates."

Far up the Mohawk, by a forced march, Gen. Arnold had relieved Fort Stanwix and brave Col. Peter Gansvoort. British Col. St. Leger, deserted by his Indian allies retreated to Canada. Arnold's men were soon a reinforcement to the army Gates was gathering from all quarters at the Sprouts, Half Moon township, mouth of the Mohawk. Large and small units were arriving day after day from New England, New Jersey, and from points near by in New York. The assimilation of the units was right in line with Gates' training and genius. His letter shows that he counted on Stark's men. There is no reason to believe that he seriously considered Stark's "independent command" as an impediment to complete coalescence. But Stark had other ideas and was not the man to give them up. His relations with the Vermonters were closely knit and to him remained binding. His mission was to protect "The Grants" and the eastern terrain. Gates' business was to meet and defeat Burgoyne in direct combat. Stark retained the intention to hover on Burgoyne's flank, and so to do him as much injury as possible. Gates asked the views of Stark and Lincoln. He got them through Lincoln, Stark's illness after Bennington preventing direct reply. Stark, Lincoln and the Vermont Council of Safety were of one mind. Gates had written Lincoln (no copy in Gates Papers) and Lincoln on Aug. 20th gave the reply, still unpublished, (Gates Papers);

"We are clearly of opinion our junction would not render service to the public as probably we might by remaining in this part of the country."

The reasons given were that they might be able to fall upon Burgoyne's rear (Burgoyne had been at Fort Edward from July 30th and had on Aug. 14th moved down the Hudson seven miles to Fort Miller) and thus "force him to increase small garrisons" and "thereby give you an opportunity to attack him with success"&c.



## NEW HAMPSHIRE INVESTIGATES

After the reports of the Bennington victory were received Col. Josiah Bartlett and Col. Nathaniel Peabody, were instructed to go to Bennington and "do everything in your power to assist the sick and wounded.....consult with and advise General Stark, and to procure an exact account of the late action, and you are empowered to do and transact any matters and things with respect to said Brigade that you may think necessary." (State Papers, VIII, 672). If the two men made any Report it has disappeared, it being apparent that the real object, in view of the criticism of New Hampshire by other states, was to control Gen. Stark, though nothing is on record showing that the Committee did anything to hamper his actions. Lincoln was seen, and, no doubt, talked freely. The Committee journeyed to the main camp of Gen. Gates where New Hampshire's Continental troops were. Gates wrote on September 34d, that they went away "with full information of all our wants and desires." When Bartlett and Peabody arrived at Exeter they added their direct information to the clashing views of the members of the Council and House but no consensus of opinion resulted.

An unpublished letter (MSS room, N.Y. Public Library) dated Aug. 24th shows Stark so far recovered as to write Gates;

"Dear General -- This moment I received an express from Gen. Bayley informing me that he has 300 men on their way to join me. I have sent an express for them to come as far as Manchester & there to tarry till further orders. The country is in an uproar. I hope we shall be able to drive Mr. Burgoyne over the lake in a few days. I am, dear General, your most obedient Humble Servant,

JOHN STARK"

Lincoln took the liberty to write directly to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, though perhaps meaning only to back up Gen. Stark in the latter's letter of the following day, Aug. 25th urging that 1000 men be sent to relieve those under his command "as they will not tarry after their time has expired." He was "impatiently awaiting the arrival of the Massachusetts militia" their time ending "the last of November" and

"I am determined to advance nearer to our Implacable Blood-thirsty enemies as soon as they come in.....I hope to commence my Rout by the last of next week and do flatter myself that in case as many of them comes to our assistance as am promised we shall be able to banish Mr. Burgoyne and his Mercenary Hirelings with Precipitation over the lakes again."

(Weare Papers, N.H. Hist. Soc.)

"I shall expect to be relieved when my Brigade is, as my business will not admit of my tarrying longer." John Stark added, perhaps as a warning.

## STARK'S HEADQUARTERS AT SAN COICK

"Stark's brigade ordered to San Coick" entered John Wallace in his Diary on September 5th. The next day Lincoln wrote Gates "most of my troops move to Manchester" and he would follow "in a few hours with the greatest number I can collect" and that "Gen. Stark with his brigade and Col. Williams' regiment takes the ground agreed upon". Stark was much in error if he supposed the Massachusetts troops would be added to his force. There was destined to be a jumbling of intentions and of execution. On behalf of his New Hampshire volunteers Stark protested to Lincoln on September 6th.;

"I received yours informing me of Gen. Gates' movement. I should be glad to move to the height opposite him on the east side but the task is too hard for me in my present circumstances. I have but about 800 men and not one man that knows the ground, not even so much as one foot of it. The whole of Mr. Burgoyne's army are on this side of the river. General Gates may as well tell me to go and attack Gen. Burgoyne with my Brigade as to desire me to march between him and the enemy." ("Copy", Gates Papers.)

Gen. Gates, if he gave such an order, seems not to have realized the hazard of having Stark with but 800 men take an exposed position. He had, himself, a large and rapidly increasing army. But Stark was clearly becoming a minor element in the important grouping of forces, Gates slowly moving from his inactive base to approach the enemy. He was leaving Stark to Lincoln. Stark did not seek to go over the latter's head. On September 7th Gates was still at the Mohawk camp, a day late in marching, Lincoln advising him from Manchester that day (the 7th) that he was leaving "to-morrow" with his troops. Apparently Stark was being rigidly excluded from any movement to get on Burgoyne's flank. Lincoln was making the manœuvre that Stark had, all along, marked as his own. He was being moved about like a pawn, but watched everyone, alert but discomfitted, perhaps with justification in being peeved; He was not like himself.

"He did not set out yesterday by 12 o'clock. Thursday being rainy I cannot imagine he can possibly be at that place by to-morrow. If Col. Robertson's regiment is not much larger than Col. Williams' it will come vastly short of the number proposed. I have a return of Col. Williams' now before me which amounts to 64 men fit for duty and no more, which together with my brigade will not exceed 700 men and many of that number are now sick with the measles. I have not one carriage to transport my provisions. I am ready and willing to go if I can be supported.

N. B. One more difficulty, the men's time is nearly out and it is out of my power to detain them, not with my utmost endeavor to persuade them to the contrary. The men believe they are looked upon as a very disreputable (discredited?) body. In your letter to Massachusetts Bay placed the Continental troops in the front of the battle and had the applause of the victory, your men immediately after and mine the last of all." (Stark to Lincoln, Sept. 7, 1777)

The morale of Stark's New Hampshire men was, plainly, seriously impaired. To seize on a grievance like the supposed slight in Lincoln's Report to Massachusetts and make an issue of it, shows that effects of the epidemic and the nearness of the time of discharge, coupled with the prospect of being made to take an exposed position, while an all important contest was in the making, was taking its toll of patience. General and men were in a tight spot, much the worst of Stark's entire career. A very rare "Broadside" is that (which the New Hampshire Historical Society obtained in 1947 a copy of) printing Lincoln's letter in full, as soon as his report of the battle reached Boston. What the men were objecting to was Lincoln's statement of the American forces;

"A few Continental troops, the Rangers from the Grants, some of the militia from the State of Massachusetts, those from New Hampshire and the Grants under the command of Brigadier General Stark."

Having fought a successful battle, their two months enlistment agreement being nearly up, half of their number down with the measles, a great army of fresh troops being assembled to go against Burgoyne's deteriorating invading force, the men were taking a realistic view of things. It was probably about this time that the determination of the men hardened. They would not desert but when their time was up, home they would go.

From Manchester Sept. 8th, at 2 o'clock in the morning Lincoln wrote Gates, giving a wrong impression as to the number of men Stark was to be reinforced by;

"On my late return from headquarters I mentioned to Gen. Stark that he was to take command of 1000 troops and move toward the river. He appeared perfectly satisfied. His return of fit for duty included two or three companies who were then at this place and have since joined him.....about 200 of Col. Williams' and Col. Robertson's regiments are to join him also.....Massachusetts troops are delayed, only half of the number proposed.....expect soon to be reinforced."

(Gates Papers, N.Y.His.Soc.)



Currently Lincoln wrote Stark, describing the journey "a little short of a day's march", and if teams were necessary, Stark was to "order them at any price". As to the letter to Massachusetts Bay "if arrangement was wrong it was not designed". He urged Stark to "take the heighth agreeable to the General's desire."

### STARK, SICK, SENDS HIS BRIGADE

Stark ordered Lt. Col. Ashley, his chief of staff, to march to the spot (the "heighth") that Gen. Gates designated. Gates was probably too occupied to pay much attention, his big army on the move, reaching Stillwater, 13 miles up the Hudson, Sept. 9th. Stark wrote Gates, who was unsympathetic, (as he was when he argued weeks later with Sir Francis Clarke, dying on Gates' bed after the first battle of Freeman's farm);

"It happens exceeding unhappy to me that Providence has been pleased to lay his injunction on me so far as to confine me to a bed of sickness" so that he could not go to a "place of destination agreeable to your plan and my own wish and desire."

Stark signed with a scrawl as he closed, "I am, dear sir, in the greatest agony and pain". He did not neglect his duty to call attention to some food at risk in "Major Ranselair's mill", 40 barrels of flour, 300 bushels of wheat, that the Tories might get. Gates had not realized how Stark's little force would have been exposed, until his own march was accomplished and his army was camped opposite the spot, for in a letter to Lincoln dated Sept. 10th he made it plain, as a sort of justification;

"I am astonished at my friend Stark's hesitating to perform what he had previously with entire approbation consented to execute. The Post I wished him to occupy is not more than Half Cannon shot from the right of this army and by twelve at noon I shall have a good bridge of Communication furnished across the river. Inclosed is my letter to him on the subject. After reading it I think he will not delay one moment to march to that Ground. The ammunition you demanded went yesterday from New City, your want of it was owing to your assuring me that you had received Plenty from Springfield. I desire that you will not fail frequently to acquaint me with your Movements, and as far as prudent with your designs. I am, dear General, your affectionate humble servant, Horatio Gates. P.S. I desire you will Seal and forward the Inclosed." (letter, 1905, in possession of Samuel T. Crosby, Esq. of Hingham, Mass. printed in "Stark's Independent Command".)

"The Inclosed" was the note, without date, found in Patterson's Life of Gates (p148) original in Library of Congress (Continental Congress No. 154), a missive that was not known or was intentionally omitted by Caleb Stark in 1860. Did John Stark destroy it?

"I am exceedingly surprised and disappointed at not finding you are at the place where I understood from Gen. Lincoln you had agreed to take post; to cooperate with me.....I entreat you will not tarnish the glory you have gained but march instantly to the post assigned you."

As Stark was under Lincoln the letter of Gates required instead of 12 miles of travel, direct to Stark, some 76 miles of horseback riding, via Lincoln (48 Gates-Lincoln, 28 Lincoln-Stark). It is probable that Stark did not receive the letter of Gates until after he had started Lt. Col. Ashley with his men, as Gates wrote Lincoln on the 13th, that the force under Ashley arrived, the "day before yesterday" that is, the 11th. Gates, moving his aggregation of men and equipment against the enemy, a task to tax the attention of even a master of organization, wrote Lincoln "Heights above Bemis, four miles north of Stillwater," (a position where it was found by reconnoitering that suitable defensive terrain existed) sometime on September 13th -

"Within this half hour received yours of yesterday's date. General Stark's detachment under the command of Lt.Col. Ashley joined me at Stillwater the day before yesterday. The General I was told remained behind sick."

The preoccupation of Gen. Gates with more important affairs doubtless made him testy with Stark but he got over it and their relations resumed their usual cordiality. Gates had written on the 10th to President Hancock;

"I expect General Stark with his corps will occupy a strong height upon the right of this camp. A few days, perhaps hours, will determine whether Gen. Burgoyne will risque a battle or retire to Tyconderoga."

Wallace's diary on Wednesday, Sept. 10th, had this entry, "Stark's brigade marched from Rambly's mills to Stillwater", "Rambly's" being Wallace's difficulty with Van Renselaer's.

#### GATES SLYLY SIDETRACKS STARK

His delight in intrigue had an outlet in a very secretly hatched scheme. Lincoln was to execute it. If successful it would have resounded loudly to the credit of Gates, provided, of course, that Gates was able to defeat Burgoyne. As it turned out the larger issue was successful, so that

it didn't matter much that Lincoln's leadership or rather planning, failed. The story has never been told, having more fully come to light from a study of Gates papers, Lincoln's movements and scattered data. Stark was deliberately deceived.

### A SCHEME TO CAPTURE TICONDEROGA

Probably Stark suspected that Lincoln, in collecting all the small units he could, marching them to out-of-the-way Paulet, was up to something. Lincoln even took the small contingent coming from Massachusetts supposed to be for Stark's augmentation. As early as the 3rd or 4th of September, Stark, who shrewdly calculated every bit of information, became uneasy. His peculiarly timed outbreak as to Lincoln's unfairness in giving credit for Bennington fits in.

In the desperate project of stopping Burgoyne Gates was believed to have bent every nerve, clamoring for fresh troops, accepting levies from every point. But on getting a bit of information about Ticonderoga Gates immediately planned to use Lincoln in supervising a scheme which required the detachment of a considerable body of troops. When he needed those troops himself, as the result of bloody and inconclusive fighting with Burgoyne, he sent for them post-haste. Meanwhile he kept everything from the record and enjoined Lincoln to silence. On the first of September Lincoln was at headquarters, at the mouth of the Mohawk. By direct contact the arrangements could have been made between the two men; no writings necessary. Later when dispatches were required there was covert wording.

On September first one James Lewis, Sergeant-Major of Warner's regiment, arrived at Gates headquarters. He told of escaping from Ticonderoga where he had been one of the prisoners after being captured on August 16th. In a matter of eight or nine days he picked up valuable information and some not entirely reliable. Lewis was sure that only about 100 men guarded the fort itself, at "Ti". In this he was right. He had, himself, seen the slim garrison. Confirmation of this has come as lately as July, 1945, when the Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum printed five Reports of Brig. Gen. H. Watson Powell, left in command by Gen. Burgoyne. The reports were to Sir Guy Carleton in Canada. (Public Archives of Canada). The dispatches of the 18th, 19th, 23rd, 27th and 30th September were followed by Gen. Allen MacLean's report (Powell being ill) of the first battle of Freeman's farm. Lewis believed there were but 500 men at Fort Independence and only one cannon on Mt. Defiance. So, without waiting for any investigation, Gates launched Lincoln on a three-pronged undertaking. He was to gather all the troops he could, though Stark was to have no part, and from Paulet launch three detachments. Lincoln was to remain at his headquarters, indeed his corpulency would prevent surprise attacks, which were of the essence, on distant British posts. Lincoln, for some reason kept 500 men with him, sent Col. Brown to take "Ti", res-



cue the prisoners, destroy the terminus at the foot of lake George and proceed by boat to take Diamond Island, which had a garrison and large stores. Col. Johnson was to support Brown by capturing Fort Independence. Woodbury was to take Skeensborough (Whitehall) and go to Fort Ann, possibly to Fort Edward. The scattering of the forces defeated all purposes.

It is doubtful if Stark's illness was the real obstacle to putting the enterprise under him though the type of work was something for which he was peculiarly fitted and, left to himself, even with fewer men, he could probably have achieved the main objects of Gen. Gates. But to have Stark's brilliant success at Bennington followed by another at Ticonderoga would not add anything to the reputation of Gates, and, apart from this, Gen. Lincoln in right of Continental seniority, was in line for the field command, unless to avoid it, Gates should choose to absorb Lincoln into the main army for the impending battles, a thing he eventually had to do, owing to exigencies and Lincoln's failure.

On September 16th Brown reconnoitered "Ti", observing a soldier being flogged. He took the battery on Mt. Defiance, firing (British accounts stated) a short 12 pounder on the Fort "without doing much damage". Unlike Gen. St. Clair, Gen. Powell, the British commander, was not intimidated and refused to surrender. But Brown collected about 70 prisoners, "quartered in different places". Powell got 100 Germans from Canada, after ignoring Brown's ultimatum, whereupon Brown left for Diamond Island in Lake George, practically defeated in his purpose. After failing to get the island garrison and stores Brown returned south. Col. Woodbury, having accomplished nothing was withdrawn in time to help Gates in the second, and crucial, battle.

On the 12th Gates sent young Wilkinson to reconnoiter the west bank of the Hudson, along a road passable but primitive. He discovered ample evidence that after weeks at Fort Miller the leisurely British army was moving at last. The inevitable clash of arms was measurably nearer.

## OTHER ITEMS AND EVENTS

To avoid cluttering a consecutive account a few developments may be grouped. In the Bennington area Gen. Lincoln was being recognized as in command, the Vermont committee raising 325 men (at 50 shillings per head) and waiting on Lincoln to assure him of every aid. No doubt the Vermonters knew that Stark was to be amalgamated with Gates. The latter ordered from Springfield, even then an arsenal, 1000 cartridge boxes "without one minute's delay", part of stores recently arrived from France. The church in Bennington, converted into a hospital contained wounded, captured soldiers, of whom "one-half will not be recoverable". Two of the dragoons (Hease and Heus) had wives with Burgoyne's army and the German doctor suggested that they be allowed to come to Bennington to "nurse the sick and wash for the wounded."

General Putnam, headquarters on the Hudson, wrote, in one of his letters of the Burgoyne invasion that "Lincoln and Starks are gittin on his rear". About this time an incident occurred, related by Caleb Stark (Memoir, 1860, 350 and 367) of his father, Caleb, then Adjutant to the First N.H. Regiment;

"While General Gates was rejoicing of tidings announcing the first success in the North, an aide-de-camp mentioned to him that a son of General Stark was awaiting an interview with a message from Col. Cilley. 'Is he?' said Gates, 'Call him in.' When he appeared he said 'I am glad to see you my boy. Your father has opened the way for us nobly. In less than two months we shall capture Burgoyne's army. Don't you wish to see your father?' The adjutant replied that if his regimental duties would permit he would be glad to visit him. 'I will find an officer to perform your duties and you may go with the party I shall dispatch to Bennington and convey a message from me to your father. I want the artillery he has taken for the brush I soon expect to have with Burgoyne.' He proceeded with the party. The houses along their route were deserted by their owners but abounded in materials for good cheer. From the residences of fugitive Tories they obtained ample supplies for themselves and horses during their march."

It must have been a proud moment for the young Adjutant when he greeted his now famous father, victorious though suffering from after effects. They had fought together at Bunker Hill but Caleb was not to enjoy the immunity from personal injury that John Stark had throughout a charmed life. Caleb was in a few weeks, (October 7th) to receive in the most desperate fighting, when Col. Cilley with his 1st N.H. Regiment was in the thick of the final battle, a wound (in the arm) which caused him "to be disqualified to perform the difficult duties of his office." In later campaigns, recovered, young Caleb was to remain his father's "right hand man" during the long war.

The feeling in New England against Gen. Schuyler and Gen. St. Clair prompted John Adams to write to his wife on September 2nd, his sentiments being much quoted and questioned since;

"I wish Stark had the supreme command in the Northern Department.....I am sick of Fabian systems in all quarters."

As the chief exemplar of those famous tactics was Gen. Washington himself, the point was not lessened even when the activity, when it came, on the Brandywine on the 11th of the month, failed to add to the reputations of more than one American General. But why did not Adams, influential as he was, instantly move to have Stark made a Brigadier of the Continental army? The course of events around the upper Hudson might have been favorably affected by prompt action instead of what happened.

The important developments were taking place in Exeter. The letter of Gen. Stark, asking for 1000 new troops, endorsed by Gen. Lincoln, was acted on by the General Court of New Hampshire when it convened for its Fourth session on the 14th of September. On Sept. 17th Gen. Stark, anticipating the inevitable leave-taking of his men, attempted to intercept the future commander of the troops to be raised, he, himself, assuming that his own command was lapsing;

"To the Commanding Officer of the Militia destined for the Northern Army from the State of New Hampshire;  
Dear Sir; I embrace this opportunity by Express to inform you that the troops under my command leave this place to-morrow, and that the enemy are within six miles of our army and an engagement is daily expected. This is entreat you as a Lover of your country to hasten your troops to join the army without loss of time. It is probable the Fate of America may be determined in a few days. Your exertions in this will get you everlasting Honour, and Neglect, to the contrary."

This was no doubt done, with the approval of Gen. Gates, who wrote on the same day to the Committee at Bennington "to be forwarded Eastward" saying that it was evident that Gen. Burgoyne designed "to risk all upon one rash stroke". He asked for "reinforcing this army without one moment's delay". Secretary Fay received the letter and sent it on. It is plain that even then Gen. Gates did not consider he had men enough.

A number of friends of Gen. John Stark were members of the House, 92 in number, from all parts of the state. The speaker was John Langdon, Col. John Goffe was there from Derryfield and Col. Moses Nichols, Stark's dependable leader in the Bennington fight, was the member from Amherst. There was "no quorum" the first day of the short session of nine days. Congress had written concerning Stark's appointment; their letter and the answer not found in the records. A very singular cleavage in views became evident, as New Hampshire was called upon, despite its full contribution to the Continental Army through General Enoch Poor's brigade, to make another effort to stop Burgoyne. Prompt action was forthcoming;

"Orders were issued September 5th to the Colonels of the several regiments to draft one-sixth of their respective regiments to go to Bennington under General Stark, to March the 15th of September and remain in service till the last day of November, 1777." (State Papers, VIII, 676).

Between the 5th and the 10th, it is probable that Messrs. Bartlett and Peabody arrived home. On the 10th President Meschech Weare wrote direct to Gen. Gates;



"Two regiments of militia are to march in about five days to join the Continental army and be under the direction of the Commander of the Continental Army for the Northern Department. They will be ordered to join General Lincoln on the East side of the Hudson river and there receive your orders."

(Gates Papers)

How can Weare's action be reconciled with that of the Committee writing on the same day telling Stark the action of the State, drafting the sixth part of the six remaining regiments of militia? (Weare papers, N.H. Hist. Soc. IV. 38)

"State of New Hamp. In Com. of Safety, Sept. 10, 1777.

Dear Sir:

Orders issued four or five days ago past for Draughting a Sixth part of the Militia from the Six Eastern Regiments of this State, who are to march by the 15th of this inst<sup>t</sup> Septem<sup>r</sup> & November Next unless sooner discharged. And we flatter ourselves that Col. Bartlett & Col. Peabody have been able to engage some part of the Troops now with you to Tarry sometime longer. Cap<sup>t</sup> Atkinson of Boscawen has likewise orders to raise a Comp<sup>y</sup> of Volunteers to serve under you, which he gave great assurance he could compleat.

In your letter of the 26th Ult. you mentioned that you expected to be released when your Brigade was, as your Business would not permit your Tarrying longer. In Answer to which I must in the name of Your Country, in the name of the People of this State (whose Eyes are on you) and in the name of this Committee, Entreat you not to think of leaving the Command, at a Time when your Continuance is so Essentially Necessary, the Committee have assured the Men, that are to March, that they are to serve under Gen<sup>l</sup> Stark, and they will go forward with that Expectation.

Wishing you a Continued Success, in the Service of Your Country, I am, Sir, with great regard your very Humbl<sup>e</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>."

Grave doubts are justified as to whether Stark ever received the letter of the Committee of Safety (the government between sessions). Its suppression may be indicated in that, so many official communications, and few others, were preserved by Gen. Stark and his family. It would have been one of the most significant as regards the all-important relations between Stark and his superiors, the Legislature and the Committee. The presence of the draft-copy in the mass of private papers of Meschech Weare, kept from the public until very recent years (now lodged with the New Hampshire Historical Society)

and its absence from the file of Stark Papers (now in the same custody) leads to an inquiry "was there dirty work at the cross-roads"? Anyway Stark's relations with Weare became strained. Stark, who didn't lack friends in the government, had found him out.

### THE ARMIES DRAW NEAR EACH OTHER

On September 12th and 13th, Burgoyne crossed the Hudson by a bridge of boats at what is now "Thompson's", just above the mouth of the Battenkill. Supplies and equipment were put on boats and kept abreast of the army in moving down the river. On the 15th, Burgoyne reached Coveville, three miles, and rested the night and not until the 18th, did his army camp at Bemis Heights, four miles above Gates.

### NEW HAMPSHIRE'S TWO MONTHS MEN LEAVE FOR HOME

On the 17th probably at a camp on the east side of the Hudson (stories, 1831 and 1860 and Everett, 1834) Gen. Gates endeavored to persuade the veterans of Bennington to re-enlist.

"Upon the advance of Burgoyne, General Stark approached the main army at Behmus Heights and finally entered the camp. On the 18th of Sept. the term of enlistment of his men had expired and Gen. Gates, sensible that a battle must shortly take place was desirous of adding these victorious troops to his camp; but all to no purpose. These troops were drawn up and harangued by General Gates and Stark; not more than three of the whole number were willing to tarry. They said they had performed their part and must go home. (foot note) They were within hearing when the battle began but when the firing ceased, they pursued their way home and many returned, only tarrying at home one night."

In 1834, Edward Everett, 40, soon to begin his three terms as Governor of Massachusetts, felt that in his sketch of Stark he should explain the situation;

"They had been raised EN MASSE and had left their homes greatly to their own inconvenience and their time had expired. They had expressly stipulated that they should know no commander but Stark, as he had stipulated that he should not be placed under the Continental officers. He was now willing to waive this scruple, but they were not. Finally, General Gates was already so strong, that it was not easy to make out a case of very urgent necessity. With all these excuses, it is not very surprising, that the militia insisted upon being marched home, and that all efforts to detain them were unavailing.

Scarcely had they started when the action of the 19th was commenced. At the sound of the artillery many turned and would have gone back to the army. But as the firing ceased, they resumed their homeward march. General Stark, holding no commission in the Continental army and left without soldiers, returned to make report of his campaign to the Council of New Hampshire."

For the men it was a long walk back to New Hampshire and the route, or routes, taken are not in evidence but Gen. Stark, doubtless with some attendants, being mounted, would make a quick journey and was probably spared the humiliation of hearing the cannonading.

### THE ARMIES ENGAGE

The bloody work of the afternoon of the first engagement was inconclusive, both sides, at periods close to possible victory. Cessation found the American loss was 10% of those engaged, of the British 20%. The next day was to be decisive, but a very heavy fog covered the whole area. Burgoyne decided to give his forces a day for recuperation, though he did not know how short Gates was of powder.

Gates realizing the folly of having allowed Lincoln so many troops and being fearful of the result of another pitched battle, sent urgently to Lincoln at Pawlet. No doubt the Express rode fast as he bore the message;

"In the opinion of generals consulted and General Burgoyne's apparent views, your army ought to be posted at Stillwater; Not one moment should be lost in your marching thither." Lincoln was directed to go "to the East side heights" and leave 500 to 600 men and encamp "the rest at the Old Station". He was to proceed by the shortest route to Stillwater; provisions to be provided. (Gates Papers-rough copy-unsigned)

Next day, on getting his orders, Lincoln wrote that he would obey, adding that as the fate of Ticonderoga was yet unknown he doubted if Gates would wish him to get back the troops and queried that, if successful, would Gates wish to hold Ticonderoga? Ordering the Skeensborough troops back to Pawlet, Lincoln closed his dispatch by asserting that he had been "making every preparation to fall in rear or flank of Burgoyne before I received your last." Gates would smile at Lincoln's bluff; getting into jeopardy behind Burgoyne, with but 500 to 1000 men at the most.

Lincoln did not appear to sense the possibly dangerous juncture the American army was in. Gates could but faintly blame Lincoln, who had no experience as to the fortress, Ticonderoga at its best, as Gates had. Only recently the situation at "Ti" had come up when Gates received St. Clair's letter of August 1st (Gates Papers) in which that discredited



leader signed himself "your very affectionate servant" and had derided the the force he had commanded.

In New Hampshire State Papers (VIII,680) the text of an unsigned copy of a letter to Stark appears. No such letter is found in the published correspondence of the General but it must be assumed to have been sent him.

"State of New Hampshire, Sept. 20,1777

Sir- By a letter Recd from you dated at Bennington you mentioned your determination of not continuing in the service longer than the time for which your Brigade then with you had engaged for. However, considering your known zeal for the good of your Country, the General Court hope your domestic concerns and all other difficulties will give way to the public service; that you will consent to tarry with the militia, which will accompany this, who are directed to put themselves under your command (if you tarry).

The great necessity of all the troops co-operating with each other in the common cause makes it absolutely necessary that you with the militia under you, put yourself under the command of Gen'l. Gates, or the commander in chief of the Continental army in that department; which, if you tarry (as we earnestly desire) you are directed to do."

This may truly represent the considered desire of the authorities, being ten days later than Weare's letter to Gates, which was sent and received. It was necessarily a compromise. Reluctantly Stark's "Independent Command" was to be brought to a close. If an Express was employed the missive was probably delivered to Stark by interception of the messenger, unless Stark took a different route home.

We know that he was in Bennington on September 18th so he must have left the Hudson with some of the returning soldiers. He wrote a short account, bearing the date, which was not published in the Hartford Courant until October 7th. Evidently asked to write by Bennington interests, he said;

"I could not in justice resist giving the Honorable Council in Vermont the honor of exerting themselves in the most spirited manner in that most critical time." (He rehearsed events following the evacuation of Ticonderoga and included the orders of Schuyler and Lincoln to him as to joining the army at Stillwater). "In obedience thereto I marched my brigade to Bennington on my way to join him, leaving that part of the country almost naked to the enemy". (He then told of the Council at Bennington post-poneing the marching of their militia, mentioned the appeal to Massachusetts for help, "whereby the victory at Bennington on the 16th of August resulted."

When Major General Lincoln arrived at the main camp Burgoyne gave him the command of the right wing, which included the regiments of Nixon, Poor and Patterson.

### STARK'S JOURNEY TO EXETER AND ITS RESULT

He would have been nearly or quite home, possibly not encountering the on-coming fresh troops of Col. Evans and Col. Drake. On the 24th some passed through Bennington and Gov. Chittenden apprised Gen. Gates of the fact. Whether Stark took the shorter route home by way of what is now the "Molly Stark trail", 42 miles to Brattleboro, is doubtful.

With only one night at home Stark took the well known road to Exeter, where he had not been since the battle of Bennington. There was plenty of acclaim and praise, but a mixed situation confronted him in the stronghold of the leaders of the state whom he knew were critical of him. But his prestige was high, in spite of the home coming of his men, and his strong intellect sustained him.

The most to be got was two small regiments, only one-sixth of Gen. Whipple's brigade. As paid these regiments are seen to have comprised, (State Papers XV.);

Col. Evans		Col. Drake	
Capt. Zeb Gilman, Exeter,	52	Capt. Moses Leavitt, No. Hampton,	67
" Porter Kimball, Brentwood,	54	" Nich. Rawlings, Stratham,	53
" James Libbey, Dover,	55	" Ezra Currier, E. Kingston,	52
" Dan. McDuffie, Rochester,	58	" Jesse Page, Atkinson,	41
" Nathan Sanborn, Deerfield,	59		
" Geo. Tuttle, Dover	41		

To be led by a Stark was something but the regiments of Evans (329) and Drake (213) must have been augmented at some time or point, but even so were far from the 1000 men John Stark had begged for. Possibly there were volunteer groups like that of Capt. Benj. Sias of Loudon, 14 men only, who travelled to Fort Edward, 120 miles there and 144 back (State Papers XV, 357) from Oct. 4th to 27th, the last name being "Sampson Moor", who was Sampson Battis, a slave of Col. Archelaus Moore of Canterbury, ancestor of the author. He was given (Hist. Canterbury, 143) "his freedom for good fighting in the Revolution" and a 100 acre lot beside. He was living in 1833, age unknown. Capt. Sias was one of those who re-enlisted after Bennington. There must have been many more much acquisitions ere Gen. Stark neared the scene, probably including Vermonters as well as those from his own state, an aggregate the make-up of which will never be known.

### INTERLUDE

On October 7th before the final battle, James Wilkinson, 20, personable and precocious, Aide-de-camp to General Gates, took time out,

despite the surcharged moments, to write a gossipy letter to discredited Gen. Arthur St. Clair. He referred, in a style that sometimes distinguishes his voluminous writings, to a recent occurrence, putting the worst possible construction on Stark's action;

"The celebrated General Stark, the Bennington hero, by way of gilding his reputation and finishing his character, left the camp at a time when we hourly expected an engagement, and on the day before the action."

(Life of St. Clair, Wm. H. Smith, 1882, I. 444)

### SARATOGA, THE SECOND BATTLE, OCT. 7th

The determined assaults and bloody repulses have been well chronicled. The field has now become a National memorial park and is covered with markers and reproductions of the few small structures. The great Saratoga Battle Monument surveys the whole from the highest part of the rolling terrain.

Food and forage were becoming dangerously low, the Americans were edging in by sharpshooting and sniping outposts, and the river boats were being destroyed. Gen. Burgoyne partly surrounded by an ever growing army of trained troops and recruits, had in desperation to do something. He formed three columns to go southerly to engage Gates, his precise idea, if any, being unknown. From the 3rd, his army had been on short rations, perhaps 3500 rank and file. When contacts were made very severe fighting began, Poor against Ackland, Morgan against Balcarres, Learned against the Germans. From after two till after three heavy casualties resulted. The First New Hampshire, the famous First, Stark's old command, was conspicuous under Col. Joseph Cilley, who, astride a British cannon, waved on his men, shouting, and later turned the piece around and fired the enemy's own powder and ball on him. When Gen. Fraser was shot demoralization ensued. At a critical time Gen. Gates sent in Gen. Ten Broeck with a strong force from the Albany regiments. Benedict Arnold, without a command, chafing and bitter, charged on his big horse, took the lead in a tremendous assault, made the enemy's central position untenable, had his leg broken and just missed the chance of retrieving a quicksilver past and made sure of a future of infamy by surviving. Breyman's fresh breast-works were breached and soon Burgoyne's spirit was broken and the day was lost. During the evening and night the enemy withdrew. Gates on the morning of the 8th, having decided to attack, placed Lincoln at Breyman's position for an advance but a sniper wounded him in the leg, as skirmishing commenced. In the hospital at Albany the injury did not heal and the limb became permanently shortened. There was no decisive fighting, and during the next three days, when Gates might have advanced he permitted Burgoyne to move slowly up the river, making a halt a part of the 9th at Coveville. The large army of Gates lumbered north, paced by



boats on the river. In a pouring rain of 24 hours Burgoyne reached Fish Kill, outlet of Saratoga Lake and there, weary and discouraged, he halted, took shelter, dissipated and rested, in the mansion of Gen. Schuyler. The next day it was burned, as a military measure, being re-built next year and so remains, on nearly the same site. Gen. Stark occupied the houses old and new, many times. Burgoyne disposed his army, somewhat away from the river and "old Fort Hardy", the British to the West near the present battle monument, good camping ground, protected on the south by the creek with its deep gulleys.

Some 36 hours had elapsed when Gates arrived with his forward divisions, allowing Burgoyne valuable time to consolidate his battalions. When his strength was disclosed after the fog lifted on the morning of the 11th of October, 1777, Gates hurriedly cancelled the orders to advance and there was no more fighting between the armies.

### GEN. WILLIAM WHIPPLE'S BRIGADE

To support the American action against Burgoyne, Whipple's militia was mustered in New Hampshire, hurriedly, on the 21st of September, continuing until the 28th, when the full quotas, some 1070 officers and men were marched off to the Hudson river. The uneventful Odyssey ended after the need of Gates for reinforcements ceased and Whipple was not to see powder burned, taking, by Gates' orders his position under Gen. Fellows on the east side of the Hudson. Whipple wrote on the 15th that he had just been able to report to Gen. Gates, "at which moment Gen. Burgoyne's Adjutant General" (it was Robert Kingston, Deputy Adj. Gen.) "had come in with a flag of truce" and that operations were to cease until sunset.

### CLOSING IN ON THE ENEMY

Early recognizing the importance of keeping Burgoyne from retreating across the Hudson, Fellows was placed at successive points on the east bank, following up Burgoyne's retreat. On or near the Old Fort Hardy camp ground and fort, north of Fish Creek Fellows had thrown up temporary earth works but advised Gates he should need 4000 men to defend them. He ducked back across the river when Burgoyne drew near, observing, on Oct. 10th, that the enemy appeared in the greatest confusion. He reported that he had sent 1000 men to Fort Edward (without identifying them) and "hoped they would be of service" and that he had 1000 more "stationed at where a bridge was once built where I apprehend the enemy may cross the river". Burgoyne had taken boards from the old barracks, evidently to use in constructing a bridge affair, like his former one. Means of escape were quite definitely planned.

## FORT EDWARD

On September 24th, Capt. Pausch wrote in his diary "All communication between us and Forts George and Carillon has been cut off". Some time before, in order to afford St. Leger means of crossing at Fort Edward, to join the main British army, two large batteaux were buried, the earth heaped up to look like graves with crosses atop "to give them still more appearance of graves". Suspecting something the Americans proceeded to dig, discovering the intended ruse. It sounds like Stark; he had been there before. After the first battle Burgoyne sent Lt. Col. Sutherland up the west bank of the Hudson to determine if a retreat by that road to Fort Edward was possible, distance from Saratoga being 12 miles, the road unsuitable for an army. Sutherland with 500 men found about 200 men, as he thought, occupying Fort Edward, the old "Great Carrying Place". As he was about to build a temporary bridge Burgoyne sent for him to return post-haste but before starting Sutherland observed great fires northerly of the Fort, they being as he judged, camp-fires of American troops. Actually brush left by the Burgoyne army long camped there was being cleaned up, but it is probable that Stark's growing detachment was doing some preparing. As Sutherland passed the vicinity of old Fort Hardy he reconnoitered Fellows' camp, found it shamefully picketed and begged Burgoyne to let him go and capture it.

## BURGOYNE

With the shadow of his impending fate upon him, with the vacillating judgment of a defeated man, Burgoyne conjured with his generals the remaining possible moves. The only course available was retreat. It was Sunday, the 12th of October, 1777. The decision of the council of war, adding prestige to the military adage that "councils of war never fight" was said to have been largely influenced by Riedesel. The artillery, Burgoyne's pet arm, was to be abandoned, likewise the hospitals. Provisions were ordered ready for dealing out. During that fateful evening it became ten o'clock before Burgoyne suddenly decided not to retreat but to seek terms. It was too late to retreat.

## GEN. JOHN STARK CLOSES THE LAST GAP

The act compelling the surrender of the British army was quickly performed on the night of the 12th. For days Stark had been constructing rude rafts in a sheltered cove north of the mouth of the Battenkill to take up a position now called "Stark's Knob" directly north of Burgoyne at a point which, if held, would prevent escape either by the Hudson's west bank to Fort Edward or to the point where Burgoyne had come over by his bridge of boats.

For about two weeks the exact movement of Stark's force has been conjectural, that is, after the time of his arrival with his new regiments and those troops that were added, assigned or picked up. That he was acting in conjunction with Gen. Fellows cannot be doubted but no orderly books remain or correspondence, except one entry in a soldier's diary, which definitely places Stark at Fort Edward just before the preparations made to cross the river. To prevent any movement out of his camps by Burgoyne it was necessary for Gates to come in closer from the north. The south and west were hedged in by the main army and by Learned's brigade across a swamp-bordered creek. The steady deterioration of the enemy had become obvious. Why did Gates intrust to Stark the handling of the ticklish crossing and the choice of a position, involving holding it against heavy odds? Undoubtedly because he knew Stark as a vigilant man of proven capacity, a fighter who would stand his ground, moreover a planner who had experience in the handling of water craft. At last the situation was almost made for John Stark. To take care of a possible break-through to Fort Edward, Gates and Fellows strengthened the force there, Stark being occupied with the water crossing. That day from his Battenkill camp Fellows advised Gates that Col. Porter had 1495 men but that he was sending 300 more, "all I can spare". Furnival's battery, in Fellow's vicinity, was sending shots across, damaging the Marshall house where, in its cellar, Madam Riedesel, her family and others, were finding a precarious refuge. Gen. Whipple was about to arrive with his fresh troops, strengthening the east side dispositions, below which a bridge of boats across from Gates' main camp was maintained for quick communication and troop movements if necessary. With all plans carried out, the morning of the 13th of October found Gen. Gates with an army of three times the size of the enemy's, toward the close of a waiting game with an inevitable result. Every day played into his hands. Food in the British camps was low, cattle had been killed for food, most of the horses died for lack of forage, their remains, stinking, unburied. Deserters and a few prisoners made the plight of the invaders only too evident. Added to the rest, the floating equipment was fast being reduced to the point of uselessness.

### "STARK'S KNOB"

Just west of the Hudson, sticking up (State Geologist Woodward called it "the plug of an extinct volcano") above the generally level surroundings, this steep hill of iron hardness has been known for generations as "Stark's Knob". Back in 1856 material was blasted from its river side to build the Thompson dam and in 1913 the old Champ-lain Canal locks were repaired by more rock blasted out by dynamite. This and a private crushed stone job sufficed to take away probably half of the mass, leaving a precipitous east side, with those nearly as difficult of ascent on all others. Early historical mention seems



strangely lacking, but local tradition is strong, the 1934 U.S. Geol. Survey, confirming the fact. Rev. John H. Brandow, minister in Schuylerville, ("The Story of Old Saratoga", Brandow Pt'g. Co. Albany, 1900) wrote this;

"When morning broke, sure enough it was too late, for during the night Stark and his men had crossed the river, just above the Battenkill, on rafts, occupied the gap and erected a battery on a hill, probably the bare one back of Mr. D.A. Bullard's farm buildings."

Long before that Thomas Harrahan, local historian, knew it as "Stark's Knob". Dr. Holden ("History of Queensbury", Munsell, Albany, 1874) giving up Caleb Stark (Memoir, 1860) as his authority, adding no dates or local knowledge, said as to Fort Edward,

"The Garrison left by Burgoyne were in a few days afterward made prisoners by General Stark who advanced upon that fort with a body of 1000 men of the hard yeomanry of New Hampshire. A few days later it was increased to 2500 men and he moved down the river with this formidable and hourly increasing force, closing up the avenues of retreat toward the north."

While the "family" accounts, including Stickney (1810) are so contradictory as to be worthless as history, categorically considered, they support the action taken by Stark as the one responsible for closing the "gap". But none of these accounts mentions the "knob". On six acres of land bought by the State, the Conservation Department has caused a cut stone monument to be erected on top of the knob, with a flag pole. A suitable inscription was dedicated on July 4th, 1938, reciting that "On this volcanic knoll Oct. 13, 1777, General John Stark mounted his battery and effectually obstructed the effort of Burgoyne to withdraw his defeated army northward through the valley of the Hudson".

The few hours available to Stark on the night of the 12th would permit but little intrenching and the hardness of the ledgy mass would yield but little cover. The spot, however, was a strong one, where a thousand men, well placed, could stand off many times their number, exposed to a withering fire, especially if Stark had a few small field pieces, of which there is no mention. Neither is there any story of reinforcements coming down the 12 mile stretch from Fort Edward on the right bank of the river, so it must be presumed that all of Stark's intrepid detachment came across the river.

Family accounts are notable in stressing that Stark kept nudging Gates that he was slow in forcing a show-down; "making too much delay" was the phrase. There may have been a note or two but the diplomatics of the surrender were quite beyond the ken of Stark and as they are, historically, fairly complete, little valid criticism remains.

On the 14th Bayley at Fort Edward sent word to Gates that his officers and men (2217 in all) were "in health and high spirits" but he asked that "some experienced general be sent to take command as my constitution will not endure fatigue". Probably late that day Stark was ordered to relieve Bayley and so, leaving the "knob" in command of some one whom Gates would authorize, Stark could be at Fort Edward in three hours and organize the force there so as to prevent any reinforcements (though none were expected) coming down to Burgoyne from the north. He would also send scouts to Lake George and Skeensborough.

"Brigadier General Bayley or officer commanding at Fort Edward; General Stark has my orders to assist you in posting the troops now there in such manner as will put it in his power the most effectually to prevent the enemy's retreat."  
(Gates Papers)

The last phrase would indicate that Gates was not certain the enemy might not try one break-through, but as soon as the surrender was beyond question, the main precaution became preparations to prevent hostile approaches from the line of communications, down from Canada, a direction having unknown possibilities.

#### GATES NOTIFIES STARK

Real consideration, more than mere courtesy, was shown by the victorious commander toward his old friend, Stark, when the surrender terms were signed, though perhaps there may have been intended a jocular rebuke, in revealing the full extent of the victory.

An old friend, Col. Seth Warner, was deputized to tell Stark all the news and to deliver the written message;

"Camp at Saratoga, Oct. 18th, 1777.

Enclosed I send you an exact copy of the Convention signed by Gen. Burgoyne and ratified by me. I will forward everything necessary for your assistance. Col. Warner had my verbal instructions last evening. Let me very frequently hear from you by express and be sure to keep a sharp look-out upon Lake George and South Bay and between Fort Ann and Fort Edward." (Gates Papers)

#### STARK ON SURRENDER DAY

No authenticity need be implied as to General Stark's presence when Gen. Burgoyne offered his sword to his captor, because of a small head, appearing over the rump of horse, has been noted as that of Stark, in Trumbull's "Surrender of Burgoyne", a picture (Yale University, Gal-

lery of Fine Arts, 1834) criticised for its historical inaccuracies. In fact many of Trumbull's sketches for the same have been found to be spurious. It is, however, quite probable that Stark made his appearance on surrender day and that, because of his consequence, he was not unwelcome. A short trip from the northern edge of the encircling armies, even a quick horseback ride, from Fort Edward, only 12 miles up stream would put Stark, after the actual scene took place and following the filing down of the British army, on the ground. Had he missed the final act of the campaign he did so much to bring to a successful issue, he might have been sorry. Few, if any, of the high command witnessed the humiliating spectacle that 17 year old Private Samuel Cody (Keep's Co. Shepard's Conn. Reg.) told in his 93rd year in the Utica Observer in January, 1853, an account too little known, of what the British and the Hessians and their women looked like.

But that John Stark had an opportunity of meeting the leading British officers reasonable proof exists in Major Caleb Stark's relation to his son of what happened. ("Memoir", 1860, p351)

"After the surrender he accompanied General Stark on a visit to General Gates at his headquarters and was introduced to all the British officers of rank who were there assembled as the guest of the American General-in-chief of the Northern army. He said that Major Ackland and General Burgoyne were in personal appearance two of the best proportioned and handsomest men, of their age, he had ever seen. General Burgoyne held a long conversation with General Stark, apart from the other company, on the subject of the French war, of which the former then stated that he intended to write a history."

In London in after years Burgoyne could have composed a valuable story, adding his own contributions to material from surviving witnesses and available documents. But the conversation between Stark and Burgoyne, so interesting, has only the intention surviving. No similar opportunity appears, as to Stark meeting Burgoyne, as the record has it, (Jacob Koons - "Albany Chronicles" 1906) that this obscure soldier, Koons, guarded the tent where Burgoyne slept on the night of the 17th at Wilbur's Basin, down along the Hudson, on his way to Albany. It does not appear that Stark visited that city.

#### DISPERSAL OF UNITS OF GATES' ARMY

No time was lost in breaking up. The victorious general made quick decisions, one of which was to discharge (on October 18th) the militia regiment of Col. Chase, of General Whipple's brigade from New Hampshire. Lt. Abraham Fitts of Candia has an interesting diary (N.H. Papers XVI) of going and of coming home. While at the left bank of the Hudson he wrote "Marched from Saratoga to Stillwater & went down



below for a Front Guard & put up in a barn, 16 mile" (on Saturday, Oct. 18th, 1777). In such manner the various units melted away, leaving only the regiments of the Continental army.

Having signed up to the end of November, those of Colonels Evans and Drake of Stark's brigade, were marched down the Hudson valley and were not, as Gen. Whipple wrote home "to remain here till the last of November". He wrote also that he himself expected to start for home the next day, October 22nd. On the 19th Lt. Fitts and his fellows were going through "St. Croik" and Williamstown, a longer tramp home but a better one than across the Green Mountains to Brattleboro.

### GENERAL STARK RETURNS TO HIS HOME

He knew, as did Gen. Gates, that only ordinary watchfulness would be necessary now that winter was coming on and the defeat of the British was so overwhelming. Hence the next seen of Stark is a letter from Bennington, dated October 25th, 1777.

"Dear General, I arrived at this place to-day but cannot hear anything from the Northward. I have wrote to Col<sup>o</sup> Herrick at Pollet to send a skout to Tyconderoga and see what the enemy are about thare. When they return I have ordered them to make return to you and if it should be thought most necessary to go to Tyconderoga pray send word to the council at this place and they will give me notice which order I will punctually obey. If that nest is not broke up they may give us some trouble. I am Sir your most obd. Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>, JOHN STARK.

Major Gen. Gates.  
N B Snow Schoes "

The letter (Gates Papers, N.Y. Hist. Soc. 8.137) is signed by Stark but is not in his hand writing.

Gen. Stark bought a number of blooded horses at a sale, following Burgoyne's surrender, and his brother-in-law, James McColley (1734-1812) brought them home, so that the general might improve his stock. From the Pension papers of his widow, Jean Stark Stinson McColley, it appears that he reached Dunbarton "about October 26th, 1777" so it is probable that the General had a longer string following him than was usual.

### STARK'S BRIGADE AT THE END OF BURGoyNE'S CAMPAIGN

Strangely, the figures appear when the defeated General had his hearing in the House of Commons in 1780, as a complete schedule of the army of Gen. Gates, how obtained not stated, but apparently accur-

ate to the last detail. He had, Burgoyne recited, brought into the country by way of Canada about 8000, ending with half that number. The make-up was British 4135, German 3116, Canadian 148, Indian 503, Total, 7902. Gates had started with about 4000 at "the Sprouts", ending with (Library of Congress, 154), 7716 rank and file, 3382 militia, total 11,098, to which officers, &c - should be added. Burgoyne had the total of Gates as 18,624, doubtless exaggerated for his day in court. But the singular thing is the completeness of Stark's brigade; it may be briefed; 1 Brig. Gen. 3 colonels, 3 Lt. Colonels, 4 majors, 27 captains, 30 1st. Lt's, 24 2nd Lt's, 22 ensigns (114 commissioned officers) "on command 1019", present fit for duty 220, sick present 23, sick absent 32, on furlough 7".

### WHIPPLE AND LANGDON

In Whipple's letter of Oct. 21st from Albany were these words:

"I am directed by the General to attend Mr. Burgoyne to Boston .....I expect to set out to-morrow but as I shall escort Mr. Burgoyne to Boston it may be ten or twelve days before I get home. Col. Langdon who set out on the 17th took with him a copy of the Capitulation."

Glover, a Continental Brigadier, outranking Whipple of the militia, had been directed by Gates to transfer the defeated army, Whipple to have the responsibility for Burgoyne.

William Whipple, a trustworthy and probably impressive man, was in two months to be elected one of New Hampshire's Delegates to Congress in company with Josiah Bartlett (vote of Dec. 4, 1777). In early life he had been engaged in trade on the sea, including some slave trading. Later he became intimately associated with John Langdon in maritime matters, principally vessel owning, relationships that were to continue during Whipple's remaining years, all too few, for he died in 1786.

Whipple at Albany got a taste of real hospitality and generous entertainment in the substantial town mansion of Gen. Philip Schuyler. Burgoyne's stay was extended until shortly after Oct. 25th, of course with Gen. Whipple's concurrence. Philip Schuyler was at his best at the head of a table laden with the foods and drinkables that his larder and his cellars continued to yield. Gen. Riedesel and his lady graced those occasions of which Madam Schuyler was the charming hostess. It would hardly have been in order that the contemporaneous fancy of Gen. Burgoyne be included; there were limits.

### BURGOYNE'S JOURNEY

The constitution of "Gentleman Johnny" was not equal to the round of feasting and he left Albany, under escort, in a humble and

resigned spirit. He wrote Howe that he hoped Ackland might be exchanged but "Mr. Gates has got Ethan Allen in his head and will exchange no other field officer unless he is given up". Gen. Glover decided to divide the prisoners, the Germans to go by Kinderhook and Springfield, the British by Williamstown and Northampton. The Berkshires were in the panoply of Autumn, but Burgoyne's small party was unappreciative. Taylor's "Great Barrington" (1882, McLean Ed., -1928) indicates that the main body of British was in advance. On Oct. 25th "a large part of the captured army encamped here". It must have been some days later that

"Gen. Burgoyne who was indisposed and depressed in spirits remained here several days the guest of Col. Elijah Dwight in the Henderson House."

When Burgoyne rested in Hadley he gave to Col. Porter there the surrender sword, as Alice M. Walker in "Historic Hadley" states it, Miss Lucy Smith currently owning it.

From his home at Marblehead Glover wrote on Nov. 15th that the "fifteen days journey was very stormy.....It was almost too much for Gen. Burgoyne's shattered constitution". Glover wrote Gates, whose private files (Gates Papers) show very carefully personally corrected copies of Gates-Phillips correspondence, which as to Gates are not too reassuring, one of Glover's letters including;

"He expects me to go with him as we talked of in Albany before we left you but this I cannot undertake without your special order.....I could have done something clever beside the pleasure of seeing England."

#### JOHN LANGDON'S JOURNEY

Col. Langdon's little band of Portsmouth citizens "an independent company of cadets", they are termed in Brewster's Rambles, 1873 (I.364) included Henry Sherburne, an "in law" of his family. It was nominally a part of Col. Jonathan Moulton's regiment, a complement of but 27 (State Papers, pay rolls). Doubtless all were well mounted and so able to make the journey both ways without privations. Their going at all was a mark of good will and loyalty, not lost on the rank and file of Gen. Whipple's brigade. Portsmouth still contained many suspected Loyalists, among whom was Langdon's own brother, Woodbury.

From the common poverty of the time both had risen by acumen and diligence in maritime affairs to positions of esteem and even of modest wealth. How much of selfish safe-guarding of interests there had been in John Langdon's sacrificial offer, that made the Stark campaign possible, and how much of noble patriotism, a grateful people



will never know. As a hard-headed young merchant and ship-owner his mention of possible remuneration was natural and perhaps thought incidental. It is better to believe that John Langdon, rising in his place as Speaker and exemplar, was animated by the highest motives in pledging his private means to a cause in which he had enlisted, and was jeopardizing, as were the others, everything.

The enterprise had achieved a brilliant and inspiring success at Bennington. Now at the Hudson the overpowering forces of the States, banded together, had ended the struggle in the total defeat of the British arms. In the final scenes John Langdon had visual satisfaction as well as poetic justice as his reward. We look in vain on the Trumbull canvass of the "Surrender" for Langdon, among those the artist thought should be portrayed. We look in vain also in the prominent places of his Portsmouth for the bronze statue that would bring to the eyes of a prosperous people the figure of a man, who by his timely act, saved his struggling country. Likewise his services have never been recognized at the capital of the nation he helped so much to create. As years go by the greater values of some of the lesser known founders of the republic are becoming apparent. For the time treated of, we like to think that when Col. Langdon and his gratified and happy companions left the scene on October 17th, 1777, at the close of that eventful summer, and directed their horses down the banks of the Hudson and over the hills to their seaside homes, that their leader was the most gratified and happy of them all, perhaps slapping his pocket-book or his saddle bags, wherever he was carrying his copy of the surrender terms, and recalling his modest and courageous words, as they came back to him, "and we will check the progress of Burgoyne".

The immediate effect of Saratoga on the fortunes of the American federation in sympathetic but hesitant France, may be brilliantly glimpsed from an episode found in Clarke's life of Silas Deane (Putnam's, 1913, pp116-11). A small brigantine, the *Perch*, left Boston October 31st, 1777, and carried messages from the Council of Massachusetts Bay, by the hands of Capt. J. L. Austin. A fast voyage landed him in France.

"Leaving Nantes in a chaise drawn by three horses abreast he hastened to Versailles and thence to Passy. As he drove into the court-yard he was met by Franklin, who asked - 'Sir, is Philadelphia taken?' 'It is' was the reply, 'but sir, I have greater news than that; General Burgoyne and his whole army are prisoners.'

On hearing the news, Vergennes, was as impatient to close the treaty as he had previously been reluctant, saying 'the Power which first recognizes American Independence will gather all the fruits of the war. France must anticipate such action on England's part by greater speed in making the colonies our friends.'

## JOHN STARK A CONTINENTAL GENERAL

It was nearly two weeks after the courier from Gen. Schuyler galloped into Philadelphia with the heartening news that Burgoyne had been checked at Bennington in a double defeat, that Congress recognized certain obligations arising from the success of officers who had recently distinguished themselves in the Northern area. In the cases of the New York State heroes there was, of course, no question, but as to Stark of New Hampshire, there were complications. Congress could not get over the affront his state offered by organizing an independent brigade of militia, naming Stark as the General to head it and proceeding on its own to act in conjunction with the Vermonters in placing an obstacle in the path of Burgoyne. Stark's achievement was meriting and receiving the widest acclaim. But a letter had been read in Congress before that success, a letter sent by a Continental General (Lincoln) to his superior (Schuyler) who relayed it to Congress, placing Stark in an unfavorable light, which could only serve to irritate and make stubborn that body which had only a few months before deliberately decided to ignore his claims to preferment.

Things were going badly. The British were menacing Philadelphia, where the sessions of Congress were being held, the largest place on the American continent. A resolution probably offered by one of the New York Delegates (Duane or Duer), on September 3rd, nevertheless preserved the dignity of Congress;

"That the Board of War take into consideration the merits of Brigadiers Stark and Herkimer and that of Col. Gansvoort and of Lt. Col. Willett, and to report to Congress what testimonies of public gratitude should be shown these officers for their late signal exertions in the defence of their country."

It was a full month before a resolution came from the Board to the Congress, which due to the Brandywine affair, was obliged to adjourn to a safer place and not stand on the order of their going. The British occupied Philadelphia on September 26th. On October 4th, at

York village, beyond the Susquehanna, Congress acted as to Stark;

"That the Thanks of Congress be presented to General Stark of the New Hampshire militia and the officers and troops under his command for their brave and successful attack upon ("and signal victory over" - words added by President John Hancock) the enemy in their lines at Bennington and that Brigadier Stark be appointed a Brigadier in the army of the United States." (Journal of Congress, IX.770)

As to the others; a monument was voted, appropriation \$500, to commemorate the dead hero, General Herkimer. To Peter Gansvoort, the thanks of Congress and that he be made commandant of the fort "he so gallantly defended". To Lt. Col. Marinus Willett the Congress would present, for his distinguished merit, "An elegant sword".

For the appointment of a Brigadier an aye and nay vote was required. Two states (New Jersey and Delaware) refrained from voting. There were 19 ayes and one nay, that of Samuel Chase of Maryland, nick-named by his colleagues, "General Chase" from his proclivities in ascribing to himself military acumen. It being Saturday afternoon the vote was not a full one. Chase's associate, Carroll, voted aye, with Samuel Adams, John Adams and Lovell (Mass.) Folsom (N.H.) Marchand (R. I.) Dyer, Law and Williams (Conn.) Duane and Duer (N. Y.) Roberdeau (Pa.) Jones and Richard Henry Lee (Va.) Penn and Harnett (No. Car.) Heywood and Laurens (So. Car.) and Walton (Georgia). When Virginia was called the delegates added to their vote "Subject to the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Department" a qualification which was doubtless tacitly accepted by the whole body.

#### SUBORDINATION, THE VEXING QUESTION

The next day, Oct. 5th Lovell in a letter to Gates, which did not mention having received news of the bloody fight, (the first battle, on Bemis heights) in order to forestall any effort on the part of Gen. Stark to have his commission dated back; voiced a possible predicament of Congress; announcing that the members had left Philadelphia on the 19th at "2 A. M."

"I hope Stark will not make the same puzzle as another officer has made about the date of his new rank for I think it impossible that in one case or the other Congress should antedate without the greatest confusion. One case had been absolutely determined before any knowledge of the Anecdote which I have before hinted at, which would have fixed me if I had not been fixed before."



What anecdote and which officer was involved are not presently apparent but as to Generals there had been but two created after July first, 1777 (when Lafayette's name was acted upon) namely DeCoudrey (Aug. 11th.) and Pulaski (Sept. 15th). Eight months had elapsed since Stark's resignation, as a Colonel, from the army. To make his appointment retroactive, so as to antedate Poor, would make a lot of trouble for Congress. Fourteen generals were involved; Glover, Woodford, DeHaas, Patterson, Wayne, Varnum, Weeden and Muhlenberg (all as of Feb. 21st) and George Clinton, Hand, Scott, Learned, Huntington and Conway (promotions of April and May). For Stark to trail superiors in time, recent time, would be almost as bad as to trail them in rank. Gen. Washington, prone to let precedence govern his assignment of officers for duty, would not go counter as it would involve him in bickering among general officers, jealousies, back-biting and perhaps undiscoverable slowness in cooperation. Congress insisted on making the generals. Washington could do little to affect the results, though he tried, discreetly, in a few instances.

### STARK RECEIVES HIS HONORS

When the time came to notify Gen. Stark of his advancement by Congress the amenities of the occasion were handsomely performed. The time and place he received the engrossed documents, signed by President John Hancock on October 5th are not disclosed, even in "family" accounts. As the direct route from York to the Hudson could not be followed because of Clinton's control of the river, it was probably after Burgoyne's surrender, and his commission may, indeed, have been sent to Derryfield. As it was action by Congress, Stark was not to see that it lacked one of having been a unanimous vote and that two states had, for reasons of their own, refrained from voting, but he would learn all that in time. Did his very real moral victory cause a grim smile to overspread his face? Did those keen blue eyes flash beneath their overhanging brows as he realized that he had, at last, forced Congress to recognize him?

The original papers were carefully retained by the General all his life. The appointment was evidently carried for some time in a pocket-book as it bears evidence of having been folded and unfolded often. A piece missing from the lower right hand corner has a paste-on, with ink instead of the printing. Hancock's letter and the commission have been loaned, with other valuable mementos, to the New Hampshire Historical Society, by the late Arthur Winslow, Esq. (a descendant of Caleb Stark, son of the General) and are lodged in the vault.

### IN CONGRESS

THE DELEGATES of the UNITED STATES of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, TO JOHN STARK Esquire---

We, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Patriotism, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity, DO by these Presents, constitute and appoint you to be

### BRIGADIER GENERAL

in the Army of the United States, raised for the defence of American liberty & for repelling every hostile Invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and dilligently to discharge the duty of Brigadier General by doing and performing all manner of Things thereunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under your command to be obedient to your orders as Brigadier General and you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions from time to time as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United States, or Committee of Congress for that Purpose appointed, or Commander-in-Chief for the time being of the Army of the United States or any other your superior Officer, according to the rules and discipline of War in pursuance of the Trust reposed in you. This Commission to continue in Force until revoked by this or a future Congress Dated as

October 4th, 1777

By order of the Congress,

Attest. Chas. Thomson, Secy.

JOHN HANCOCK, President

\*\*\*\*\*

York Town; Pennsylvania October 5th, 1777.

Sir,

It is with the greatest Pleasure I transmit the enclosed Resolve of Congress, expressing the thanks of that Body to you, and to the Officers and Troops under your command for the signal Victory you obtained over the Enemy in the late Battle at Bennington. In consideration of your distinguished Conduct on that Occasion, and the Service you rendered the Cause of Freedom and your Country, the Congress have been pleased to appoint you a Brigadier in the Army of the United States; Be pleased to communicate to the Officers and Troops under your Command, this Mark of the Approbation of their Country for their Bravery in defence of American Liberty. I enclose your Commission and have the honour to be with the greatest esteem and Respect, Sir,

Your most obedt & very humble Servt

JOHN HANCOCK Presidt

Honble Brigadier Genl Stark

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## GATES, LaFAYETTE AND STARK

The full story of Stark's participation has never been before collected. To aid in understanding it prefacing remarks are advisable. The 1777-1778 projected Expeditions against Canada numbered three definite attempts and two later and sketchy ones. The first emanated from Gen. Gates in a normal desire to cripple or prevent plans by the British for 1778. Hence the orders of Gates, in command of the Northern Department, to Col. Bedell of Coos, dated in November 1777. Apparently almost immediately, but independently, Congress launched the Stark plan. Mysteriously, out of that, or out of both, there grew in December, 1777 and in January, 1778, the grandiose scheme, military and political, that involved LaFayette (incidentally Washington) Conway, Stark, deKalb and, of course, Gates.

On the ruins of the historic failure of the latter affair nothing was built. Gates, the indifferent projector and LaFayette (was he entirely victim of circumstances?) the appointed leader, both thought, during 1778, of approaching Montreal and Quebec, both lightly garrisoned, by a route which should not require a reduction of the Richelieu stations of the enemy. Nothing came of either. Finally, Schuyler, in charge of Indian relations, offered the Chief, Louis (Caughnawaga), a thousand dollars in hard money to destroy the shipping at St. Johns. Nothing came of that.

Projects for the acquisition of Canada (predominantly French Catholic) as a sort of "14th Colony" were considered by Congress in 1778 and in subsequent years. Complications were encountered, largely due to French participation in the American war. Nothing was done, Washington disfavoring it as well as the French Court. The ancient claims of France seem not to have been a deterrent until the last. Undoubtedly they were the final and deciding factor against military-political demonstrations by the thirteen United States. The tremendous possibilities in 1778 of a reasonably easy conquest of the whole of Canada (though with admittedly difficult retention) need no demonstration. It was the one desire and the most important thing left unaccomplished when the long war finally ceased. An amalgamation through an acceptance by the French Canadians of the proffers of Congress and their enlistment in the fight for independence was, that winter of 1777-1778, within the possibilities.



## CONGRESS AT YORK

On Oct. 17, 1777, the very day of the surrender of Burgoyne, far away in the improvised meeting place, Congress was creating the Board of War. The colonies were being drained, the lack of co-ordination was making the struggle a serious business. It was to have "one versed in every Department" (William Williams to Gov. Trumbull-Burnett, II.574) and the set-up was to be "of vast importance for the Regulation and Supply of the Army." Congress for some time had been running the Northern Department, leaving little or nothing for Washington to do there. It now made what history has judged a valuable adjunct which failed because of an unstable and unsuitable personnel. Its story is high-lighted with intrigue and personalities, in some aspects baffling in ramifications. The selections brought to a boil a seething caldron. The career of Gates at Saratoga had thrown into contrast the comparative failure of Washington. Gates was accounted a most capable organizer and administrator. He had shown his capacity in handling a dozen brigadiers, some 44 colonels and their 344 captains and junior officers and had planned well the great task of sustenance for the army. Clearly, thought Congress, Gates would be of high value in the new Board of War.

## NOVEMBER EVENTS

Col. Herrick at Pawlet wrote the Vermont Council that on Nov. 8, 1777, the garrison of the British at Ticonderoga had quietly abandoned the post "after destroying everything". He ordered Capt. Eben Allen with 60 rangers there and they brought back 49 prisoners and 100 horses. Forty cannon at Fort "Ti" were found spiked and useless. By the 10th Gates had not heard of the evacuation. Due to delayed pay a near mutiny broke out in Col. Scammel's regiment at Fish Kill. On the 22nd Gates wrote that he was sending 30 brass cannon and 3000 stands of arms to Springfield which "would be better than keeping the whole so near navigation." He had been, (letter to Glover at Boston) "stripped of all but Gen. Greaton's brigade, to join the Southern army". Currently he wrote President Laurens of Congress praising Col. Herrick's good work at Ti, "in very severe weather." Certainly there was no evidence that Gates was hindering the supply of troops for Washington.

## AN "IRRUPTION INTO CANADA"

A general of the Schuyler stamp would have rested; nothing hostile from Albany to Canada, a distance of 150 miles, war craft on the Richelieu laid up and frozen in. An enterprise for which Gates must be credited, the exact plan being found among his papers (N. Y. Hist. Soc.) was born in Albany while Gates was shut up in close proximity to Schuyler and hospitalized Arnold. Could it have been accomplished his reputation must have been immensely strengthened. "Conqueror of

Canada" might have followed "Captor of Burgoyne". Of course the matter may have been talked of. Schuyler wrote to Congress but Justin Smith ("Our Struggle" II.91) searched and did not find the letter Lossing mentioned in his "Life of Schuyler". The date was Nov. 4th, as given. On the back of Gates' plan is the notation "Under Col. Bedel" and it bears date "Nov. 1777." It probably took form immediately after Nov. 15th when Ticonderoga evacuation news was received. But Col. Moses Hazen (Canadian-American) had hoped to have his regiment employed. He had been a chief (and very reliable) source of information to Gates. Indeed Mrs. Hazen anticipated being on Gates' arm when, leading couple in a celebration, "Horatio Gates, Governor of Canada" should be acclaimed (Patterson, "Horatio Gates." 258) Something antedated the formulation of a plan else why the remarkable action of Bedel in visiting President Wheelock of Dartmouth, directing the dismissal and return to Canada of all St. Francis Indian students? (Oct. 27, 1777).

The head of Gates at this time was filled with the adulation of Congress, due to its letter of Nov. 5th. "Your name, Sir, will be written in the breasts of the grateful Americans of the present age and sent down to posterity". The belated felicitations were due to the time Wilkinson had taken in bringing the surrender news. By the same express Gates was apprised of the desire of the Congress;

"That General Gates be authorized to apply to the State of New York and the states eastward of the North River for such aid as he shall judge necessary for the reduction of Ticonderoga and Fort Independence if not reduced by General Starks, at such time as he shall deem best adapted for that expedition and that the said states be required to supply Gen. Gates with such a number of their militia as he shall judge necessary for the purposes intended."

Evidently Wilkinson had talked of the need of an expedition to re-take Ti and Fort Independence, a task Gates was to entrust to Stark. But it is clear he gave no such undertaking to Stark (see Stark to Gates, Oct. 25 from Bennington) and let Stark go home. Those places were still occupied by the British but "that nest" did not bother Gates, who may have rightly judged the menace would liquidate itself. Something larger was in his mind. There was no hurry, a long winter was closing down.

#### THE ASSIGNMENT OF COL. TIMOTHY BEDEL

The selection of Bedel, rather than Stark, was natural. The latter had been through a strenuous campaign, had been ill and perhaps was known to be in need of a rest. Bedel was many miles nearer the scene and for the limited objective (destruction of everything at St. Johns) could assemble the forces required without exciting wide publicity. Had Gates on Nov. 15th when he sent his instructions to Bedel, to be executed

months later, any inkling that he was to be a member of the Board of War? Bedel was to begin by engaging a regiment of volunteers "without delay" and "with the greatest secrecy" lay in necessary supplies, ammunition, snow-shoes &c. Evidently he was to move when he thought expedient but was to be in Albany by February first (1778) but after starting in that direction he must turn about and make for St. Johns, lay everything in ashes, forts and ships, and retire "with all expedition, with any prisoners to Coos". If St. Johns were found "too strongly garrisoned" he was to "come back" but in any event Gates required him to "to dispatch an express directed to me at York town in Pennsylvania with a particular account of your success". Major John Wheelock (son of Dartmouth's President) bore Bedel's acknowledgment of instructions from Haverhill (N. H.) in the Coos, dated Nov. 29th advising Gates he was sending out three scouting parties but, singularly, asked how many snow-shoes he should procure. The next day Bedel wrote Schuyler (presuming that Gates had left though he had not) that he "intended to find out the Disposition of the inhabitants" and "make all the Discoveries in my Power that may tend to the advantage of the States." Did not this reflect something in the air of greater significance than the mere destruction of St. Johns? There may be Schuyler correspondence still unexamined. Several of Bedel's letters are in New Hampshire State Papers (XVII. 150-3) including the long instructions of Gates.

### STARK TEMPORARILY OUT OF THE PICTURE

From the 26th to the 30th of November he was at Exeter settling his accounts, paying back unexpended balances (State Papers and Stark Papers). For a short period nothing further is seen. If he knew anything, and he probably did, of the way personalities were affecting the conduct of the war, he was canny enough to keep out of the way. No personal correspondence has remained to show his attitude. The official correspondence is formal.

### THE CABAL

The French word (from the Hebrew) hardly expresses what was taking place. As early as June, 1777 Gen. Thomas Conway was writing Gates of the latter's friends in Congress, using the term, mentioning Richard Henry Lee "and a few others who are attached to you." He said "One Mr. Carroll from Maryland upon whose friendship you depended is one of the hottest of the cabal" and intimated that Carroll stated to him that "anybody not admiring the commander-in-chief ought not to be kept in the army". Also that Samuel Adams and Col. Lee "saw it was in vain to oppose the current" of a "certain cabal raging and domineering in a despotic way." Gates may have kept a secret file for on this subject his remaining papers do not show complicity in the way history has generally placed him, vis-a-vis Washington.



On November 28th President Laurens notified Gen. Gates in a hearty letter, of his Board of War appointment. On that very day Gen. Mifflin, another member, wrote Gates from Reading, giving him disquieting news.

"My dear General take care of your Generosity and Frank disposition. They cannot injure yourself but they may injure some of your best friends."

Reputed to have been part of a letter from Conway to Gates, the following words were revealed by Wilkinson, who let them out at a dinner in Stirling's home, words that any sober guest would have instinctively recognized might result in an explosion;

"Heaven had determined to save our country or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it."

The words, when Washington learned of them, were sent to Conway without comment. The commander-in-chief's eyes must have blazed for once at the evidence that Conway and Gates were "birds of a feather". The sinister development was to agitate (no less a word will do) the breasts of George Washington, Horatio Gates, Thomas Conway, Thomas Mifflin, "Lord" Stirling and disturb every member of Congress, for everyone saw an unbridgeable gulf. Perhaps Stark was the least involved. He never had a part and his "family" accounts do not mention any.

### CONGRESS CALLS ON GEN. STARK

Without waiting for the arrival of Gen. Gates Congress took it into its own hands to make the next move, entirely ignorant of what Gates had ordered Bedel to do, practically the same thing. Gates' ambitious plan going far beyond either was a secret that he did not disclose until he reached York. The Stark plan was passed in Congress on Dec. 3, 1777 and directed the New York Delegate, James Duane, to communicate it in a "personal conference". With \$5000 for expenses Stark was "with the utmost secrecy" to raise the volunteers, secure stores, carriages and provisions from "the commanding officer of the Northern Department" or with the money secure them elsewhere. The "Enterprise" if successful was to be compensated by payment of \$20,000 to officers and men (in proportions provided) or if wages were preferred, the same to be at double Continental pay and rations "in consideration of the inclemency of the season & the importance of the service". In case Gen. Stark was unable or unwilling the commanding officer of the Northern Department was to appoint "some other Brave and Dilligent Officer". The long official documents were prepared in the utmost detail, all conditions provided for in advance, certified by Charles Thomson, Secretary to the Congress.

James Duane (1732-1797) then in his prime, left York on his mission on December 5, 1777. He had married in 1759 Mary Livingston. He reached her family home, "Manor Livingston" on the Hudson, by December 16th. Except the time for the short journey to Albany to meet Stark he ministered at the bedside of his wife, who was ill. The Secret Journals of Congress (Dom. affairs No. 1, Boston Ed. 1821) show that Duane was also to confer with the Commissioners for Indian Affairs. Congress appropriated \$15,000 "to get Indians to go against Fort Niagara".

The urgent and important language of the Stark resolutions was increased in significance by the care with which Congress surrounded their execution. What was to be done was not reduced to writing. Duane was to get Stark and explain face to face the wishes of Congress. Gates could write a letter to Bedel, send it by a messenger on horseback but Congress took no chances of leaks or the capture of correspondence. Implicit confidence in Stark was shown by a Congress, sometimes dangerously impulsive and temperamental, that toward the successful General of Bennington was now softened and mollified. The number of men was left to his judgment (some months later it was to be "3 to 400" Duane to Gov. Clinton). Duane wrote to Gates, still at Albany, a friendly letter, telling him the best way to get to York, that Secretary Peters had a son and that "Our mutual friend, Mr. Morris with Mr. Jones and Mr. Geary (Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts Bay) are with the Grand Army as a Committee of Congress". The latter information may have raised Gates' surmises. Duane in that letter concealed, even from Gates, the nature of the Stark enterprise. As Duane didn't know how to reach Stark Gates was asked to forward "the enclosed letter". On the same day, December 16th, Duane wrote Stark;

"Congress from a high sense of your Patriotism, Activity and valour have conferred upon you the chief command of an important enterprise which they have very much at heart. As under Divine Providence its success depends upon expedition and secrecy I am enjoined by Congress to meet you as soon as possible at Albany and there deliver your commission and instructions and in a personal conference fully explain their views. The time you will be pleased to fix and you may be assured, if health permits, of my punctual attendance. When you are apprised that not a moment is to be lost and that the security of the United States and of your own in particular now calls for your exertions I am persuaded that all further arguments will be unnecessary. I left your friend, General Folsom, in good health at York Town the 5th instant. He desired me to present you with his respectful compliments."

Stark's reply, by the express messenger, to Duane is not to be found. That he made the journey is apparent from Duane's letter from Albany, dated Jan. 14th.

"Sir - This evening I had the honor of your favor of yesterday by the express and shall communicate its contents to Congress as soon as an opportunity offers on which I can securely rely. Indeed, without the most urgent necessity I would not commit anything on this important subject to paper, well knowing that by declaring it unseasonably, the enterprise must in all probability be blasted. I observe that you make your election of the wages instead of the bounty. I have no doubt but that you may safely trust in the liberality of Congress in case of success. But this you will be pleased to consider as the opinion of an individual having no authority beyond the instructions I communicated to you at the conference. With a high sense of your merit and the highest personal regards, I am, Sir,  
&c. &c. JAMES DUANE. "

After his interview with Duane, Stark evidently returned to New Hampshire to consult with his leaders and available men. The result was to be expected in view of the maxim generally approved in Stark's part of the country that "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush". In case of success rewards might still be anticipated. Duane would go to Congress and report Stark's interview and his reply as to the remuneration of men and officers. Having been long absent Duane would, perhaps with some astonishment, become aware of the new and larger plan of action that Congress and the Board was working on. Duane then ceased to be a factor.

On December 17th, from Albany Gates wrote Stark in forwarding the sealed letter from Duane. It was "the old army game" not to let Stark suspect that he, Gates, was not fully conversant with the contents - Gates, in command of the Northern Department but soon (unknown to Stark) - to become President of the Board of War. The rough draft-copy shows composition changes by Gates;

"The enclosed forwarded to you by special Express" (the following wordings were deleted, "will put into your hands your commission and the instructions of Congress. I expect you will make all the haste in your power to reach Albany") "will inform you of the matters of the greatest importance for the knowledge of which it is expected you will reach Albany with all possible expedition. Your ("commission and" deleted) "Instructions being of so much consequence that Mr. Duane, a member of Congress, is solely entrusted with delivering them to you. You will receive them from him as well as your commission". ("I do" deleted) "Your zeal being well known to me I am confident you will not disappoint the expectations which Congress have" ("considered of your courage and abilities" deleted) "grounded on your merit."



## THE REAL SCHEME OF HORATIO GATES

A very remarkable rough draft of it remains in Gates Papers (N.Y. Hist. Soc.) its importance overlooked by Justin Smith, who was apt at the time to rely on abstracts by Force. The date line ("Albany, Dec. 25, 1778") is misleading, perhaps put on afterward. He had written Congress on December 2nd, 1777 "of the enemies' situation in Canada". He crossed out "My plan for an expedition against Quebec" but wrote;

"I have people now tracing out the road from Kennebec to the Chaudiere and I shall have proper magazines established to prevent the misfortunes attending our former Expedition by this Route. I find it will be necessary to make a Feint against the Upper country. I shall order an Appearance to be made of Preparations on Lake Champlain. I do not approve of an attempt against St. Johns. They are prepared for this but will not expect the other."

He had given no orders apparently and crossed out "I enclose you the order I have given" as by the time of his departure he was to allow the plan to await submission to Congress. The secret plan closed with this;

"Everything may be prepared which is necessary for Congress to do as not a moment is to be lost. I cannot think of leaving Albany until I have done everything necessary for this important expedition."

Though the Plan would nullify (and in his opinion tend to be frustrated by) the Bedel foray starting before Feb. 1st, 1778, nothing is found as to orders to stop that, indicating that Bedel's men might be intended (and there was time enough to switch) for the Kennebec-Chaudiere capture of Quebec. There would be no flaw in the planning, Gates was now at the top of his bent. His mounting ascendancy in the support of his friends in Congress was yet to receive its check in the revelation of indiscretions by some of them, if not his own direct involvement.

Did Gates intend to take command personally of the Kennebec-Chaudiere trip, a perilous one in the dead of winter? If not who was to head it? To take Quebec (and Montreal, hence the command of Canada) was not a task an ambitious man could achieve the glory of at the hands of another. Perhaps the success of such an astounding stroke would add sufficiently to the repute of its planner. But in any case all Gates could do, now called upon to work through the Board of War, was to assemble the necessary supplies.

Leaving Col. Greaton in command at Albany on December 28th, Gates took his secret file in which was the Plan. On his way, at Bethle-

hem, on Jan. 9th, he wrote Greateon that he was taking "Ensign Stebbins" to Congress, after which Stebbins would return to Albany so as to arrange to have Col. Jacob Cuyler, Lt. Col. Udney Hay and Major Ebenezzer Stevens forward to Coos;

"40,000 lbs. salt beef or pork, the same of hard biscuit, 20 bush. salt, 20 bush. pease, 500 galls, rum, 1000 lbs. powder 2000 lbs. lead, 3000 flints, 100 axes and 45 pad horses."

These to be delivered to the commissary there "with secrecy and fineness". Stebbins was to bring, on leaving Congress, further orders. The letter ended, Gates having somewhere learned of the Stark expedition of Congress, with;

"If General Stark is arrived in Albany you will immediately acquaint him with these orders and direct the officers at the head of each of the public departments to obey such further orders as he shall think proper to give."

Reflecting that, perhaps for a time, Gates had still another idea in mind, is the letter Col. Bayley was writing Gates from Coos on January 2, 1778; perhaps a substitute for the Bedel go at St. Johns. "I am sorry we could not this winter" (was the mildness of that particular one a factor?) and "the main force is at Sorel where we purpose to attack them". "2000 men with some Canadians" he thought to be enough for the purpose. The route into Canada would thus have been by Lake Memphremagog as the nearest point from which to make the descent of the frozen St. Francis river to its junction with the St. Lawrence, just below the mouth of the Richelieu at Sorel.

It is doubtful if much of the large order for supplies was delivered to the proposed base at the Coos. "Hazen's road" had been completed only as far as Peacham and the greater part, reaching to the Canada line, was not to be done till 1779, though all the way to St. Johns had been spotted ("looked out") and formed a short and comparatively level route through the wilderness, in that direction. Had Stark known anything of what was in mind, no one of the three routes would have appealed to his practical mentality as feasible or warranting hope of success. Only the original one, destruction of St. Johns and a quick return, had merit.

#### GATES WITH THE BOARD OF WAR AND CONGRESS

The comedy of errors had only begun. It was to run to greater lengths. On his arrival at York Gates found himself in a mixed situation. His "Plan" reflects the alterations he found necessary. Compromises were unavoidable. The readjustments were rather swiftly made, necessarily so as the turn of the year had come and time was running out. In reality it was found two months later, time had run out.

## STARK JOINS THE MASONIC ORDER AT ALBANY

On the very day Gates was writing Greateon from Bethlehem, January 9th, the Records of Masters Lodge No. 2 of Albany (now No. 5 on the Grand Lodge Roll) show this;

"The Petition of Brigadier John Starke, being presented to the body, he was ballotted for, met with the unanimous consent of the members present and was initiated accordingly. Brig. Gen. John Starke paid £ 5 for his initiation fee, 8 s. to the Tyler and 4 s. for Extra Lodge."

The silence enjoined on John Stark would preclude any disclosure of the real reason for his visit. His joining the Lodge would supply a reasonable explanation. His conference with Duane would be accomplished in the utmost secrecy. His movements in other respects would be attended with the inevitable publicity of a Continental General from New Hampshire, in uniform, in a small town. Three Generals were in town, Schuyler, without a command, Arnold and Lincoln in the hospital, where a few days before (January 3rd) Arnold celebrated, with some conviviality, his 35th birthday.

As Greateon was not receive the Bethlehem instructions for a few days, Stark was ignorant of the larger scheme of Gates. Secrecy was extending the cross purposes and Stark went home to assemble his men and equipment. It is doubtful if John Stark carried his Masonry very far. Blazing Star lodge was organized in Concord in 1799 but it was 18 miles away and Stark was then 71 years old. The brief visit and initiation were on one turn of the wheel of fortune. Another, four months later, saw him in full command of the Northern Department of the Continental Army.

Some 28 vouchers (N.H. Hist. Soc.) show the General in various parts of the state, Keene, Peterborough, Amherst, and on the 28th of the month breakfasting with Rev. Ezra Styles (Yale's future President) in Portsmouth and there recounting the episodes of Bennington, hearing in turn Mr. Styles' opinions and news. In 1786 the latter visited the battle area, "saw the grave of Count Baum", made a fair map for himself.

## PICKING HIS MEN

From village to village, perhaps accompanied by Caleb, perhaps by brother-in-law McColley, Stark broached the subject privately with veterans of his campaigns and other trusty fellows, willing to take for granted the character of the enterprise, their own muskets, knives and hatchets, their own warm woolen clothing and snow-shoes; replacements and double wages guaranteed. The secrets were, no doubt, well kept. The "family" records disclose only that Major Stark told his son,



the historian, that "supplies were obtained, everything required for a winter campaign.....troops were engaged, equipped and ready to march". When, months later (May 24, 1778) Stark wrote the President of Congress for some allowances for his men, he did not give the numbers; "for this purpose I raised a number of soldiers". He asked "some recompense for their zeal in volunteering at so unpleasant a season of the year". As they had not served nothing was forthcoming but Bedel's men collected pay and Stark resented denial to his men.

### THE HANDSOME GESTURE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

The Senate chamber was decorated with the trophies that Stark presented after Bennington but until the regular session in December the legislative bodies could not act. When Stark was in Portsmouth and Exeter he may have exhibited only too visibly the propriety of a literal rehabilitation but it was not New Hampshire that acted but the neighboring state. On December 12, 1777, this Resolve was passed;

"That the Board of War of this State be and they are hereby directed in the name of this Court to present to the Honorable Brigadier General Stark a complete suit of clothes becoming his rank, together with a piece of linen, as a testimony of the high sense this Court have of the great and important services rendered by that officer."

Perhaps for the first time in his life Stark was outfitted in proper and becoming garments, well fitted by the best of tailors and on the epaulets of gold wore the brilliant silver star of his rank. The piece of linen, than which no finer weave than his own Scotch-Irish community, Londonderry, could produce would be made into a number of ruffled shirts. Never a meticulous or showy dresser like Washington, Stirling, Wayne and others, Stark must have felt a justifiable pride in his new equipment when he went to Albany to meet Duane, at any rate when he took command there.

### GATES, LAFAYETTE, CONWAY, STARK

Congress was welcoming French volunteers of the officer class believing it would accelerate a treaty of alliance with France. Though Lafayette was believed to have great influence he had actually been proscribed by the Court and had to square himself later before the King would receive him. Washington helped make him a major general and he headed the brigade of Gen. Adam Stephen of Virginia. His utility in Canada was seen, though but a big boy, barely 20, and he might fire the sympathies of the inhabitants, restive under British rule. But why Conway, middle-aged ex-general in the French army (though born in Ireland in 1738) whose elevations came after LaFayette, July 31 and Decem-

ber 13. Just who was responsible for the substitution of the simple Stark project by the grandiose scheme starting with that but proposing to enlist the support of the French Catholic population and thereby wrest the control of the country from the minority of British? Gates soon found his own invasion plan could not get much favor. In the close contacts of the Delegates and the Board of War, in the little village of York, the whole subject, in a state of flux, cleared enough to permit of a vote as to leadership. In the first resolution it was not LaFayette who was to head the expedition but Stark, who had 8 votes to LaFayette's 6, and Conway had 6, on a per capita, not a state basis. Gates made pen alterations in his Plan which (though still a Kennebec-Chaudiere-Quebec scheme on paper) included eventually the possibility that McDougall might go with LaFayette, or if that were impracticable, deKalb.

That Stark could not head anything with LaFayette and Conway in it was soon apparent for they outranked him. Conway was a friend of Gates but he had other support, none other than Gen. John Sullivan, a faithful follower of Washington. On Nov. 10th, 1777, Sullivan wrote John Adams, helping make Conway a Major General. The cynics had occasion to remark, probably, referring to contributions to results, that two months before, during Sullivan's court martial, Conway came to his aid;

"I have been in two actions with General Conway and am confident no man could behave better in action. His regulations in the brigade are much better than any in the army and his knowledge of military matters in general, far exceeds any officer we have." (Sull. Papers, I. 577)

Though Washington and LaFayette were constantly at the camp at Valley Forge it suited the latter to address his chief a long letter on December 30, 1777. It may have been because of what Brand Whitlock found ("LaFayette," 1929) that the Commander-in-Chief's secretaries had to deny the enthusiastic young Frenchman access to the General twice on the ground that he was importantly engaged. The text of the two letters had to deal with two of the three generals intended to command in the Canada affair. In LaFayette to Washington, Conway was;

"now an ambitious and dangerous man.....He has done all in his power by cunning manoeuvres to take off my confidence and affections for you. His desire is to engage me to leave this country."

Washington replied in writing the next day, "not by name but clearly" cites Tower (Charlemagne Tower "Marquis de LaFayette" in the American Revolution" Phil. 1895); referring to Conway;

"His ambition and great desire of being puffed off as one of the first officers of the age.....He became my inveterate enemy.....practised every art to do me an injury."

Weeks before Gates left Albany there were attempts on the part of friends of LaFayette to get him into the Stark enterprises. Else how did Ezekial Price's Diary (a Boston man) contain this item under the date of Dec. 15th.;

"Report of part of our army going over the Lakes toward Canada under Mons. de LaFayette and General Stark."

(N.E.H-G Reg. XIX)

The leak as to proceedings of Congress, so secret as to Stark, must have taken 10 days to get to Price, but Congress dismissed the idea of LaFayette, as it thought, in favor of a simply burn-the-vessels-destroy-St.Johns scheme for Stark's execution alone.

Congress was in one of the greatest periods of stress and strain in its entire career. There was at the time a sad disbelief in many quarters in Washington's capacity. Had Gates merely aspired to head the army no apology would have been in order. John Adams and other sincere patriots were charged with the duty of achieving independence regardless of personalities. Making Conway a Major General, even though he followed LaFayette in a (short) point of time, caused animosities to flare. On Jan. 8th, 1778, LaFayette, in questionable taste, wrote President Laurens in a manner quite intemperate, as to Gates and Conway.

### AN ALLIANCE WITH FRENCH CANADA

What Congress became committed to, entailing the scrapping of Stark's leadership, was that LaFayette, Conway and Stark should head an expedition having for its object destruction of works of the British at St. Johns, Chamblee and Isle aux Noix as a preliminary to inducing the inhabitants of Canada, predominatingly French Catholic, to join the Thirteen as a sort of 14th state, forswear all British allegiances and down the Government of King George. Congress proceeded to have translated into French the nature of the American republic ("The United States of America," Nov. 15, 1777) for circulation in Canada. If the natives proved disinclined the expedition was to return and if the works on the Richelieu had not been done away with, to do that and come back by way of Wood Creek and Saratoga. The whole idea was rather hazy, for letters of Delegates (John Penn and Eliphalet Dyer-Feb. 16th and 17th) also thought the project included "perplexing their councils for carrying on the war" so that Great Britain "will be at a loss where to send reinforcements". LaFayette was given instructions; woollens necessary, tents cumbersome and unnecessary, motions to be rapid, his force to be alert and vigorous.



But at York LaFayette protested he would do nothing except under Washington, would not stand for Conway as his second and asked for McDougall, who if not well enough, could be replaced with deKalb. The young fellow had his way for Congress was alarmed by his threats and expostulations. Franklin, Adams and Lee were in Paris.

### A DINNER AND ITS TOASTS

Minimized by some historians, exploited by others, an episode at a dinner tendered LaFayette before his leave-taking probably attended by military rather than legislative personnel, had its origin in an apparent omission of a toast to the commander-in-chief. But LaFayette got up and

"braved the whole party and threw them into confusion by making them drink to the health of their general"

(Memoirs, I.29)

Officially Washington knew nothing of the designs of Congress. But during the seven weeks from the date when it had authorized the Stark foray (Dec. 3rd.) to when Washington was officially informed of the LaFayette-Conway-Stark enterprise (Jan. 24th) it would be idle to conclude that his friends in the Congress were not keeping couriers busy between York and Valley Forge. So it was probably not out of a clear sky that Washington received the news that one of his Major Generals was to be detached for important work. Gates wrote;

"Your Excellency will see the designs of Congress of forming a plan of an irruption into Canada". He asked if Washington could spare Hazen's regiment, or even a part of it, because "Being composed of Canadians their services would be exceedingly acceptable." The Board of War would be happy to receive Washington's "opinions and advice". A letter for delivery to LaFayette was enclosed who was to be subject to his permission, "to leave his present command in the 'Grand army'."

Washington formally replied on the 27th, which was almost at once, that he had no suggestions, was ordering Hazen's regiment to Albany, had delivered the letter to LaFayette, who would set out for York the next day. He is said to have remarked to the latter that he would have favored no one more than him.

On January 28th Congress voted the funds necessary ("30,000 French livres") to be applied "as his own prudence may suggest", meaning Gen. LaFayette, "or the General Officer commanding the irruption into Canada". So, though LaFayette was expected to be the leader, the enterprise was to go on if he could not or did not act.

## La FAYETTE JOURNEYS TO ALBANY

He arrived there on Feb. 17th, making much of the hardships of the long trip. Troup, representing Gates as head of the Board of War, and Conway had arrived on the 14th. From Manor Livingston, LaFayette had as company, James Duane. On the 3rd, LaFayette had written his wife, in France, that he was to be a General of the Northern Army at the head of 3000 men. On Feb. 9th he wrote President Laurens "The whole world has their eyes fixed upon me". Arnold got from some tatter or from Schuyler a very correct outline of what was afoot (letter to Gouverneur Morris, New York Delegate in Congress, Feb. 2nd, 1778, Freeman's Journal, July 18, 1781.) He commented, anent an item interesting him, the proposed capture of Montreal, that the Albany troops were badly clothed ("naked" was the word he used, and usually the name given currently) and reported to Morris that there were to be three regiments locally, "together with Hazen's" and "a number of volunteers under General Starks, the whole number supposed to be 3000."

LaFayette discovered barely 960 effectives who included "some boys of 12 and patriarchs of sixty", quite unfit, he thought for the proposed march. Other units like Hazen's could not be assembled and equipped. Bedel's 250 could not march and the Council at Bennington wanted back pay before soliciting the services of some 300 odd Rangers! In the Berkshires Fellows asked for some encouragement before talking to his men. But the worst apathy was in Albany itself, the usual side-stepping being carried on under LaFayette's nose; the troops being needed for local defence and at Fort Schuyler, &c.

## STARK AND LAFAYETTE

Gen. Gates, now head of the Board of War, was called upon to write Stark of his altered status. It was a thoroughly official and military letter, as was to be expected from the British born and trained soldier. He could sense in advance Stark's resentment at having taken from him the mission that was so recently and so flatteringly given by Congress. Yet it was not an easy letter to write and in the files there is a rough copy and a fair copy. Hence "The important service" and "the interest and political views of the United States in Canada" as well as "your hearty agreement and officer-like assistance". Unfortunately it was a letter far from enlightening to Stark, rather mystifying as to the real object and scope of the plan. Stark could see plainly enough that he was to be a poor third in the command; a Brigadier taking orders from two Major Generals.

Nevertheless Stark's response was prompt and full hearted as well as soldier-like. He wrote at once to LaFayette to ascertain his wishes. He had probably received the Gates letter, amounting to orders, on his return to Derryfield after being in Portsmouth and vicinity on the 28th of January.

## GATES TO STARK

"War Office, 24th, January, 1778.

Dear General; The Honorable Congress having thought proper to direct an irruption to be immediately made into Canada and their design being in part communicated to you by Hon. James Duane, Esq. I am directed by that honorable body to acquaint you that, for wise and prudential reasons, they have appointed Major General, the Marquis de LaFayette, first in command and Major General Conway second in command, who will act in concert with you in promoting the interest and political views of the United States in Canada.

I am confident from my knowledge of your attachment to the freedom of America, that you will cordially co-operate with them in every measure and move to the public service. My experience convinces me and the opinion I entertain of you and your associates, the general officers upon this important service, induces me to believe that the expectations of Congress will be fully answered by your hearty agreement with and officer-like assistance to the gentlemen above mentioned. There is not anything that will recommend your many and great services to Congress than your implicit compliance with their wishes upon this occasion."

Stark's letter to his new leader must have been located (1907 ante) for it is reproduced in fac similie by Justin Smith in "Our Struggle" (II.507). Being almost entirely in the dark, Stark naturally assumed that LaFayette was doing the planning of his expedition. He knew nothing of the fact that Hazen had written Bedel that Union River was to be the rendezvous "for the expedition to Canada" and that Bedel was to have his troops there "by the 20th of February without fail." Before Stark scratched off the following he did not even know of an expedition to Canada except his own minor foray to burn vessels at St. Johns.

"Derryfield, Feb. 7, 1778.

Sir,

Being informed by the Honorable General Gates that you are appointed to command an expedition against the British troops in Canada & that I am to go on the same expedition should be glad to know as soon as possible what number of troops you expect I shall bring with me, what states I shall raise them in, the place of rendezvous and when to be rendezvoused and I shall leave no method untried to meet your expectations. I am, dear General, your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN STARK

The Honorable General de LaFayette."



If the honorable General did not reply to Stark, his associate in command, his Gallic courtesy failed him for once. No reply and no reference to a reply can be found. If the tone of Stark's letter was to those who read it in Albany somewhat bland and cool, it was because they looked for too much. In the changed situation Stark should not have been expected to mobilize his men, too few, he knew, to have much effect if the enterprise was as large as the letter from Gates would imply. His scattered, independent and straight-thinking followers would have to be re-guaranteed, as it were. Otherwise they would feel released and under no moral obligation to go.

Had Stark known of the very critical juncture that came about when LaFayette and the others faced the situation on arriving at Albany, the very first thing he would have done would have been to journey to the scene quickly. He endeavored to get the Bennington Council to act, writing them of the changed plan and saying

"I hope for the best and as for the officers who wish a bounty for recruiting I have no doubt that Congress will reward them according to their merit."

## ALBANY

LaFayette and his entourage found the large village cross-roads of travel growing fast, but quiet now following the departure of Gates and his army. From 1767 with only 148 families, houses were now outgrowing the stockades. Since 1740 the most imposing structure was the city hall, prisoners of war often being confined in its basement. In 1771 oil burning lamps feebly lit street corners in the center of town, along Yonker now State Street. Overlooking all was the old fort where the great four-square granite mass of the Capitol now is. Cartright's was a leading inn, Gov. Tyron banquetted there in 1772, the Committee of Safety headquarters in 1775. Gregory's Tontine Coffee House near the Old Dutch church at the foot of State street was favored in its day. Greaton and Stark probably followed Gates in his official headquarters, but where is not known. The large military barracks were under the hill, north of the fort and the hospital near by.

## La FAYETTE'S TROUBLES

In two or three days LaFayette found out all about his lack of prospects and, completely disillusioned, listened to advice by Conway, Schuyler, Lincoln, Arnold and Duane. The enterprise was impossible. "I am very distressed by this appointment. I am afraid it will reflect on my reputation". He at once wrote to Washington "Why am I so far from you? What business had the Board of War to hurry me through the ice and snow?"

"I was to find General Stark with a large body and indeed Gen. Gates had told me that Gen. Stark will have burnt the fleet before your arrival. Well, the first letter I receive at Albany is from General Stark who wishes to know what number of men, for what time, for what rendezvous I desire him to raise. Col. Bedel who was to rise too would have done something had he received the money."

Gates to the distracted young man wrote "Gen. Stark, Col. Warner, Col. Bedel, with the assistant quartermaster, Col. Hazen, know every road, pass and post in the country. You have only to consult them as you advance, and, if absolutely necessary, on your retreat."

Lt. Col. Robert Troup, aid-de-camp to Gen. Gates, wrote his chief of the concensus that nothing could be accomplished, they had heard the enemy force above 2400, that "Stark's letter shows me the Folly of looking to him for the least assistance. The whole tenor of it wears the appearance of disgust and it is altogether silent about the men he was ordered to recruit for our enterprise against the Fleet."

Stark's regiment or force was actually to comprise only one eighth of the total, small units averaging only about 300, rank and file. Troup heard from Bedel that his regiment was only half full, lack of money largely the cause.

In Gates Papers is a long letter from LaFayette to Gates in his own cramped style, but in English. "The project is yours, sir, therefore you must make it succeed. If I had not depended so much on you I would not have undertaken the operation". Gates' detractors have made the most of this but Justin Smith thought;

"How could LaFayette imagine that perhaps he had fallen into that pit which always yawns for men who win their glory by other's toil - the blunder of taking things for granted."

("Our Struggle" II.489)

Troup wrote his chief an accompanying letter of the gossip; that he had an altercation with Arnold, a tap room brawl implied, and as to LaFayette asked "What do you intend to do with him?; Troup suggested the Southern army "where the blunders of his youth and inexperience will pass as manoevers in the sublime art of war." LaFayette addressed Conway (to get him on paper?) gone to Schenectady to do something about the small force there, the reply to go to the Board of War. Conway was ready to march, "and cheerfully obey your orders if you think it proper to proceed" but instanced the condition of the troops, the advice of Schuyler, Lincoln and Arnold who felt that "less than 2500 men would not meet the ideas of Congress." He added "I was still in hopes the clothing procured in Boston by Col. Hazen might remove the greatest difficulty". Did Stark's similar call meet empty shelves?

"State of New Hampshire, Exeter

14th Feb., 1778.

Dear General; As a considerable quantity of cloathing is Wanted for this State troops which are to be procured unless they can be had in Boston Lt. Col. Dearborn waits upon your Honour in order to get some Directions Necessary for procuring said cloathing. In doing which your Honour very much obliges your Honours, very humble Servant,

JOHN STARK, B.G.

To the Honorable General Heath,"  
(Mass. Hist. Soc. archives.)

So, Stark had promptly sent Dearborn after clothing, Heath being told verbally what it was wanted for. Feb. 23rd LaFayette wrote Gates personally, deprecating the coming of "Baron Kalb" on account of the feeling between that general and Conway. The next day he wrote again of it and noted "Three Major Generals to command a few troops in this quarter." Loath to give up the enterprise he said "What hurts me more is to think we want only time, and was I in the month of January I would be certain of carrying the business". On the 25th Kalb arrived but nothing resulted.

#### IN CONGRESS

Fast expresses from Albany told the members the truth and a committee appointed (Walcott, Lee, Ellery and McKean) reported that LaFayette "should regulate his conduct according to the prospects of success". &c. March 2nd, Congress took decisive action, perhaps the Troup to Gates letters accelerating the end;

"Whereas it appears from authentic accounts that difficulties attend the prosecution of the irruption ordered to be made into Canada under the conduct of the Marquis de LaFayette which render the attempt not only hazardous but in a high degree extremely imprudent"&c.

(In the Resolution suspending the irruption, Congress commended the "Prudence, zeal and activity" of LaFayette.)

By the 13th LaFayette and deKalb were ordered back to the grand army. The leader took occasion to make a veiled charge to Gates "There has been a good deal of deception and neglect in that affair."

#### BREAKING UP AT ALBANY

Until April LaFayette lingered. They all went up the Mohawk for a large conference with the Indians. Schuyler (under charges awaiting trial) and his agent, Mr. Dean along. LaFayette detached one of his



Engineers to teach the Indians how to make a fort and provided Fort Schuyler some provisions. Washington thanked him warmly for that and gave him fatherly counsel before receiving him back.

Conway kept Bedel quiet till the bewildered man came down to Albany to find what it was all about. March 14th, LaFayette wrote Col. Bayley about scouting parties and to have Caleb Willard, Engineer, construct a fort, the complete plan for which is in Gates papers, but the fort was never constructed.

Troup staying on wrote his chief, March 26th, that Kosciuszko, the young Lithuanian (21) "left this for West Point on Monday" and told how he had come to "love this young man". Fifty years later the cadets erected a monument at West Point to commemorate his services in our war for Independence.

The great expedition to Canada on which LaFayette had set his high hopes melted away like a snow ball during the sunny Spring days of 1778. Conway sent British prisoners to Hartford and Hazen's regiment to West Point and April 9th, Troup wrote his chief he and Conway were leaving Albany for York.

#### WASHINGTON, GATES AND STARK

Why Gen. Gates took the Presidency of the Board of War only to relinquish it four months later has been a debatable question. Probably in that series of close contacts with members of the Congress, leaders in their respective states, Gates was found to be no superman. The faux pas at Albany undoubtedly served to reduce his prestige as the conqueror of Burgoyne. At the same time among the general officers and the Delegates, visiting Valley Forge from time to time, General Washington was giving evidence of the stability of his character. A reappraisal of the downright and intricate problems of the war slowly brought about an emergence of faith in the commander-in-chief. The star of Gates had reached its brightest and was soon to shine less brilliantly and then become obscured and finally extinguished in the Southern sky. It was not long after the captains had departed from Albany that Gen. John Stark, well down the long line of junior officers, far from having suffered from the futile still-born campaign, came to the fore.

## 1778, ALBANY, THE NORTHERN DEPARTMENT

Stark's first independent Continental command was under General Horatio Gates, who by some understanding between three interested parties, Congress, the Board of War and General Washington as Commander-in-Chief, relinquished his post to take the area embracing the Hudson River and the north. It signified that a change had come in the prosecution of the war, that the new Board was not likely to function as to control and that Washington was to be in supreme command. Gates was obliged to recognize some loss of prestige but his acceptance enabled him to save most of it and to have a reasonable opportunity of doing something in Canada, a project he had not given up. He needed a good man for Albany. Out of all the brigadiers, some 13 of them senior to John Stark, he selected John Stark. Did he, or was Stark suggested to him by Congress or by Washington, in a way to compel his acquiescence? The doubt is raised, no information being available, because while Gates worked well with his brigadier as to the Albany area he kept Stark in ignorance, indeed deliberately blinded him, as to the project for Canada. If ever that project could be authorized and organized it is likely he had it in mind to lead it and thus possibly achieve an independent and undetractable success.

So much detail of minor significance occurred in the short period Stark had command in the area of Albany, The Grants, the lakes and the Mohawk, the story must be condensed. There was competition for Stark's services ere he commenced, or almost immediately thereafter. He had gone to Albany in April for there on the 20th he gave instructions to Capt. Patrick, "commanding officer at Schoharie", about scouting, in anticipation of the removal of Gen. Conway, Gates having been ordered by Congress to take charge of the army at Fishkill on the 15th. Conway wrote Gates from Albany on May 3rd, May 7th and May 13th and from Poughkeepsie on the 20th on his way to headquarters. On April 2nd he had gone to Fishkill but had been ordered back to Albany by Gen. McDougall (his senior by seven weeks) causing him to write Gates that McDougall was "boxing me about", showing that all the Irish was not out of him yet. On the 17th Gates wrote Stark of his assignment but Stark did not receive it at Derryfield until the 29th; 12 days from York.

On April 21st at Portsmouth Stark gave Joshua Wentworth "\$249 or 74,14 sh." for Madeira and port wine, in anticipation of a transfer

to Albany, not willing to be subject to the terms of the Albany dealers or because of poorer quality there obtainable for the money. Sullivan was in the vicinity but Stark missed him. Sullivan, after appealing twice to Washington had slipped off for home, remaining 10 days. Stark wrote Gates from Derryfield on the 29th saying "at Portsmouth a few days since I wrote to Congress concerning a commission for my Major of Brigade." This letter Congress received on May 13th and turned it over to the Board of War. It was to secure the services of son, Caleb, who could keep accounts, write a good letter and understood the amenities of official life besides having an engaging presence.

The situation was not to Conway's liking and he wrote Congress on April 28th resigning his commission in the army but remained in charge at Albany pending action on it. On May 16th nine men were hung and on June 5th nine more. On May 18th Stark arrived at Albany, Gates arrived at Fishkill, Conway prepared to leave his post.

When John Stark left his home in the middle of Spring his large farm and saw mill were prepared for a long absence. With a competent overseer, his wife, "Molly", in charge as much activity as limited help could accomplish was planned. Soon a small cavalcade took the roads Westerly. It was his habit to have Caleb and a servant (see his accounts, charging subsistence for horses at five shillings per day) riding a horse apiece and having an equal number led with their loads of baggage, accoutrements and emergency fodder. It was a modest entourage, a minimum for a Brigadier General on duty, and yet must have taxed some of the little inns en route. Stark could have anticipated no pleasure in having to face the difficult job awaiting him at Albany where conditions, he knew, were bad and not capable of much improvement. But it was an assignment that placed him in a higher position than he had ever been in his life. So it may have been with a light heart that he jogged his horse over the long winding roads, climbing and descending hills.

"For he may smile at troubles gone  
who sets the victor's garland on."

Arriving at the Hudson, father and son looked across awaiting the ferry. Twenty years before the elder, a penniless ransomed captive, tarried briefly there. He had no reason to regret his career since, as he talked with his son. Albany's landmarks called forth comments, the pointed roof of the old Dutch church, the big city hall and beyond and above on the hill, the frowning cannon on the walled fort. The six horses and hostler were probably to go to the barracks but one of the best taverns would shelter the officers, father and son sharing a substantial chamber. General Stark, the new commander, had arrived.



## A ROUTINE LIFE BEGINS

Several letters awaited the general, one from Gates written the day of his arrival at Fishkill, another from Gen. Philip Schuyler, Albany's first citizen, and one from the Commissioner, James Deane, Indian Agent, who sent it through Gen. Schuyler. Stark promptly called for a Return of the troops and provisions. He wrote Gates he would "embark with all dispatch" the soldiers and stores wanted at Fishkill.

"I shall detain only one sergeant, one corporal and 12 men for my guard. It will be necessary to have some men here to guard the stores.....I have called on Gen. Ten Brooks for the militia to release the guards in the city till further preparations can be made."

The General was waited on by a delegation of the civil authorities. The formal cordiality of gentlemen in official life would be in evidence. In consequence of a remonstrance over denuding the city of troops Stark wrote Gates he was detaining "a regiment of troops destined for Fishkill" and added "think it highly necessary for the security of the citizens and commonality." Stark declared to Gates,

"Murders and robberies are daily committed in the adjacent counties by our internal enemies. The militia, it is possible, could be raised, but you know there is no dependence to be put upon them."

40 or 50 carpenters were still building the boats at Saratoga "ordered by the Marquis" (Dep. Quartermaster, Morgan Lewis, to Gates, May 20th.) Other carpenters were repairing batteaux "injured by the ice." Col. Safford, in command in the north, was ordered by Stark to "Keep a good look out for the enemy so that they do not come upon you unawares. Suppress the disorders and protect the property of the inhabitants of Fort Edward". Dr. Smith had complained that the troops were "turning out the inhabitants and destroying the buildings." In the Grants, Gov. Chittenden objected to the withdrawal of troops (300 for Albany) "as the enemy's vessels are now at Crown Point, cruising along the lake." Stark then ordered Col. Bedel to "keep scouts at Onion River and St. Johns and make report to me of any movements of the enemy in those parts".

Asking Gates as to how far his command extended (as he had heard that Gen. Fellows was to command in the Grants) he took occasion to ask for a clerk. He was granted one, at prevailing wages, "provided your Brigade Major is not able to handle your correspondence." a typical bureaucratic disposition by headquarters. It seems that a Brigade Major was appointed by "the General in command" not by Congress, though Gates, perhaps because of the nepotism involved, referred it to Congress, which, as of October 30, '77, voted it. Stark had written Gates as well as

Congress; "for fear that should miscarry I repeat the same to you." The General's son, Archibald, (born May 28, 1761 and therefore but a lad of 17) was favored for a commission by Gen. Gates who wrote to Congress for one and wrote the General, "The instant I receive it I will transmit it to your hand." Later Lt. Archibald Stark served with Gen. Sullivan in the campaign against the Six Nations in 1779.

#### SULLIVAN WANTS STARK, WASHINGTON APPROVES, CONGRESS DISAPPROVES

Weeks before Stark reached Albany Gen. John Sullivan, commanding in the Rhode Island area, asked (May 1, 1778) for Stark, and on the 3rd also wrote President Laurens from Providence for him, "as I shall need two brigadiers when the troops arrive." Washington on the May 1st appeal, wrote Stark ordering him to join Sullivan, although he might have known (Gates having been detained at a council of war at Valley Forge, delaying his arrival at Fishkill) that Stark was to assist Gates.

Washington to Stark;

"Sir- In a letter from Major Gen. Sullivan of the 1st he complains of wanting assistance in his command and begs that you may be desired to take post with him this campaign. You will therefore be pleased to join him as soon as possible."

Stark to Washington (June 5, 1778);

Honored Sir- I last night received your kind favor of the 20th ult. informing that General Sullivan desires me to join him this campaign. Had it been the pleasure of Congress to have ordered me to that station, I should have thought myself very happy to have served a campaign with that worthy officer and would still be glad to join him, if it could be for the public good.

I look upon myself in a disagreeable situation here with nothing to do but guard the frontier, with no troops but militia, who are engaged but for a month at a time. I can not obtain any very great advantages to the public, nor honor to myself.

But I shall cheerfully obey any orders that are entrusted to me and proceed wherever Congress shall think I may be of most service. I have no will of my own; the good of the common cause is all my ambition."

On receiving Sullivan's letter Congress proceeded to let Washington know its wishes through a Resolution (Journals of Congress, X,XI,XII-516) but perhaps without knowing that Washington had actually ordered Stark to go to Sullivan;

"That so much of General Sullivan's letter as relates to Brigadier Stark be referred to General Washington and that he be informed that Brigadier Stark is ordered to the Northern Department from which

Congress does not think proper he should be removed and that General Washington be directed if he thinks proper, to send some other Brigadier to join General Sullivan."

All this could have been avoided had Stark made connection with Sullivan while they were both in and near Exeter or had Sullivan's letter reached Stark more promptly. Dated May 3rd it did not get to him until July 4th when Stark immediately acknowledged it;

"If I could be relieved I should be glad to join you now - this is a cursed place and people - the enemy gave us some uneasiness not long ago but are very quiet at present what they will do is uncertain - however let them do what they will, we can do but Little on our part we have no troops but militia and they turn out like drawing a Cat by the tail - if they are safe they dont care if the Devil and all their neighbors - self prevails at a high rate here - I wish you a good campaign and am in hopes to spend a few days with you in Winter quarters if not before.

It was my Misfortune not to know of your being at home last Spring, till you was gone. I set out to see you but too late - you was gone from Exeter before I Arrived."

On May 13th before Stark arrived at Albany a small guard of Continental troops was wiped out (Captain, Lieutenant and 15 privates) at Cobleskill. The militia were there in support but, except seven or eight they merely looked on, a bit of cowardice that roused Stark's ire, as he wrote Gates on Sunday, May 31st. Deane wrote Schuyler on the 25th that "the Senecas are already on the war path, the Onondagas are much divided in sentiment". On June 4th Stark wrote Gates that Herrick was asking for pay for part of a regiment "he raised to go to Canada last winter." and that Bedel wrote that his regiment was "full and ready for the field, wanting nothing but provisions." He recommended Herrick as a suitable man "to be in this Western quarter to scourge these tories and Indians." He also added "I should be glad to have Col. Ethan Allen command in the Grants as he is a very suitable man to deal with tories and such like villains." The preserved military correspondence of this period is quite full and much of it was printed in the "Memoir" (1860) by Caleb Stark, where details may be found.

Stark reported his situation and difficulties to the New Hampshire authorities on June 28th and a similar letter is also in "Weare Papers," never printed. Stark called for help in garrisoning Albany, from Gen. Ten Broeck, the militia commander. He ordered "Jellis Winne W. M." to get two pieces of cannon "which he will move down, one to the Fort and one to the City Hall". They were 6 pounders. (Mss. in Collection of Hall Park McCullough). Duane on June 6th took occasion to write to Gov. Clinton of the "deplorable conditions" to the Westward where there was



"ravaging and murdering by Brant's Indians and the Tories.....Gen. Starke can do nothing for he will not have a Continental soldier at his command, all being ordered away." Ten Broeck wrote Clinton currently that Gen. Stark "is not only a stranger but without Continental Troops, though I am convinced he is heartily disposed to do everything in his power." Clinton then ordered militia help for Stark but regretted that "few have taken the field."

In his dealings with the Albany civil authorities Gen. Stark showed firmness and discrimination. An irritating local custom irked him because it worked injustice to poor soldiers. (Stark to Clinton, June 21, 78) A small debt was owed by "One Hass, a Massachusetts soldier" for which he was put in jail, "said to be due a tavern keeper for a grog bill." In a P. S. he threatened to make a rule of his own if redress was not had. On orders from Gates Stark cleared the "British Hospital" (capacity 800) sending everything movable down the river. The buildings shaped like a capital I, were eventually used for the first theatrical shows, to the mixed feelings of Albanians. Invalid prisoners were to be delivered to the British in a sort of exchange. Stark noticed army men without billets and wrote Gates, when particulars were called for. Stark identified "a Colonel, a Major, 12 captains, four clerks and 14 other officers, whose ranks are not known but they cannot be lower than Captains." He criticised the building of large storehouses without apparent reason, by the Quartermaster's department. The Commissary was found to be delivering 750 rations in a day, "without any to the troops or the hospital". "I think it is no wonder that provisions are scarce and dear." He reported that the Commissary was "getting a percentage of all supplies purchased of the country people".

### STARK AND BEDEL

Without suspecting at the time that Gates was using Bedel to keep warm his project as to Canada, Stark with an uncanny sense for chicanery, to smoke Bedel out, suggested to Gates that Bedel's "regiment" be ordered to Albany.

"I have sent for 100 of them to come to this place but I think it would be best to send for them all and then we shall find out the iniquity, if any there be. He has drawn for a regiment, last winter to go to St. Johns, double pay and rations, and none of them ever left their homes, and whether any of them were enlisted or not is uncertain, to the amount of \$1400 and now he is uneasy because he is not paid for his regiment, of which no man knows where it is."

It came out that Stark was right. Actually there were only about 40 men and when Col. Varick (ordered by Stark to muster them) attempted to do so they refused to comply as they "had already been mustered to guard

the Connecticut river frontiers and would not serve anywhere in the United States." In August the matter came up. Weare wrote the Delegates (Slade's Vt. State Papers, 90) of the "great sums of money from Congress....under pretence of keeping some companies last winter "that Bedel got. So perhaps William Stark knew enough of Bedel's character to have justified his complaint, though not because of Bedel's illegitimacy.

### GATES ADVANCES HIS SECRET PLANS

Stark was not the man to let a chance go by when Hazen passed through Albany on July 10th for the Coos country, to learn what he might from him. From Peekskill on June 26th Gates had sent Stark a smooth letter. It concluded "all is calm in your quarter" he not having heard from Stark since the 14th. He advised Stark that Philadelphia had been evacuated on the 19th and that he was sending a letter by the scout Traversie to Bedel, asking that Stark read, seal and forward it. Traversie had obtained \$700, full pay and rations to date, and Vincent got \$120. What may have excited Stark's suspicions was this (Gates to Bedel) "Traversie has my directions to acquaint you with a message I have sent by him. You will send me a full answer by the first safe hand that leaves Coos." Traversie was faithful to his instructions and did not let Stark know what it was all about. Characteristically Stark reacted. In a letter immediately sent his superior, Gates and never before printed, (Gates Papers) Stark did not mince matters:

"Yesterday, Col. Hazen informed me that there is an expedition forming against Canada by way of St. Francoise. I am sensible you have been wrongly informed concerning that country. I am highly of opinion that it is impracticable to carry on an expedition that way. I have once been across that country myself and in the year 1759 Major Rogers destroyed St. Francois but lost the most of his party on their return by reason of the distance of the way and the badness of the country. By what I have seen of that country myself and the information I have had from men that I could depend upon makes one think it almost as easy to march an army to the moon as to Canada that way & Canada is not in my opinion a place that calls our immediate attention. if we can clear our coasts and Western Frontiers Canada will fall of course and in all probability the eyes of the people will be opened in another year so that they will concur themselves, if we let them alone."

When Hazen arrived Gen. Bayley wrote at once from Haverhill, that Hazen believed the road was practicable for 93 miles, although "made only about 30 miles" and that there appeared a good road as far

as the south end of Memphremagog, ("Amprobagog") &c. Also that 1500 men could be raised locally, "happy to serve" for Canada under Gates.

"Our Struggle" in some way missed the letter from Stark to Gates but Justin Smith saw the scheme clearly enough from the message (Wheelock Papers-Chase, "Hanover" I.392) which Traversie brought and Louis Vincent interpreted and wrote down;

"General Gates ordered me to tell Col<sup>o</sup> Bedel to Chuse a proper Person for a Pilot to find a road to Saint Francois. I was to consult with them about the same. when the road is looked out to send Lt. Col. Wheelock to him and no other Persons, with the Proceedings, to be done with the utmost dispatch.....General Gates also told me not to inform Generals Schuyler or Starks of the same on pain of Punishment. Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates in person would march this way with the troops. Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates upon his arrival at Saint Francois would divide the army into two Divisions and would be in Canada in September, where there is plenty of Provisions and that the French would come up the river." (Our Struggle, II.517-19).

Gates at once attempted to administer a sedative to Stark, writing from White Plains on July 14th, one of the five paragraphs reading;

"You need be under no manner of concern of another Canada expedition being heedlessly (is it not needlessly in the copy, Gates Papers?) undertaken. The period is not far distant when that province must join the great confederation, without any force being raised to effect it. or, if any, such only as is merely necessary to take possession."

No doubt chafing at being deceived and treated so by Gates, of all men, Stark bided his time. He attended to the administration of his own perplexing affairs.

#### CANADA, THE SCHEME, ITS PROGRESS AND ABANDONMENT

Washington consented that Bedel go to Congress about the pay of the men he claimed to have had. In some way the plan of Gates got talked about, indeed Bedel could hardly have kept a close mouth, as perhaps Gates intended. But Stark's sound opinion expressed to Gates was destined to have concurrence from a high quarter and the end of the project was not far off. The French fleet arrived and all efforts were bent on confining the British fleet to New York harbor. Congress, however, delegated Gates, Bayley and Hazen as a sort of Committee to consider what would (as to Canada) "be the most eligible plan." Washington was luke warm. LaFayette became active, sending an engineer



to make a report as to a way of approach, and suggested that France and the States co-operate without delay. Even Franklin at Paris advanced a grandiose scheme, partly secret, partly intentionally open, for operations against Detroit, Niagara, Oswego and, yes, St. Francis. As to military prospects Washington foresaw failure when he turned back to Congress the responsibility and showed the serious nature of the project;

"To send 5000 men with an immense train of wagons, through a country in great part uninhabited and trackless, would prove extremely difficult. Probably not more than 4000 effectives would reach their destination - fewer still were posts established to guard the road and protect the convoys of supplies; and at the St. Lawrence fresh obstacles would be encountered, for the British, if they could not make head against the attack, would lay waste the country, remove all the boats and destroy everything required for building watercraft."

But an important angle, which advocates of an expedition could hardly have been blind to, finally had the consideration of Congress, which adopted a Report that Janes Duane of the New York Delegates wrote. It would not do to risk a breach of public faith "for the emancipation of Canada" vis-a-vis the government of France and the French nation. (Journals of Congress XIII.111-13) Laurens wrote his friend, LaFayette, to quiet him.

### A CHARACTERISTIC EMBROILMENT

In early August (1778) Stark asked Morgan Lewis (23, recently a favored aid of Gates, a personable man in high local society) Deputy Quartermaster at Albany, to have a wheel chair made for him. His preference for horseback riding would cause the use of one of the new two wheeled chaises only to avoid excessive fatigue on long trips. But Lewis replied the men worked by the job, and did the General wish to employ them? The General did. In a few days Stark complained to Washington of the maladministration of the Quartermaster's Department; no tents, no grain for Stark's horses unless he, Stark, advanced hard money for the same. As to Lewis; "I must beg, if he can not be removed or reformed that I and some other officers may be recalled." Washington had a way of letting overboiling pots simmer down and cool off. Not until he took command at Fishkill (vice Gates) did he acknowledge Stark's letters of several dates, Aug. 31st, Sept. 7th, 15th and 28th.

"I have laid your several complaints against Col. Lewis before the Quartermaster General. Col. Lewis has sent down a vindication of his conduct and desires a proper inquiry,

which the quartermaster must make."

The bitter and vindictive complaint against Stark by Morgan Lewis, addressed to Ass't Quartermaster General Charles Pettit, was a letter of some 2000 words (Lib. of Congress, Papers of George Washington, Vol. 83) He employed the amazingly unrestrained invectives of the day. It is doubtful if Stark ever saw the text of his detractions.

"I cannot but lament that a man of such narrow and contracted sentiments as General Stark possesses should have it in his power to sport with public characters even at the expense of truth. Knew you the man you would not be surprised at this base piece of conduct for notwithstanding his attempts in this dark and assassin-like manner to wound my reputation I can assure you that he ever meets me with a smile and takes me most cordially by the hand. Everything that bears the resemblance of a gentleman is to him disgusting. The whole tenor of his conduct justifies the assertion for his only companions are a set of tavernkeepers and some of the most vulgar characters the city affords. However the business of this letter is not to descant upon the propriety of Gen. Stark's conduct but to free myself from the malevolent aspersions he has undeservedly endeavored to cast upon me."

Lewis then brought in something that may have aggravated Gen. Stark, his refusal to audit for payment a bill for the keep of the General's military horses, "while at home on his own farm an extravagant account of, I think three hundred and eighty pounds," Lewis added. The "Stark Papers" (N. H. Hist. Soc.) afford a clue; From Jan. 10, 1778 to May 9th 1778 Stark paid out £ 426, which is near enough to the £380 of Lewis. Only to a local Quartermaster's Deputy could bills of such a nature be initially presented for payment. If questioned the Quartermaster General's office would have to decide. As to two sorts of "Forrage" that Stark's hostler found Lewis keeping, one for his own, the other for the General's horses, Lewis declared to Pettit "It was my own and not the property of the public" and opined that for some "hard money" he thought he could get some for Stark's horses and had told the hostler as much. Of the charges of maladministration Lewis dealt with only one and that briefly, asserting that he had not failed to supply regularly with provisions the troops at Otter River. So much illicit business was being done in Albany where the traders acquired a preference for silver rather than the depreciated paper of the United States, that feeding poor food to his horses because dealers would not accept scrip, naturally infuriated Stark. Stark was paid, if at all, in that scrip, at constantly depreciating values. That Lewis, because of his office and local influence was able to feed his horses better than those the command-

ing General of the Department was irritating. Lewis, young and ambitious, a graduate of Princeton, a lawyer, rose rapidly after marrying Gertrude Livingston, daughter of Robert. Lewis eventually became Governor of New York, (1804) United States senator, (1807), and finally a justice of the New York Supreme Court. His portrait, City Hall, New York, by Trumbull; full length in a costly uniform and sword (circa 1808) evidences pride of self and position; "a remarkable performance" said art critic F. F. Sherman in 1930.

It is refreshing to turn to compliments rough and ready men were paying each other. Ethan Allen wrote Stark;

"The hatred and fear with which you are regarded by the Tories, those infernal enemies of American liberty induce me to propose a visit to your headquarters in Albany.....I am of opinion that we shall never be at peace while one of the traitors is suffered to remain in the country. I hear you are doing well with some of them."

Stark wrote Ethan Allen, both letters in June, 1778 (Memoir, 1860, 164-5);

"You may be sure I shall be happy in receiving one from a man whose fame has been so extensive and whom I have never had the pleasure of meeting" &c.

At the time Stark was trying to exterminate "a nest of villians..... lurking about Unadilla." Stark wrote Col. Hay of Gates' staff about cannon coming down from "Ti". The Continental army also needed anchors but could not get them from dealers so Stark wrote out a "Press Warrant" - Albany 2nd of July, 1778;

"The General finds that the inhabitants of this place are so lost to all sense of their duty to the continent that they will not assist him in anything they can help, which puts him to the disagreeable necessity to order you to take such a number of bateau men as shall be necessary to assist you in pressing one anchor from Martin G. Van Borgan, one from William Winne and one from Lucas, into the public service and one from Dow; the one from Dow you will pay for. The other three you will give your receipt for, they being all for the service of the continent; and this shall be your sufficient order for so doing."

#### STARK AND THE "NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS"

Owing to the war his own state did not immediately wake up after the Assembly of Vermont voted to take in a row of New Hamp-



shire towns on the East side of the Connecticut although an integral part of the state. This action of June 11th, 1778 was followed on the 25th by 16 of those towns notifying New Hampshire that they had withdrawn from its jurisdiction and asked to have a divisional line established. Not until Aug. 22nd was Gov. Chittenden written to by New Hampshire for reasons. On hearing of the action of the towns of his native state an immediate affront was seen by Stark. His letter, dated Albany, 21st June, 1778, is "from a copy preserved in the family papers of Lt. Col. Wheelock." It is referred to, but not printed, in N. H. State Papers XVII. 243. (Chase, History of Dartmouth College and Hanover, 1891, I. 391-1). Stark to Chittenden. -

"Sir- I have heard with astonishment that your state have been entering into covenant with some upstarts belonging to the State of New Hampshire to come over and join with you. I am not a little surprised at such unwarranted conduct. You must be very sensible it is not in your power to enhance States (or) part of States without the general consent of the United States and I can assure you that I think such conduct very unwarrantable. You are not only trying to breed disturbance in the State of New Hampshire but you may rely upon it it will run like a raging torrent through the whole United States. Such conduct cannot be vindicated by any lover of his country and it will put me under the disagreeable necessity of withdrawing the troops and Continental stores from your state and leave you to your own independence, for it plainly appears that your motives are to destroy the liberties of America. However I have not the least doubt they will prove abortive and your present plans confounded. If you think to break the union which has hitherto prevailed in the states I am sensible you will be mistaken. It must certainly give me pain to see your quarters abandoned but justice forbids me to stand by you any longer and without that lust is broke the troops of consequence will be immediately drawn off. I shall await your answer with impatience. I am, etc.,

JOHN STARK.

N. B. Would take it as a favor you would send me the names of the petitioners that want to join with you from N. H. and the towns they belong to, in order to transmit to State."

If anything is needed to show that Gen. Stark was on an uncomfortable seat this impromptu action, entirely out of his jurisdiction coupled with a hasty and intemperate threat proves it. But nothing would prevent his "talking turkey" to his best friends, the Vermonters, when he found them doing wrong. The matter had itself gone far enough and on August 19th President Weare of New Hampshire officially asked Congress to intervene. On Ethan Allen going to Congress he

found that body did not approve at all of Vermont taking over New Hampshire towns. By October, at Windsor, the Vermont Legislature voted to drop New Hampshire towns from the scheme. Then some fifteen Vermont towns on the West side of the Connecticut voted, (through their representatives only) to withdraw from Vermont. There had been a locally common desire to found a separate state by the inhabitants on both sides of the river. All hands cooled off and the matter was dropped but not settled for years in a way to mark permanently the boundaries of the State of Vermont. How could Stark's impetuous letter to Chittenden have escaped publication until 1891, and then only through a "copy."?

### HANDLING THE TORIES

At Fort Schuyler (Rome) when Col. Gansvoort found the Indians and tories were about to attack Stark sent Col. Ichabod Alden's regiment, which left him at Albany with no field officer and but few militia, as he wrote Gates. "I should be glad of a few continental troops, if not more than one company, as there is not an officer here that can parade a guard." July 15th Stark sent Gates eight tories "as a present to their friends, to obey their laws and worship their gods in future", but as to one of those delivered to him Stark judged the evidence was too slight and told Chittenden so.

The friends (tory neighbors in Vermont) of the prisoners interceded with the local Commissioners at Albany (Van Rensselaer, Beekman and Fonda) who presented themselves to Gen. Stark. Result; Gov. Clinton was appealed to.

"His honor informed us it was none of our business to interfere with tories from any other state; they were sent to him to be forwarded over the enemy's lines which he was preparing to effect, as he informed us he was writing to General Gates on that head. After much altercation on the subject he informed us that the State of Vermont by their courts had adjudged them dangerous to the welfare of their State, and he judged it expedient to comply with their demands.

We conceive the transaction to be of so extraordinary a nature that your Excellency ought to be acquainted with the same with all speed."

On receiving the story from Albany friends, Gov. Clinton from Poughkeepsie on July 20th wrote to Gen. Washington asking him to

"Order the men that the usurped Government of Vermont sent to Starke back to the New York Commissioners.....I flatter myself that your Excellency will not fail calling Gen. Starke to account for his unwarrantable conduct in this instance."

Washington however sent the thing to Congress and "declined to give any determination". Clinton conferred with the Albany committee, who would not go again to Stark. They advised Clinton that there were seven more Vermont prisoners who "we suppose were to be forwarded by Gen. Starke to the enemy." Sept. 5th Clinton wrote the New York Delegates in Congress "I have no reason to believe that Gen. Starke has been punished or even reprov'd for his offence....hence the silence of Congress... may be considered as countenancing these unwarrantable measures." Clinton kept it up and as late as June 7, 1779, to the then President of Congress, John Jay, a New Yorker, he wrote;

"To this atrocious insult on the civil authority of this state Congress though made acquainted with it has not to this day thought proper to pay the least attention. (Doc. Hist. N. Y. IV. 584-5)

Long before Gates was sent to Boston Stark customarily wrote direct to Gen. Washington, who was on July 18th, at Haverstraw, but Washington did not reply to any communications (as far as now seen) until he reached Fishkill on October 8th.

Washington sent Stark a few troops. They arrived July 27th "but in a very miserable condition for want of clothing" so that "they would not be fit for scouting, which appears the only business in hand." To "posts exposed to equal danger", Stark sent Butler to Schoharie and Alden to Cherry Valley. About plunder taken by Capt. Bullard of Alden's regiment Stark decided against the Albany Commissioners, and ruled; that taken from the "honest inhabitants should go back to them and the balance be divided among the troops who secured it." He added, incidentally but significantly;

"If your scouts should be fortunate enough to fall in with any more of those painted scoundrels I think it not worth while to trouble themselves to send them to me. Your wisdom and your scouts may direct you in that matter."

The "painted scoundrels" were tories who, to disguise themselves from their neighbors and the soldiers, painted their faces, firing to kill, often from ambush. They were, accordingly, feared and detested, even more than the Indians were.

One day Stark sent 11 tory prisoners "brought in by Capt. Ballard" to the Albany Commissioners, keeping one as a prisoner of war. On consideration he wrote Chittenden that prisoners released to the enemy in New York would give them all the information that a spy could and if sent to Canada they could disclose the defenseless state Vermont was in, so the "city Hall" was to be used, under the inspection of the Committee of this place, "who do not love you as to wish you any peace, but in my opinion would be glad to have your settlement broken up."



Remuneration for himself ("my extra expenses") and men caused Stark to write Washington July 31st asking to be put in a way to get something, the late called-off expedition of January being cited. No reply is found as Washington undoubtedly referred the subject to others. Disappointed, but always persistent, Stark wrote Congress on Oct. 9th, instancing that Bedel's men got some allowances. Neither he nor the men ever got anything.

### BORDER RAIDS

With so few Continental troops under his command Stark was helpless. In July Gen. Ten Broeck of the militia wrote Clinton "The people complain most grievously to be called out this season of the year." In a few days a small settlement called Springfield was devastated. Ten Broeck again wrote Clinton for Continental troops "as the militia refuse to obey orders." None of the Hampshire (Mass.) men had arrived to relieve him and he said, "only about 50 men of Col. Bedel's regiment are here." Stark had, on the frontier posts, only Col. Ichabod Allen and Col. Wm. Butler. After Springfield a committee at German Flats wrote Stark on July 22nd for aid. Evidently Butler had been in correspondence with Gov. Clinton as to being put in command, for on the 29th he wrote Clinton that Stark intimated that "he intends to command the expedition himself" but had ordered Allen to join his regiment "now lying at Cherry Valley". He referred to Ten Broeck being at "Schohary" with "upwards of 100", commenting, "but perhaps some of them could not be depended upon." Since June 25th Abram Ten Broeck had been Brig. Gen. of all the Albany militia. A rifleman under Capt. Long had shot a noted tory leader, Charles Smith, and sent his scalp to Gen. Stark. It arrived at Albany on the night of Aug. 8th. Stark was organizing an expedition under Butler to go against some force at Unadilla, reportedly numbering some 1500. On the 24th Gen. Stark called at the headquarters of Gen. Ten Broeck in Albany to have one quarter part of Col. Van Schoonhoven's regiment sent to Canajoharie. It was done. While Butler succeeded in chasing the enemy in the direction of Unadilla far enough to prevent any serious operations, another expedition of the Indians and Tories proved successful in raiding the village of German Flats, near the Mohawk. There were insufficient forces of Continentals and militia to admit of keeping garrisons at every exposed hamlet. The Indians could strike anywhere. Only dwellings and barns were burned. "Neither scalps nor prisoners were secured as the settlers took refuge in forts Dayton and Herkimer and the old stone church of German Flats which had been built by the liberal contributions of Sir William Johnson" (W. Max Reid "The Mohawk Valley" Putnams, 1901). Under Joseph Brant, a full blooded Mohawk there were 150 Indians and three hundred tories. Two white men and one negro were killed and 63 houses were destroyed. Gov. Clinton blew up to Gen. Ten Broeck, blaming Stark and asking where Alden's regiment was at

the time, wishing to report the affair to Gen. Washington. Alden was to show up later, not favorably.

### GATES AND STARK TRANSFERRED

As part of a needed shake-up Gen. Washington arranged a transfer of Gen. Gates to Boston and Gen. Stark to Rhode Island, thus relieving the Albany situation. Gen. Edward Hand of Pennsylvania, Brigadier 1777, was appointed to take Stark's place. He first visited Cherry Valley, it having been learned from two Oneida Indians that at a council held at Tioga the Indians were planning to fall on Cherry Valley. Two days before the blow Gen. Hand, for some reason, left the spot for Albany, leaving Col. Alden in charge, though he knew that Alden had been accustomed to sleep outside the stockade. The major disaster of the 1778 campaign followed; 31 killed, 33 prisoners. Gov. Clinton did not fulminate against Hand. "Very disagreeable accounts from Cherry Valley" he wrote Washington on Nov. 17th. To John Jay he complained of "The ineffectiveness of the militia of the County and the small proportion of regular troops". Hand left Albany for the Mohawk area two days after the Cherry Valley disaster. From Schenectady on the 15th he wrote Clinton that "Col. Clock and 300 militia were pursuing the enemy but that the enemy had gone too far and so, from lack of provisions and ammunition Col. Klock "disbanded his regiment". Later, Hand not being much of a success, was replaced at Albany by Gen. James Clinton, brother of the Governor, a selection perfectly agreeable to the city. Hand in December was put in charge of a force (Gen. Pulaski under him) at Minisink and 20 days later Washington gave him command of a wide area embracing the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania. Ten Broeck wrote on Nov. 8th to Clinton "I am satisfied his (Hand's) taking the Command is truly acceptable to the citizens". When Hand took over in Albany is not clear but Oct. 30th Hand to Mayor John Barclay (an appointee of Gov. Clinton) indicated that troops were to be withdrawn (Munsell's Annals). Stark's going away would have been of this immediate period. Gates' order to go to Boston was of Oct. 22nd, 1778, he to be there "until further orders of Congress or of Gen. Washington."

That John Stark had not anticipated being relieved is indicated from his letter to the President of Congress of Oct. 6th from Albany, instancing that as a Major General on separate command was entitled to "extra allowance for his support" it was unfair that a Brigadier, under similar circumstances, was permitted to have "no more than his bare wages". He asked for "table allowances" so as "to live up to my station". His transfer settled the question. It had been one of the exasperating conditions whereby out of meager and fast-depreciating pay he had to entertain and incur other expenses, as the General in command of the Northern Department. There is no record of any formal leave taking. Stark and his son, Caleb, no doubt went at discretion and were glad to be given authority in a theatre of war where some action might be expected.

On October 6th the Journals of Henry Dearborn reflect his appointment (of the day before) to try "Blair of Holderness and Farnsworth of Hollis" (two New Hampshire towns) who were found within the Continental lines "with large sums in counterfeit money from New York" The men confessed and gave up that they were also to send word to the enemy "Viz Coll's. Holland and Stark and Esq. Cummings and to others what the situation our army and country is in, as near as they could" They were "condemned to suffer death as spies." Holland was of the "Prince of Wales American Volunteers" and Major William Stark was of the "New Hampshire Volunteers." Cummings was a civilian tory in New York.



### THE RHODE ISLAND CAMPAIGN, 1778-1779

Coming from Valley Forge in the spring of 1778 to command in Rhode Island, Sullivan found very meager forces, N. H. 300, Mass. Bay, 1500, Conn. 750, Rhode Island 1500. Recruits came in slowly, considering the plans for a major movement but finally he had a small army, Gen. LaFayette with two brigades arriving to help him, the French fleet arriving in July under Count d'Estang, the plan being to attack the British in their post at Newport, where better than 5000 men were stationed. Delays in assembling the American forces were only the beginnings of trouble, the fleet, through some wretched non-cooperations between Sullivan and the Admiral, withdrawing after passing Newport, the British fleet (Lord Howe) approaching causing D'Estang's armada to put to sea, just when Sullivan's augmented force of nearly 10,000 troops crossed over to Rhode Island. A prolonged and furious storm demoralized troops on shore and damaged ships at sea, where a battle raged in the midst of the hurricane. The handling of LaFayette was unfortunate, the decision of d'Estang to repair his vessels in Boston attributed partly to pique, the desertions from Sullivan's disappointed force making a successful move doubtful the immediate prosecution of the war locally became impossible, though Sullivan defeated the British at Butts Hill for the time being. The return of the British fleet threatened the American position and a retreat to the main land followed, a withdrawal well conducted.

Probably before he left home a family item may have been discussed. Anyway on Monday, Nov. 23rd, 1778 (State Papers VIII. 806) the New Hampshire General Court voted

"The petition of Elizabeth Stark, wife of the Hon. Brigadier General Stark, praying for leave to inoculate herself and her family for the Small Pox, being read and considered;  
Voted: that the prayer thereof be not granted."

Was the disease locally prevalent and was Molly seeking to end a prohibition that had become unpopular? Granting her petition would have created a great precedent.

With few moves in a game of watchful waiting during the fall and early winter of 1778, Gates in command at Boston, Gen. John Stark arrived in the Narragansett area to assist Sullivan. By Nov. 27th Stark was again in the saddle. Winter was closing in. Sullivan sent Washington a letter including "I have the honor to inclose your Excellency a letter from General Stark who commands on the Western shore." It was a minor assignment but one requiring vigilance. In about a month, however, conditions were so static that Stark applied for and received a leave of absence. His work could easily be cared for by a junior. We have small items from headquarters at East Greenwich; he complained of no "Flower"; he had captured two tories (Enemetical villians" he called them); reported a ship of the line entering Newport her main mast only a stump; at another time three ships were discovered but too far for his spy to discover what they were. In December some 70 Hessians were found to be building a large barrack on "Connanicut Island" in extreme weather and there was "Frost up the harbours to that Boats cannot pass" though further South Stark found it advisable to gather all boats to the end that the enemy's communications be hindered. Sullivan's voluminous correspondence (Vol. II, Sullivan Papers) of this period shows numerous reports from Stark, one being from son, Major Caleb, dated Dec. 27th, 1778. It must have been shortly after this time that the General applied for a leave of absence "As the Campaign is in a manner & perhaps Intirely closed, he desires Leave to Return home if consistent with your pleasure". On the last day of the year Gen. Stark was exercised over the discharge of some of the soldiers without their pay, his urgent words being "every shilling that is stopped from them now will cost the States at least Twenty". Col. Greene was given the task of watching the Western shore but nothing happened during the remainder of the season.

The war suffered from inanition after the British took Charleston on Dec. 29th. Even Washington relaxed in Philadelphia where there was gayety. He spent 40 days in President Laurens' house. The currency tumbled to unheard of depths. In February Washington left for camp Middlebrook for four months of quiet routine, though broken by such events as when Gen. Knox threw a party at his headquarters and "We danced all night." Mrs. Knox and Washington danced "for three hours without sitting down." At Derryfield there was only one item during the winter. Jan. 15th, 1779 Patten's diary records the event, a social call, "Spending the day" in the vernacular, "General Stark, his wife and son, Archibald came to see us." It was in the Judge's old first house (picture in History of Bedford and in "Patten Families" by the author) for he could not build a better one until 1786. There was good cheer after some apologies that the Stark's could not come into a mansion as good as their own. He had probably recovered from a happening of the 12th when he noted; "I had a Bowle of tody at Chandlers for which I paid 8/ and I froze both my great toes."

The move to make Sullivan head of the proposed expedition against the "Six Nations" a punitive job in the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania, followed in early spring the declination of Gen. Gates, to whom Washington offered it. He wrote Gates, not favoring a Canada attack, Gates replying on March 4th "astonished at the sudden change of your sentiments."

In March Sullivan's Return of troops showed only 1643. At Providence 464 were under Colonels Shepard, Wigglesworth, Bigelow and Vose, 369 under Sherburne and Angel at Bristol, 143 under Militia Brig. Gen. Cornell and Major Huntington at Tiverton, 118 under Jackson with his own and those of Smith and Henly at Field's Point and Pawtuxet, 300 under Lt. Col. Smith and Major Bell at "Boston Neck." Green had 140 at East Greenwich where Stark had charge before. It must have seemed like small potatoes to Gates after the crest of the wave at Saratoga. Sullivan estimated the British at 5949, rank and file. He left Providence before April 3 after a series of spontaneous and generous farewells. Stark, when he came, three weeks later took rank under Gates, the only Brigadier. They were thrown much together. As ensign, from acting sergeant, Archibald Stark, remained till September. May 21, 1779 Stark, evidently without help, wrote one of his worst letters (Sparks MSS XLIX, 131);

"Sir- I arrived at this place at 7 o'clock and found the Pepel returned. The enemy laned this morning and Sirprayed a gard of 2 Shargents and 12 men and took 111 of them and four of the inhabitants, burned one house and took a Quantity of Catel the Number not Known We have Tacken one Small Slup from them with five Prisnors on bord. The enemy moved off with all the Speed they coud in the grate Persipation and ar gone I shall be up in the evening and give you an account of the hole.

I am, sir your most obednt Humbel Ser JOHN STARK."

Soon after this trifling affair, Col. Samuel Herrick wrote from Bennington that all the men captured, as prisoners, had returned safely and demanded pay, that the men were all poor and "under real necessity for their pay." There is no record in State Papers that anyone ever received a penny. In June Caleb, still Adjutant to the 1st N. H. got his "depreciation" allowance from the Legislature, in much debased currency. In September almost daily orders for supplies for Stark's command show flour, beef, pork, soap, candles, rum; then a hiatus occurs until Stark occupied Newport. Stark's Brigade Book is in MSS. Div. Library of Congress. In four regiments there were only 847 officers and men and when Jackson's was added the total was 956, later 1021, for the entire brigade, showing the much reduced size of all units. After the fleet left the British were cooped up and immunized in Newport. Stark sent two letters to President Weare on September 18th (State Papers VII)



"I enclose you two letters, the one from Gov. Wentworth, the other from Samuel Hale, the latter I conceive to be an impertinant piece of ribaldry. I have the honor to be your most obedient servant."

### THE BRITISH EVACUATE RHODE ISLAND

Late in October after prolonged inactivity, then suspicious actions, Gates called a council of war to see what should be done, if and when, circumstances admitted, but the entire board counselled doing nothing if the enemy attempted to leave. All 12 members were opposed to action; Stark signed 9th and Gates last. Washington sent Gates (and Gates relayed the good news to Stark) that the French fleet were reported in the Southward. Gates was at Bristol momentarily but returned to his headquarters in the Market Square. Evacuation preparations of the British forces were observed by Stark's men on October 23rd.

"They have burnt a quantity of hay.....they have several single guns..... I have ordered a quantity of wet straw to be collected to set on fire as soon as the enemy hoist sail.....pine wood is not to be had." At 11 o'clock next morning Stark advised Gates;

"Mr. Cahoon informs me he has seen a large number of ships pass the light house, that before he came away they had done passing. From that circumstance we may guess that they are gone, gone, gone! I have sent a boat to the island to lay off in the bay till they can discover if they have gone or not, in case they are gone he is to take possession of the town and prevent anybody from coming on shore. I shall advance with the troops at day-break and take possession of the town, then await your further orders. I am, sir, in a hurry" &c.

At 2 o'clock troops were seen leaving "for Burton's point, where they embarked." At four o'clock Stark advised Gates;

"Another large body have been seen to imbark, supposed their rear guard. I have ordered Col. Barton with his boats to this place to be under my immediate directions.....shall keep all boats from landing, except they show your passports."

### NEWPORT OCCUPIED BY GEN. STARK

On the morning of the 26th of October, 1779 Stark with a small force took possession of Newport. Gates, in true military fashion, mentioned no name in advising Gen. Washington, when he arrived from Providence next day and sent his Express; "The next morning the army under my command took possession of the town of Newport." There was no "want-on destruction". In suppressing Stark's name Congress would know only that of Gates. Washington would not be deceived; he knew Gates. In 1831

Caleb Stark posted his son, Caleb, and the account was "early next morning Gen. Stark took possession of Newport and placed guards in the streets to prevent plunder and preserve order."

Gates marched promptly to the Hudson leaving Stark and his small Brigade to follow, writing from Hartford on Nov. 15th to Washington giving the names of the regiments and their colonels, not mentioning Stark. From Danbury, however, on Nov. 26th Stark wrote (collection of Hall Park McCullough, Esq.);

"Upon my arrival here find no flour for my Brigade. The troops are entirely out and very little expected except what comes from you. You will therefore without loss of time purchase and send forward to this place all the flour & Meal you can possibly collect. Gen. Poor's brigade is expected in this day which will be Stationed here through the winter. If you have as much as twenty or ten Barrels let it be sent immediately. Give orders for the Teams to Drive night & Day until they shall arrive here & in the mean time do employ all the Mills in your Quarter to Grind for the Army until a sufficient Quantity is procured for the present necessity of this Army.

N. B. You will send me an answer by the bearer what supply I am to expect from you."

The answer came from Woodbury, same day, that 8 barrels were coming "every pound I have left on hand." (Stark Papers). Shadrach Osborn A. D. C. wrote he had 600 bushels of grain engaged and would send it when milled.

One of the unconsciously graphic pictures deserves to stand out, embalmed for posterity; (Memoirs of Gen. Heath, date; November 25th, 1779).

"The troops were moving to their different places of cantonment, many of the soldiers (as fine men as ever stood in shoes) were marched barefooted over the hard frozen ground, and with an astonishing patience. Remember these things, ye Americans, in future times!"

Heath was then given command of all posts and troops on Hudson's river. Gates was to proceed to Virginia. In a month the hard winter had set in, snow about four feet on a level, the Hudson passable on the ice. The family accounts state that Stark was directed to proceed to New Hampshire "to make requisitions of troops and supplies." "Having performed this service he returned to the army at Morristown in May 1780, and was present at the battle of Springfield on Short Hills in June following." The Brigade book shows during December and January, three regiments, Sherman's, Webb's and Angel's, varying from 1008 to 1031. By May 20,

1780 the strength was only 753, regiments of Webb, Angel and Jackson.

### SULLIVAN RETIRES FROM THE ARMY

For reasons of "ill-health" Sullivan resigned in November and after some debate Congress accepted his resignation. Dec. 1st, 1779 he wrote a long letter to his old chief, breathing the utmost devotion; "You are the Saviour of this country, the Conway faction is not destroyed.. Gates, Mifflin, Read and Tudor would become your secret & bitter though unprovoked enemies". Washington replied to this letter from Pompton from his headquarters at Morristown, retaining his lofty dignity but with the concession "I am particularly indebted to you for the interesting information you give me of a certain party." Did both have a sufficiently definite understanding to render the name of the certain party unnecessary?



## MORRISTOWN, SPRINGFIELD, POOR, ANDRE

The lights and shadows of 1780, one of the most interesting years of the war for Gen. John Stark, opened in the brilliant grip of a winter of exceptional severity. His Brigade of about a thousand men arrived late on the scene, Morristown in the hills. Early snows piled on one another to a depth that was a heavy burden to the New Englanders compelled to create a livable camp in forbidding woods on frozen ground. What tents there were at the beginning were blown down by the high winds. In front of improvised shelters great fires were kept burning night and day. The old trees of the forest rang to the axes of the choppers as they were felled for the log houses to be ranged in four rows on the edge of a low hill looking down on the road from Morristown to Basking Ridge. A rare drawing, contemporaneous, (Collection of Hall Park McCullough, Esq.) by an unknown hand, gives us the entire arrangement. Of the 86 huts shown nearly all had but one chimney, on one end, one door and probably only one window. From descriptions it is known that the men slept on a sort of platform, two feet above the floor, somewhat cramped quarters for about 10 men. Even today vestiges of the sites can be seen, the intervals quite regular, except where rocks or ledges made for other spacing. One row was of "Col. Angell's regiment", 28 huts, indicated size 15 by 14 feet. "Col. Webb's regiment had 19 huts, Col. Jackson's 23. But Col. Sherburne's comprised only 16.

The outlook for Stark's brigade was quite cheerful, sunny from the clearing away of so many trees. In the dead of that monotonous winter the sun would even melt the icicles hanging from the eaves till the short days ended and the frigid nights made them grow again. No large cabin was built for Gen. Stark as he was expected to go to New Hampshire. While at the camp, however, for some weeks his sleeping quarters are believed to have been down on the public road at "The Half Moon", the tavern of one Jacob Larzaleer. Some of the original structure remains.

Of the larger camps over the hill, back of Stark's, nearer the Ford house, (Jacob Ford's circa 1772-4) where Washington found excellent if crowded quarters, descriptions remain to allow of reproductions, now shown to many visitors, to make real the cramped log houses, with log roofs and dirt floors, clay and log chimneys, where Valley

Forge conditions were endured again, but, it is said with greater deprivations as to food and clothing and a somewhat more inclement season. The diary of Dr. Thacher, regimental surgeon to Col. Jackson, and housed at Stark's, is authority, generally recognized, in vivid and terse descriptions as to how the soldiers fared. For some weeks, even months, the food supply was pitifully short, one deprivation after another. The Journal, probably written up about 1823 (Edition of that date, p451) contains a description of Stark, now interpreted according to one's understanding of words, but much copied, even by Dr. Parker in his history of Londonderry, who should have had heard many reminiscences;

"His manners were frank and unassuming but he manifested a peculiar sort of eccentricity and negligence which precluded all display of personal dignity and seemed to place him among those of ordinary rank in life."

It is somewhat apparent that Dr. Thacher's ideal was Henry Jackson, Bostonian, well dressed and set up, constantly mindful of the fine appearance of his troops. In his 18th century way Thacher was saying to us "Stark did not put on airs". It was what made Stark popular among his soldiers, and, per contra, the opposite effect was produced by men like Sullivan, Stirling, Wayne and other Generals who loved show.

The daily routine went on in a thoroughly military manner. On December 28th, 1779, it was Brigadier Stark's turn as Commandant and he reviewed the army; 1st and 2nd Maryland regiments, 1st and 2nd Pennsylvania, 1st and 2nd Connecticut, Hand's brigade and his own. Some Virginia troops arrived in December but were allowed to go home. The volumes, "Writings of Washington," (XVII. 344-7) show this record;

"At a division Court Martial held in Camp Morristown, by order of Brig. Gen. Stark, commandant, Dec. 28th, 1779, Lt. Col. Huntington, President. John McLane and Wm. Harper of the 4th N. Y. Regiment, tried for desertion and being absent above twelve months. Guilty; McLean 100 lashes on his naked back to be inflicted four several times. Harper to run the Gauntlet through the brigade to which he belongs. The Commander-in-chief approves each and every of the foregoing sentences."

Congress eventually appointed a committee to consider corporal punishment. The Report, vigorously debated, was rejected by a close vote, the result favoring the "Levitical Law, forty stripes save one." Sullivan (Papers, III. 331-2) having favored the committee's recommendations of up to 500 stripes, also Washington's preference, broke out to the Commander-in-Chief "This relation will convince you of the Incompetence of some members of the American Senate as well as the absurdity

of Some parts of the Confederation". Stark's views have never been in evidence but enough of his character is known to indicate that the remarkable hold he had on his own troops was not maintained by their fear of brutal punishment, when the frightful cat-o-nine-tails, were well laid on, with more the next day when the welts had become inflamed and exquisitely painful, then more to lay the wounds open and bleed, and finally when many a man would be cut down more dead than alive.

Early in January to those regiments whose term of service was to expire in the month, Washington ordered a discharge of men "to relieve our distress on the subject of provisions". He urged care in the execution of the decision. Stark, remaining until the "hutting" should be completed, applied for leave of absence and at this time was about to take it.

#### STARK'S AFFAIR WITH COL. JACKSON OF HIS BRIGADE

Gates at Providence had occasion to reprimand this officer in language which Stark, as coming directly under Gates, may have had something to do with. Jackson was not slow to take an opportunity. Briefly, Washington's Secretary, Robert H. Harrison, advised Stark to postpone his journey until he should satisfy Washington that he had not discharged a soldier contrary to the instructions. Washington's letter of January 15th said the discharge "was contrary to my sentiments and to the spirit and direction of my letter of the 6th, yet as you informed me that it proceeded from a mistake or an error of judgment, it is by no means my wish to delay you from prosecuting your journey to the Eastward." On the same day Harrison wrote Jackson that the General wanted the complaint against Stark put in writing. The long reply maintained that the soldier had a whole year to serve and that the discharge was made without his knowledge, though present in camp. He then took occasion to say that "General Stark has frequently cast many bitter reflections on the sixteen Battalions (three of which are in his Brigade)" Jackson expressed readiness to make charges "if your Excellency should think them material", &c. It may have been Washington's way to give Jackson his outlet of formal expression, for nothing further was done and Stark left for New Hampshire. That Stark had made an avoidable mistake and did not follow instructions, could not have redounded to his credit, as the free gossip in the camps must have decided.

During Stark's absence conditions got worse at Morrissetown; "an immense body of snow remains on the ground" the soldiers "in wretched conditions for the want of blankets, clothes and shoes" (Thacher). Congress could do nothing in spite of ruling a conversion rate of forty old dollars for one new. The decline was not arrested. Gen. Schuyler, John Matthews of So. Carolina and Nathaniel Peabody



of New Hampshire, a Committee of Congress, visited Morristown, probably without a staff or secretariat.

### STARK RETURNS TO MORRISTOWN IN APRIL

"Russell's Orderly Book" (N. H. Hist. Soc.) gives a few confirmatory items. Thacher seldom mentioned the head of his brigade, Gen. Stark, and did not do so in this item of early May;

"Our brigade was paraded for inspection and review by Baron Steuben in the presence of his Excellency, General Washington. The troops appeared to much advantage and the officers received the thanks of the Baron for the military and soldierly appearance of the men."

One day Dr. Shippen, Director General of the hospital service, arrived and Dr. Thacher went next door to dine with his colonel, Jackson, Col. Proctor and Major Eustis, being of the party. "Our table was not ornamented with numerous covers, our fare was frugal but decent. Col. Jackson possesses a liberal and generous spirit and entertains his friends in the kindest manner. We sat at table till evening" &c.

By May 29th "our poor soldiers are reduced to the very verge of famine" (Burnett, Letters of Mem. Cont. Congress, V. 1931) and only plenty of wood for the huts served to keep body and soul together. A huge quantity was burned on half a thousand hearths.

### NEW YORK FEARED AN ATTACK ACROSS THE ICE

For the first time within the memory of living men the harbor was frozen over solid "practicable for the heaviest cannon" (Gen. Pattison to Lord George Germain) and he added that "Cavalry marched from New York to Staten Island, 11 miles, on the ice." Probably an unprepared army contributed more than Fabian principles to Washington's inertia but Pattison and Gen. Tryon organized additional militia in fear of action. Gen. "Lord" Stirling had been allowed to make an attack on Staten Island on January 14th but nothing came of it, unless its failure incited the British.

### THE BRITISH TAKE THE OFFENSIVE

By May 1780, General Parsons ("Samuel Holden Parsons." Charles S. Hall, 1905) the Connecticut general, estimated that Continental troops north of Virginia did not exceed 7000 and that "Washington's command had only 3760." As to espionage "all through the war, notwithstanding every effort at concealment, their knowledge of our affairs, military and civil, was almost as intimate and thorough as our own." Ezra Cornell, Rhode Island Delegate, wrote his Governor, "Nothing can save us from

destruction but a spirited exertion in the several states."

Sir Henry Clinton had returned from a successful campaign in South Carolina and now concluded that better equipped troops in superior numbers might successfully attack an unfortified camp of the enemy. So, on June 6th an ominous expedition was launched. Across the narrow passage to Elizabethtown Point several thousand British, German auxiliaries and Loyalist forces, with food for a week but unencumbered by heavy baggage, marched into the country and overcame the impromptu resistance of General Maxwell's Continentals, Col. Dayton's regiment and some few militia.

### A PERILOUS SITUATION FOR WASHINGTON AND HIS ARMY

To be watchful Washington on June 7th made field headquarters at Springfield. Strangely enough he remained there until the 27th (Burnett's letters of Members). To Thacher Springfield was a "small but handsome English town." The enemy, under Gen. Knyphausen, passed through a hamlet, Connecticut Farms, and after getting within about two miles of Springfield, for some unknown reason went no further but retreated to the Farms and from thence (after wantonly shooting the minister's wife as she sat in her home) to Elizabethtown point. They did not cross over to Staten Island but remained encamped, which raised surmises in Washington's mind that it was all a ruse and that a main attack was contemplated somewhere up the Hudson. On June 12th a supply of flour was urgently asked of Gov. Clinton by Schuyler, at Washington's request "without which he conceives it would be dangerous manoeuvre to move the army to the Highlands, as they might risk being starved." By the 19th the congress Committee at Morristown moved to have all the states, from New Hampshire to Virginia, notified, "We momentarily expect an attack will be made on our weak and almost resistless army." On the same day Washington wrote Gov. Read of Pennsylvania that the "stores and baggage are almost at the mercy of the enemy if they advance in force." He called for 250 teams. He dispatched Gen. Parsons to Connecticut to expedite recruiting. In Morristown's camps the news of the surrender of Charleston arrived May 12th.

### INDECISION AND PERPLEXITY

It was a near thing, a matter of hours, for Washington to leave the vicinity and put the main body of his army in motion on the 21st, and 22nd, headed northerly, when a real attack by the enemy had started from the Elizabethtown Point base. Though he could have been far from sure he was right (he was absolutely wrong) in supposing that Clinton was about to attack West Point, word had come that a few of the war craft had gone up the Hudson as far as Verplank's Point. This, with some additional false information, convinced the commander-in-chief. Leaving only about a thousand Continentals, wretchedly off for artillery,

under the command of a fine General, Nathaniel Greene, supported by Gen. Stark and Gen. Maxwell, both Scottish, to cover Springfield, Washington considered that perhaps a thousand militia, probably available could be depended on to hold the "passes" through the hills. No great disaster followed, due more to the immediate lack of initiative of the British commanders, the two columns being headed by Generals Matthews and Knyphausen. Washington's forces were moving out of the Morristown camp at last, by the indirect road, Rock-away Bridge to Pompton.

The extremely precarious condition of American forces was moving Madison to write Jefferson (referring to Washington) "He is weak in numbers beyond all suspicion and under as great apprehension from famine as from the enemy." It was the same day (June 23rd, 1780) that Washington directed Quartermaster Lewis to move the stores "to-night" as "We do not know the ultimate designs of the enemy - all we know is that they are very strong and we are very weak."

### THE BATTLE OF SPRINGFIELD

In this situation the little known battle of Springfield took place. It was heroic on the part of the small American force left to cope with 5000 of the enemy (Greene's report). It deserves a larger place in American history. The story is mainly derived from two reports by Greene, one in his "General Orders", the other in a letter to Washington, though together they fall short of a comprehensive account.

Matthews took the road to Vauxhall, a hamlet on the Rahway a little above Springfield, by a road which went beyond Vauxhall toward Chatham and Morristown, around the foot of a long hill. Knyphausen passed again through Connecticut Farms, now in ruins, toward Springfield. British General Stirling was not with him as before. He had died from a wound on the first trip out. There was skirmishing en route, but a collision occurred at the river bridge at Springfield. Col. Angell's Rhode Island regiment had the only field piece of the defence there. Greene thought it was a manœuvre to gain time, but Angell's lost 43 men double the casualties elsewhere, in killed and wounded. A flanking movement of the Matthews column from Vauxhall down the river road threatened Greene, so that a withdrawal to a "second bridge" was ordered. Stark's immediate command (though Angell's was one of his regiments) and a part of Maxwell's had been engaged in preparing a defence at "the mill", where, because of rising ground, the road to Morristown might be blocked. But the issue was never forced for leadership was lacking. The British, having driven the Americans back from Springfield, decided to go no further and, burning the village, they retreated to Elizabethtown Point. "We had the mortification of beholding the church and twenty or thirty dwelling houses and other buildings in a blaze" (Thacher) Stark's men were ordered to pursue the enemy but, notified too late they were unable to catch up. Some account has been woven by Prof.



Lundin ("Cockpit of the Revolution" Princeton, 1940) of this the last battle on the soil of New Jersey. British accounts are fragments, Archibald Robertson's Diary (Lydenburg's de luxe edition, N. Y. Pub. Lib. MCMXXX) calling the movement "a strong patrol" (to minimize its importance?) saying they were "fired upon all the way back" and that "near a hundred men were killed and wounded. Yagers suffered a good deal." The papers of Lt. Col. Stephen Olney (of Angell's regiment) are in the Rhode Island Historical Society, three volumes of manuscript. Caleb Stark's account (1860) is descriptive and tallies with others, and indicates that Stark and Maxwell closely pursued and harassed the enemy's retreat. Greene's two weak positions, the bridges at Vauxhall and Springfield, having to be given up, raises the question whether Greene considered them delaying points for a preparation further back, or places he intended to hold. He was acquiring valuable technic, to stand him in good stead in his coming campaign in the South, after his first tragic lesson in trying to hold Harlem Heights, a disaster of the first magnitude. There had followed opportunities to gain confidence under fire at Princeton, the Brandywine and Germantown. Finally at Monmouth his work may have approached perfection. Stark was a Brigadier conspicuous by his absence in reports, and in historical reviews like Headley's "Washington and his Generals" (1875). Stark and Maxwell are not mentioned and a mead of praise for gallant Col. Angell and his little band of defenders, is withheld.

#### A PERIOD OF GATHERING SIGNIFICANCE

Greene and his brigadiers did not remain long in the Short Hills. Dr. Thacher wrote that his regiment marched on the 25th of June to "Prackanes" (the hamlet, Preakness, now Paterson). Washington did not delay trying to secure more men from New Hampshire, writing Stark and President Weare on the 30th, his letter to Stark ending "with much regard and esteem". He wanted "sound and healthy" three months men, 900 to 1000, the levies to come in a body or in detachments of from 150 to 200 "as circumstances best suit" to be rendezvoused at Claverack, on the Hudson. "It is much my wish that you should have the direction and command" he said and "Shall be happy to hear from you very frequently" &c. What Stark's objections were as to the "sixteen battalions" is immaterial for these (authorized by Congress on Dec. 27th 1776, not being numbered became known by the names of their Colonels) were to be merged, Jackson's into the Massachusetts line, Webb's into that of Connecticut, &c. To Weare Washington intimated that there might be a delay in the arrival of the French fleet but "The Militia cannot be too soon."

The generals looked to Congress which paid no attention to their demands for redress on account of depreciation, so Gen. Greene, the only Major General, headed a petition signed by Parsons, Patterson, Glover, Stark, Huntington and Knox, as affecting rations and "inability

to support a table suitable to the rank". A curious pen note by Caleb Stark, presenting a full copy in 1831, to George Bancroft, the historian, (rare book room, N. Y. Pub. Lib.) was that the original was "stolen from the Public mail at Peekskill by British emissaries." Nothing seems to have resulted.

### STARK AND CILLEY RIDE HOME TOGETHER

On July 1st they travelled from West Point; (Bass to Wentworth, N. H. State Pap. XVII) "I refer you to him for all the news, likewise to Col. Cilley who goes with him". The seasoned campaigners made excellent time, spiced by side-by-side exchanges of news and views, so that Stark wrote Washington from Exeter on July 13th;

"Very much fatigued I arrived in New Hampshire seven days from the time I left you and am very happy to acquaint you that the whole people of New Hampshire behave with the greatest spirit. The 500 men required are for the most part on their march; the 900 I hope will be able to march by the middle of next week.....As soon as the main body has moved I shall follow.....Springfield will be my first stop."

(Sparks, "Letters to Washington", 1853, III.13)

Claverack being cut of the way Stark asked Washington if he had any special reason. Getting \$4000 from the Committee of Safety ("to be accounted for") Stark asked the Committee to stay the sale of his Conway grants, he being in the public service. He did not wait for his tailor's bill of July 28th. John Penhallow of Exeter could not furnish the "buttons for your suit" as they had to be sent to Boston for (Stark Papers, II.7) Parts of the regiments of Col. Bartlett and Col. Moses Nichols reached Springfield (Mass.) on the 18th, Nichols having started from his Amherst home on the 13th. Stark arrived on the 26th, driving cattle for food for the soldiers, but as money was not available the troops had to use their own for bread. Arriving at Claverack, four companies, 207 men, (whose 3 months service began then and there) Stark overtook them at Fishkill, going on to Peekskill. Nichols was ordered back to West Point. On Aug. 10th, Gen. Benedict Arnold ordered Nichols' regiment (420 men including officers) to his camp at Robinson's house, when Arnold took command of the Department.

### MIDSUMMER INACTIVITY

Schuyler, Matthews and Peabody, the Committee, followed Washington around. Peabody, being ill for a long period, stayed mostly at Morristown. Washington consulted them frequently, especially about the currency, which laid its paralysing hand on quartermasters and commissaries. The serious decision as to Gen. Greene in his conduct of the

Quartermaster's department, nettled Washington who wrote Congress "consider well what you are about before you resolve", referring to the bill of the middle of July, about which Greene wrote that "Congress always destroy with their left hand what they begin with their right". The committee of Congress, acting on Greene's refusal to continue, reported "That Gen. Greene's refusal be accepted....That Gen. Washington be acquainted that Congress have no farther use for him", Washington to appoint a new Quartermaster General. Congress debated for a week, without result as to Greene, but appointing, on Aug. 5th Timothy Pickering of New Hampshire, in place of Greene. On Sept. 5th Joseph Jones of Virginia wrote Washington his understanding of the facts;

"The gentleman was justly reprehensible...The amazing sums of money gone into that Department under his superintendence, abt. eighty millions and it is said about thirty millions unpaid.. The embezzlement and waste of public property in these departments have greatly contributed to enhance our debt and depreciate the currency and these abuses demand inquiry and punishment."

Delegate Folsom wrote former Delegate Bartlett of conditions January first and as of August 14th; "When I left New Hampshire exchange was about 20 for one and on my arrival at this place I found it 60 and before the 18th of March it was almost an hundred for one on an average..... By the middle of May it would not purchase any one thing in the market."

#### CHESS LIKE MOVES

At three o'clock in the morning of July 30th Washington personally visited the quarters of the Committee to announce that the army was moving to Peekskill on the Hudson in consequence of learning that the enemy was starting toward Rhode Island. But "their sudden return to New York has, I fear, disconcerted all our plans" wrote Matthews to Thomas Bee, Delegate from So. Carolina.

#### GENERAL STARK'S ORDERLY BOOK

Long considered trash and much scribbled over this volume was acquired by the Bennington Museum from Mrs. Jennie L. Osborne of Manchester, a Stark descendant. From August 21st to Oct. 6th, 1780, the record is routine except for the inclusion of Gen. Greene's communication to all the regiments, "Treason of the blackest dye was yesterday discovered" &c. The items are marching orders, rum allowances, court martial verdicts, &c. On Sept. 8th one read of "an exact Return of all officers and soldiers in the Division that are actually on the ground, to be delivered to Gen. Stark to-morrow."



## DEATH OF GEN. ENOCH POOR OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

From the camp Dr. Francis Hagan wrote Sullivan on Sept. 9th "your friend, Gen. Poor, has taken his Journey for that Country to which you and I must travel" (Sull. Pap. III). Dr. Thacher made the most of a favorite subject, recording the "band of music, drums and fife", the dirge, the procession, two regiments, four field pieces, two chaplains, "the horse of the deceased with his boots and spurs suspended from the saddle, the corpse borne by four sergeants and the pall supported by six general officers." Rev. Mr. Evans, chaplain, delivered "a short eulogy" (it comprised 36 pages of print later) in Hackensack church where were seated Gen. Washington and most of the general officers including John Stark. Forty four years after Gen. Poor's interment in Hackensack church yard in his 44th year, a tall figure stood before the sandstone shaft. "Ah, that was one of my generals" said LaFayette, (1824) paying his last visits to scenes made memorable in his young manhood.

In an old fashioned case Gen. Poor's miniature is to be seen in the New Hampshire Historical Society, a face not especially strong, peaked nose and chin.

"Kosciusko had several times requested him to sit for his picture but he declined. This being handed him he exclaimed 'How is this, General? I have never sat for my picture'. 'Well, here it is. I drew it in church on the fly leaf of a hymn book and have since painted it for you'. Competent artists pronounce it a work of rare merit."

(Amos T. Ackerman, sketch of Poor, quoted by B.P.Cheney)

## DISPUTED CAUSE OF POOR'S DEATH

"Of a putrid fever", Dr. Thacher's Journal. Putrid sore throat was the old name for diphtheria, but a putrid fever might have been from the suppuration of a wound. Rev. Samuel C. Beane (Address, 1899, N. H. Hist. Soc.) attempted to controvert Potter ("Military History of New Hampshire", 1861, I.340) who declared that Poor "was killed in a duel,

with a French officer, and the falsehood as to the cause of his death was promulgated as a matter of public policy. Gen. Poor was so beloved by his troops and so popular with the army generally that it was thought that if the cause of his death were known a fearful collision might be the consequence betwixt the American and the French troops. The truth as to his death was not promulgated until after LaFayette's last visit to America and is now generally known."

Why did Thacher (1831) with-hold the duel story, LaFayette's visit having been in 1824? Neither Stark's "family" material nor Poor's biographers have the story and Henry M. Baker (Oration, Poor Monument Celebration, Hackensack, 1904) did not mention it, and it must be considered questionable. On Sept. 12th Poor's clothes, "a genteel sword", his sash and epaulettes, were "vendued at Lt. Col. Dearborn's Marque", N. H. Brigade.

#### STARK INDIRECTLY REPRIMANDED BY WASHINGTON

General Orders show that the whole army was to move on September 18th "at the shortest notice" halting at five mile intervals, "invalids to precede the baggage.....no woman to ride in the wagons unless their particular circumstances require". The order of march, to the old camp at Tappen, is given;

"The commander in chief, Major General Greene, Paymaster General, Judge Advocate General, auditors of Accounts, flying hospital, Commissary General of Forage, Commissary General of Purchases. Left Wing and Park, Commandant Hazen's brigade, Brigades of Generals Stark, Glover, Nixon, baggage of the park, Com. Bayley's brigade, Gen. Patterson's brigade, Com. Dayton's, Gen. Irvine's, Gen. Wayne's, 2nd. Com. 1st Com, baggage of light infantry, Quartermaster General's stores, Forage teams, artificers."

Col. Hazen was honorably acquitted by the court martial (Col. Willis, President) on a charge of having halted the brigade, leaving a gap of half a mile "claiming to have had orders from Gen. Stark". Gen. Washington approved the verdict but observed;

"that it would be highly improper for a Brigadier General in a line of march to order halts, except in cases of extreme necessity, when the halt, or the cause of it should be immediately reported to the officers commanding the Division, who at the same moment inform the General or the Commanding Officer of the Column that he may take measures accordingly to prevent a separation of the column. Also that the duty of a Brigadier, if men are fatigued or suffer from want of water to inform the officer who should immediately confer with the officer commanding the column,"

Apparently Hazen's brigade, being directly in front of Stark's halted and Gen. Stark's approval was obtained, causing a gap of half a mile, rather a long distance, when the line ahead of Hazen kept on going

until halted. There was merit in Washington's observations, which speak for themselves, but what actually happened and why is not clear. Hazen was in command of Poor's brigade, at the time.

At Orangetown on Sept. 23rd Gen. Stark was Brigadier for the day and again on the 30th, as well as on Oct. 4th when "the whole army marched". In the meantime on September 26th General Greene's proclamation of the news of Arnold's treason was made known, in writing, throughout the camp, Gen. Washington being absent, having "arrived at West Point from Hartford". On Oct. 1st the Brigade book contains a statement of the facts as to Arnold and Andre and the verdict of the Board of General Officers; "That Major Andre, Adjutant General to the British Army, ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy and that agreeable to the Law and usage of Nations it is their opinion that he ought to suffer DEATH."

### GENERAL STARK AT THE TRIAL OF MAJOR ANDRE

One of the most intriguing scenes in the history of the war took place in the small Dutch church, since demolished, at Tappan. "Major Caleb Stark and his brother, Lt. Archibald, were among those who were frequently in his place of confinement and were present at his execution" (foot-note, Memoir, 1860) relating the watchfulness over Major Andre when "Officers were present relieving each other by turns and by every attention in their power they endeavored to alleviate the painful situation of a high minded soldier, who in an evil hour became the dupe of a traitor".

Wayne and Irvine were not appointed to the court by the commander-in-chief. Johnson, in his life of Greene, indicates that Wayne declined service but Sargeant, in his life of Andre, conjectured that Wayne and Irvine may have been restrained by "a laudable delicacy", having been the objects of satiricism by Andre in the "Cow Chace". In those doggerel verses Stirling was dubbed a "self made peer" and was characterized as drunk. He served on the Board, nevertheless. Greene did so too, though he had stigmatized Andre as a spy in the Proclamation.

The well lighted auditorium was suited in its appointments to be a place of court procedure. A long row below the pulpit would face the nearly empty pews, formal military precedence placing the Major Generals on each side of the President, Greene. Probably the Brigadiers were ranged in order of seniority, on each side of the higher rank, General Stark on the extreme left, the last on that side.

Washington's Order for the trial was recited; "He came with-in our lines in the night on an interview with Major General Arnold and in an assumed character and was taken within our lines in a disguised habit with a pass under a feigned name and with the enclosed papers concealed upon him" The story is too well known to require



re-telling. Caleb Stark, (1860) getting the facts from his father, noted that six of the judges favored shooting, six hanging, and that Greene cast the deciding vote in favor of hanging, the customary execution for spies. The verdict was signed first by Greene followed by Stirling, St. Clair, LaFayette, Howe and Steuben, not in order of their seniority. But the Brigadiers signed in this order; Parsons, James Clinton, Knox, Glover, Patterson, Hand, Huntington, Stark. Accounts of the execution vary but none places Stark there. Alexander Scammel, Adjutant General, read "loudly and impressively" the order for the execution. Benjamin Abbott of Concord, another New Hampshire man, "beat the dead march on this occasion" (Johnson) meaning that he led the corps and marked the time. In 1851 Abbott died at Nashua aged 92, one of the last spectators of the event he took part in 71 years before. Buried at the foot of the gallows the body of Andre lay until 1821, when his bones and locks of his hair were placed in a costly receptacle of mahogany lined with velvet and were conveyed to London, to be deposited in the wall on the south side of Westminster Abbey, where millions have seen his monument. Dr. Thacher on Oct. 2nd noted "Major Andre is no more among the living. I have just witnessed his exit". Joshua Hett Smith, go-between, was tried by a Court headed by Col. Henry Jackson. Dr. Thacher visited Smith in his cell, professionally.

#### GATES FAILS IN THE SOUTH; GREENE'S APPOINTMENT

At West Point on October 14th Washington offered Greene an appointment to succeed Gates, three Southern states having asked for it, following the complete demoralization of the army in that area. After instructions from Washington and the Congress Greene, accepting, left on Nov. 1st, on his long journey. At this time Washington was forming a plan against New York. A diversion was called for and the commander-in-chief had a particular man in mind for the job. Although his general health was not good Stark did not hesitate to undertake the assignment of deceiving and worrying the enemy in Westchester, while Washington was to follow on whatever course he had in mind. As a matter of fact nothing eventuated and Stark's exploit made the only record.

While these matters were progressing Stark wrote a long letter to President Weare indicating that the death of "the late worthy General Poor" may have left Weare without a correspondent. "Operations are laid aside for the campaign," (letter of Nov. 4th, N. H. State Papers VIII) showing Stark had then no idea of what was in contemplation. The sufferings at Morristown were referred to, and as, (this being the probable reason for the whole communication) Rhode Island had "advanced considerable sums on account" to officers and as there was no clothing available the troops would have to look to the States. The "N. B." reminded Weare that "The troops have not received any money for seven months back and are, of course, destitute."

## STARK'S FORAY INTO WESTCHESTER

Washington placed in Gen. Heath's hands orders for an incursion into Westchester county. Every item of the long and carefully planned instructions was gone over with Gen. Stark at West Point where Heath commanded, before taking the written directions of Nov. 19th, 1780. The raid was sufficiently large to appear to be the advance of a major movement, 2500 men being assigned Stark; "Jerseys and New Yorkers". There were Stark's brigade under Jackson, Shreve's, Michael Jackson's and Bradley's detachments and, under Col. Cilley, "troops of the late Poor's brigade", with three field pieces under Capt. Thomas. Troops were to "lay on their arms at night," with no fires, patrols to go on all roads, no insults to be offered the inhabitants and all plundering prohibited. Hard bread and rum were to be supplied. A Connecticut regiment would assist. Heath closed; "your own good judgment will lead you to take such further steps as may be necessary for effecting the object in view".

Bad weather caused Heath to suggest postponing, but for Stark not to return from his expedition "until you hear further", indicating that something important (which Stark may or may not have been apprised of) might happen. Stark to Heath in reply, told that the "forage obtained, does not equal my expectations" as "the country below White Plains is almost desolate on account of the frequent ravages by both armies," and "scarcely a farmer has more than one cow".

"I sent Col. Sheldon's light dragoons to Fort Clinton yesterday and moved with the troops to within eight miles of King's Bridge to cover them in case of necessity.....They did not choose to meet us.....If my instructions would have permitted Morrisania, that noted nest of Tories, might have been plundered and burnt, but I think it is too late now."

Heath acknowledged and said "An express is now on the way with an account of something very interesting. Heaven grant it may be equal to our most sanguine expectations". The return of the three columns of the foray (both Shreve and Cilley having copies of Stark's instructions) was accomplished without incident, Cilley having reached Mamaroneck, Stark himself to within 8 miles of the tip of Manhattan.

For some reason Washington, said to have had a plan to attack Staten Island, deemed it best not to do so during Stark's three pronged raid north of New York, big enough to be both a threat and a blind. The British, possibly suspecting something, were not to be drawn out. The "family" account, quite specific (Caleb Stark, 1831) shows that Stark was called off on receiving Col. Humphrey, emissary from Gen. Heath, who crossed the river "one stormy night". The enterprise, one calling for close coordination among fast moving units, was one cal-

culated to test the skill of John Stark and no doubt redounded to his credit in the tense military circles of Washington's army. It also drew on his physical stamina. The 1831 paragraphs closed with this;

"The army soon after went into winter quarters at West Point, New Windsor and Fishkill. General Stark was here visited with a severe illness and returned home on furlough, with standing orders for men and supplies."

From his headquarters on the Peekskill Hollow road, now as then running between wooded hills, a gloomy prospect in winter, in some small farm house, Stark on Nov. 30th wrote the commander-in-chief;

"The impaired state of my health and the unsettled state of my accounts with the State of New Hampshire renders my presence in that State the ensuing winter highly necessary. I have never as yet settled my depreciation or received any cash from that source. Without an arrangement of these matters it is impossible for me to subsist in the army. The many favors I have received from you and the zeal you have manifested for the interests of the officers under your command, induces me to ask leave until spring. The brigade I have the honor to command is under orders to join its several states; therefore it is not probable it will be in my power to render the country any essential service until the next campaign."

(Stark Papers, N. H. Hist. Soc. two drafts)

The original (Sparks "Letters to Washington" III, 1853) shows after the words "the impaired state of my health" the words "and the situation of my family".

#### WHAT THE CHEVALIER DE CHASTELLUX WROTE

The "complete success" of Stark's foraging party is told by this member of Count Rochambeau's staff (London, 1787, 2 vols.) Enforced idleness during the bottling up of the French fleet at Newport, gave him time out to allow of LaFayette introducing him to Washington at his headquarters. Due to bad weather he found it "a great luxury to pass a whole day with General Washington as if he were at his house in the country and he had nothing to do." The distinguished visitor, a member of the French Academy, found Washington a tall man "of a noble and mild countenance", surrounded by his "family", his aides-de-camp, Hamilton and Tilgman, and Generals Howe, St. Clair, Knox and Wayne. It was the 25th of November, 1780.



"The intelligence received this day occasioned the proposed attack on Staten Island to be laid aside. The foraging party under General Starke had met with the most complete success; the enemy having not thought proper to disturb them, so that they had not stripped the posts in that quarter where it was intended to attack them; besides that this expedition would only have been a coup-de-main, rendered very difficult by the badness of the roads from the excessive rains. It was determined therefore that the army should march the next day to winter quarters and that I should continue my route to Philadelphia."

As some reward for his good handling of a particular job it was unfortunate that General Stark could not have been at the dinner, described by the visitor;

"The repast was in the English fashion consisting of eight or ten large dishes of butcher's meat and poultry with vegetables of various sorts, followed by a second course of pastry comprised under the two denominations of pies and puddings. After this the cloth was taken off and apples and a great quantity of nuts were served, which Gen. Washington usually continued eating for two hours, toasting and conversing all the time.

The description of Washington follows the painting of him by Peale, of this period, with the smallish head of the modern portrait artists, his long handsome legs gracefully crossed, leaning against a cannon. The youngish look is agreeable, the superior mien admirable, a happy contrast to the newly exhibited Stuart, painted for Baring (Huntington library, 1923), an old man with formless mouth, (due to the clumsy false teeth?) dark eyes, white face and hair, a long nose and no eyebrows. The "tall man of a noble and mild countenance" (Chastellux, 1780) when in his 48th year, helps to interpret the face and the soul it personified. "Washington's Headquarters" at Newburgh acquires a greater interest, that low-eaved stone house, so well preserved, by what the French visitor has given us.

### STARK BECOMES RESTIVE

After asking permission to retire Stark was kept over a month, nothing important enough happening in a military way, cooped up waiting, in a dull environment. Not hearing from Washington after the request of Nov. 18th Stark made the mistake of writing on December 18th direct to Congress. The letter was read in that body and referred to Washington, who wrote Stark on the last day of 1780;

"Sir- I have received yours of the 30th ult. By a resolve of Congress on the 18th inst. which I enclose, I find that you have made application to them for liberty to retire for the reestablishment of your health. The propriety of this measure they have been pleased to refer to me; and, as I shall signify my approbation, I have no objection to your setting out as soon as your health will admit. The term of absence, if they choose to limit it, will depend upon Congress. I am, sir, your obedient servant."

Washington's letter was received the very next day, showing there were no difficulties in communication, and did not deign to notice the lapse of time. Stark's first letter may have been referred to Heath at West Point, who may have had reasons for not immediately giving his chief his recommendations. Stark should have communicated with Heath on delay, rather than address Congress, which body, he must have known would refer his request to Washington. Or had the Secretaries been to blame? Stark wrote Washington immediately, Jan. 1st, 1781;

"Sir- Your letter of the 31st ult. I have been honored with, together with the resolution of Congress. If my health permits, I shall endeavor to pursue my journey by the last of this week. But my finances are exhausted; neither do I know where they can be replenished unless by application to your excellency. I believe five thousand dollars may answer my purpose. If you can grant me that sum it will be considered as an infinite obligation. I beg your excellency to consider that I have not drawn a single farthing of cash since the last of December, 1778 and only four thousand dollars on account since then. Therefore as my demands have not been great and my present necessity is very urgent, I flatter myself that your excellency will furnish me with the cash. As to the term of my absence, it is a matter of indifference to me whether your excellency or Congress limit it. But, either way, I shall return as soon as my health will permit.

Wishing your excellency a happy new year and an agreeable winter, I have the honor to be, your most obedient servant."

To make the long horseback journey to Derryfield, probably three men and six horses as a minimum, Stark was asking for approximately \$50 in hard money, when the \$5000 in depreciated Continental scrip was the measure of his needs. He had also written on December 10th to Sullivan, then in Congress, Delegate from New Hampshire. The copy bears the marks of hard composition. Not printed in "Sullivan Papers" it may

have been sent to Congress by him; "The Army is at present in a Condition truly deplorable.....Absolutely destitute of money....No clothing .....Unless some speedy measures are taken to pay the Army the Consequences must be dangerous to the State."

After his formal and punctilious previous letter Washington must have been in a fellow-sufferer state of mind, showing (Jan. 3rd.) his empty pockets, after the manner of men, before and since;

"Dear Sir- I am favored with yours of the 1st instant, and wish it was in my power to gratify you in your request. But as there is not a single farthing in the military chest it will be absolutely impossible to furnish any part of the sum solicited. I am, dear sir, with very great regard, your most obedient humble servant. P. S. I have not been able to obtain any money, for my own expenses or table for more than three months."

As the trip home could not be made without money Stark asked Col. Pickering of the Board of War, saying, "I have certificates from the quartermaster and forage departments for nearly 10,000 dollars but I suppose you do not take them, therefore I must solicit to have some cash advanced on account." Stark's last resort was his own state on December 20th; "My allowance from the publick for myself and family is for six saddle horses - besides four waggon horses for my baggage". The General Assembly was in session but took no action. On March 25th, long after he arrived home Stark, the only general from New Hampshire in the service, was advised, "it has been found that it is not the business of the state to pay for the support of the General's horses or for provisions but for the Quartermaster General, "a fact which John Stark knew perfectly well, but he had to have cash. How he was to get it appeared to be nobody's business. How he managed no one knows.

Earlier with nothing to look at but the gloomy hills Stark wrote to John Sullivan on Nov. 28th (Stark Papers, a copy, but not in Sullivan Papers.)

"Long service in the defence of my country has at length so far impaired my constitution as to render it necessary that the remainder of my days should be spent in domestic retirement.

But, sir, knowing you to be my confidential friend, a friend to the rights of the army I think I may more properly apply to you for advice than to any other man within the circle of my acquaintance.....

For my own part should any provision be made suitable to my rank, or should I be under the necessity of retiring without that provision, my life and services shall always be in



readiness to answer my country's call, and whenever the wishes of my fellow citizens or the exigencies of the public require me to take the field for short periods. I shall cheerfully exert my influence to encourage and by personal hazards endeavor to stimulate my countrymen to actions worthy of free born Americans. These services my shattered constitution will yet permit me to perform.

I cannot think of resigning at this hour especially after having been induced to continue in service by no other motive than an ardent zeal for my country, hoping that every new campaign would be the last, until I am in a manner unable to leave it.

The conclusion of the war appears altogether uncertain and my health strongly urges me to retire for a time at least to my farm now in a ruinous state for want of proper management and cultivation, during my long engagements in the service of my country, for that difficulty a remedy may be provided, but the decays of nature are irreparable."

#### WASHINGTON AND SULLIVAN ON PROMOTIONS

Shortly afterward (Dec. 17th, 1780) Washington wrote Sullivan on a touchy subject, the promotion of Brigadiers, Smallwood being made to supercede Knox, Parsons and Clinton. Sullivan replied; had not approved of Smallwood's advancement; had delivered Washington's sentiments on the floor of Congress, thought a large majority were of his opinion; was holding up cases like that of New Jersey pending word from the commander-in-chief. The latter took a little time and delivered himself in a temperate and fully considered way, omitting questions of ability entirely. Probably Washington did not overlook the remote chance of promotion that a brigadier from a "small" state would have. The status quo was quite tolerable and there is nothing to show that Washington then or at any time cared particularly whether Stark was made a Major General or not, even if other states with but two regiments, like New York had such. After Yorktown Clinton's name was turned down because New York already had McDougall. No correspondence serves to show that Sullivan was inclined to help Stark in receiving promotion to the rank that Sullivan had vacated by his resignation, or that Stark ever demanded his help outright. Stark was irked by the impasse, the "Exeter crowd" at home, Sullivan, Washington, and then Congress, which would do nothing without affirmative action from all three. Yet Stark was sent to Albany in 1781 in command of the Northern Department, as a Brigadier, without advancement.

"At present we want no new Major Generals (having rather a surplussage) but may not the following expedient answer

in future, at least in a degree, the views of all, namely to have the larger states to have major generals to be promoted from brigadiers according to seniority? This at the same time that it yields compliance to the views of the larger states does not preclude the brigadiers from the smaller from promotion as there must be major generals for separate commands and for the wings of the army, &c. which cannot be supplied by the state quotas of troops where there is more than a just proportion of officers to men."

Sullivan had asked Washington for his views, of which the foregoing is but a small part (Writings of George Washington, Ford, 9.63) after having acted as a go-between in and around Congress on the subject. (Washington Papers, Library of Congress.)



## 1781, A TROUBLESOME AND COMPLICATED CAMPAIGN

At Derryfield, incapacitated, slowly recuperating, Stark was forced to send his son, Major Caleb, to Exeter to make some settlement of his accounts. March 16th Stark's letter to President Weare shows a sudden illness, probably an attack of acute rheumatism, a disease from which he was to suffer for years, one not permitting long rides on horseback in winter weather. Most of the official correspondence of 1781 is printed in the "Memoir and Official Correspondence", 1860, and may be briefed for this work. The Weare letter (Fogg Collection, Me. Hist. Soc.) included;

"I have received two letters from Lt. Howe. The one informs me he shall be able to muster forty recruits tomorrow and the other gave intelligence that some persons tracked from Long Island to Amherst, who were supposed to be of the Dunbarton Tory club. I sent Lt. Stark to examine the suspected houses, which, I suppose, was executed this morning at day-break.....

I was, day before yesterday, taken suddenly unwell and am not able to go out yet but as soon as I am able I shall come to Exeter"

The Major remained at the session of the Legislature for several days. Weare had to stay though he intended to go to Congress with Delegate Livermore. April 4th both father and son, John and Caleb, addressed the legislature on the pay subject and another letter went as to conditions of the soldiers; "As commanding officer of the New Hampshire line it behooves me to hear their complaints", General Stark said. It was a polite request to "this Honorable House" to take the matter up. (Weare Pap.)



At the turn of the year the Pennsylvania troops at Morristown, Gen. Wayne commanding, revolted. "The Horrible revolt in the Pennsylvania line gives us much anxiety" (Weare to Sullivan, Jan. 20, 1721) and so the New Hampshire legislature was moved to "forward some hard money by way of a present to our troops who it seems have had no pay for near twelve months." Congress was allowing no pay to members and Sullivan lacked cash for paying his living expenses ("wood was \$630 per cord") but Weare had no money and asked why U. S. Lottery tickets had not been sent to New Hampshire, (Sull. Pap. III.282). Sullivan was very active in and out of Congress trying to settle the Pennsylvania mess, writing Washington frequently.

Bad as his health was Gen. Stark at Exeter was probably instrumental in getting the Legislature on April 5th to vote that "each officer home on furlough" should have \$25 in new currency "to be endorsed on the back of the first depreciation note". To Gen. Stark it meant \$80, to Lt. Stark, \$25. April 9th Gen. Stark reported to Washington (Sparks III.284, rough draft, Stark Papers);

"The lingering illness which occasioned my leaving camp, still attends me. But notwithstanding my physical ills I have undertaken the business of sending the recruits of this state to the army and have detained several officers that were on furlough in the state to conduct parties. I hope that this measure which has every appearance to be for the public good will meet your approbation. With this letter I suppose you will be joined by about 50 levies. Between 40 and 50 have already marched from Exeter and I expect about 50 more will march by the last of this week."

(He then referred to deserters voluntarily coming in to him and suggested "an act of grace" be published, to encourage others-fearing punishment - to return to their duty.)

"I attended the General Assembly last week and urged all in my power their exertions for filling up the quota of troops for the army.....It is entirely uncertain when I shall be able to join the army but as soon as the situation of my health shall justify the measure I shall lose no time in repairing to my duty. In the mean time that health may attend you and success your glorious undertakings is the ardent wish of, my dear sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant, JOHN STARK"

To Sullivan Stark wrote "The state of my health is too dubious to think of returning to the army until it is better established; perhaps the fine season now approaching may have the effect." N. B. "The last was one of the most severe winters we have had these ten years and it is exceeding cold to-day."

Sullivan in writing Washington May 2nd in trying to do something for Col. Moses Hazen, a veteran in that rank, who wanted a Briga-

dier status, said that he would introduce a Resolution for the Conquest of Canada (Wash. Pap. Library of Congress.) It was meant to begin in May with 6000 men, including Hazen's regiment and other troops from Vermont and New England "over a road now being cleared within 30 miles of St. Johns from St. Denies" (the "Hazen road).

### THE GREAT CAMPAIGN AGAINST CORNWALLIS

Washington, at Wethersfield conferring with Count Rochambeau, received Sullivan's letter and on reaching New Windsor he cooled his ardor as promptly as possible (May 29th.) but was unable to divulge his most important project in years. A cryptic sentence, after mentioning difficulties of supplies and transportation, was;

"And I must inform you that there is yet another obstacle which makes the attempt you have suggested absolutely impracticable with the means you propose, but which I dare not commit to paper for fear of the same misfortune which has already happened to some of my letters."

After successive reverses Greene was now manoeuvring Cornwallis into Virginia. The feasibility of moving the main army and that of the French had been broached to Rochambeau. All of June, all of July and half of August went by before Washington became absolutely sure that a campaign in the south had chances of success. Something was in the air when May 29th Sullivan and Livermore both wrote Weare, "We are now upon our last campaign" though they put it because Germany and Austria had offered mediation and "The acceptance is inevitable".

When Admiral Grasse's fleet left the West Indies for Chesapeake Bay and LaFayette had chased Cornwallis down into a narrow neck of land (Yorktown) with deep water on both sides, Washington was ready to move by August 14th in the difficult tactical attempt to get the allied forces by Clinton in New York and far enough on their way to prevent interference.

### WASHINGTON PLACES CONFIDENCE IN STARK.

Gen. James Clinton's force at Albany was needed for the South. A responsible commander to act with a minimum of Continental troops could replace him. Gen. Washington on June 25th sent to Stark at Derryfield;

"Upon finding it necessary for the operations of the campaign to recall the continental troops from the north, I have ordered six hundred militia from the counties of Berkshire to that quarter, in addition to the militia and State troops of New York and I have now to request that you will assume the general command

of all the troops in that department, as soon as convenient may be. I am induced to appoint you to this command on account of your knowledge and influence among the inhabitants of that country.

"You will be pleased, therefore, to repair to Saratoga and establish your headquarters at that place, retaining with you four hundred of the troops from Massachusetts, and sending the other two hundred to Col. Willett, who will remain in command upon the Mohawk River, as his popularity in that country will enable him to render essential services there.

"In case of an incursion from the enemy, you will make such dispositions, as you shall judge most advantageous, for opposing them and protecting the frontier, not withdrawing the troops from the Mohawk River. I rely upon it you will use your utmost exertions to draw forth the force of the country from the Green mountains and all contiguous territory. And I doubt not your requisitions will be attended with success, as your personal influence must be unlimited among those people, at whose head you have formerly fought and conquered with so much reputation and glory.

"I request you will be particular in keeping up proper discipline and preventing the troops from committing depredations upon the inhabitants.

"Be pleased to let me hear from you from time to time and believe me, dear sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

Geo. Washington."

It was rather hazardous to risk the capture of an order revealing the necessity for recalling "the continental troops from the north" but nothing happened and Gen. John Stark had the satisfaction of reading that he was to have "the general command of all the troops in that department". It was one of his great moments.

Without unusual restrictive conditions Washington had left much to Stark's discretion but thought best, three days later, to advise Stark to seek Gen. Schuyler's counsel;

"On your arrival to take command of the northern frontier you will be pleased to advise with General Schuyler with respect to the disposition of the troops destined for the defence of that quarter. As that gentleman's knowledge of every part of that exposed country is very good, his assistance and counsel may be very useful to you. From this motive I am induced to give you this direction. You will also consult with him with respect to the means of furnish-



ing the means of subsistence to the troops under your command, should you at any time find the public stores to be exhausted."

The letter to Stark was sent by a roundabout route, certainly not by "express", the urgent method, for he did not receive it until about July 15th when he replied; (Memoir, 1860) he would "set out for Saratoga the beginning of next week"; would talk with "the Green Mountain boys" whom he referred to as "those turbulent sons of freedom", believing his reception would "tend to the general good." His health was "not fully restored but perhaps competent to my new command." Before he left the General Court the Committee at Exeter advised the Trustee of Confiscated Estates, Stephen Harriman, to postpone calling on General Stark until further orders, as he had requested it, as "there is money due Gen. Stark from the Public". But a deed was recorded (Hillsborough Co. IX.91) on July 30th for three lots of land bought of the Trustee, which he executed July 24th, being in Dunbarton, part of the "confiscated estates of William Stark, John Stinson, John Stinson, Jr. and Samuel Stinson." As Stark, and his modest entourage was passing through Amherst, then the county seat, he probably saw to the recording of the deed, paying the charge. He there wrote to Weare of the lack of rum for the army officers. The little slip of paper is now in the Library of Congress.

After the General and his aid, Caleb, crossed the Connecticut they were in the country of their staunch friends, as they climbed the long hills, took in the magnificent views of the far stretching green mountains, descended into the deep valleys, forded rivers and brooks, reaching Bennington and the comfortable inn they knew so well. To everyone there it was welcome news that he was succeeding Gen. James Clinton, brother of the Governor, both extreme partisans and implacable "York-staters". But it was there and then that the first step in deceiving him was taken by the Vermonters who had by that time entered something resembling an intrigue with the British in Canada. But the people generally were not in the scheme and were quite unknowing of what was going on.

#### VERMONT'S DEALINGS WITH THE BRITISH.

The tentative proposals (Col. Beverly Johnson to Col. Ethan Allen) of March 30, 1780, were renewed in Feb. 1781. Allen laid the letters before Congress after Robinson's second letter of that date was received and claimed "an indubitable right to agree on terms of a cessation of hostilities with Great Britain provided the United States persist in rejecting her application for a union with them." In 1779 Congress had pledged its faith to consider the question of statehood for Vermont, Feb. 1, 1780, being set for the hearing. Vermont was ready but the other interested states were not and when New Hamp-

shire and New York were ready Congress was not, nine states necessary for the trial not being available. In October, 1780, Vermont's leaders threw a bombshell into Congress intimating that there were "other hovering wings under which they might find a refuge." Chittenden on Nov. 22, 1780, wrote Clinton demanding relinquishment of claims of jurisdiction, suggesting a union for defence against the British.

Stark wrote a letter (missing from all files, its text not known) "to Gov. Chittenden and me" which Ethan Allen replied to as it contained "continued marks of friendship to Vermont and demand my grateful acknowledgments" and which possibly indicates that Stark knew something about, as Allen expressed it "this state in making a truce with the British and bringing forward a cartel for the exchange of prisoners." Allen's letter is now found in "Ethan Allen Papers", (number 343). It would have been extremely repugnant to Stark (and the Vermonters knew it) to have to conclude from what he had heard publicly or from Allen's letter, that anything but a plan for the exchange of prisoners was on foot. He would not suspect double-dealing even for the laudable purpose of effecting a separate statehood. It was at the period of his illness at home. He probably knew nothing by March, or April, 1781, when Clinton wrote his Delegate in Congress and Schuyler in May wrote Washington, who replied;

"The bulk of the people I am persuaded must be well affected. Should it be otherwise with any of the individuals, I ardently wish they may be detected in their villiany and brought to the punishment they deserve."

In that very month (May 8th to May 25th) Col. Ira Allen and Major Joseph Fay were at Isle aux Noix in Canada with Gen. Haldemand's Commissioners, having daily conversations (Haldemand Papers, 1853, DuPuy and Vt. Hist. Soc. Collections, II, 1871). But also see W. L. Stone's "Life of Brant" 1838, and other writers. Before the year 1780 closed (Dec. 16th) Frederick Haldemand, Governor of Canada, Lt. Gen. and Commander of the British forces, instructed his Commissioners (Justice Sherwood and George Smyth);

"I authorize you to give these people the most positive assurances that their country will be erected into a separate province, independent and unconnected with every government in America".

(Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll. II.)

Besides that, Allen and Chittenden were to be heads of two battalions to be raised "with the rank and pay of lieutenant-colonels-commandants."

After the adjournment of the Assembly at Bennington on June first, Ira Allen made a curious speech which the people drank in, declar-

ing "there was no truce or neutrality intended by this state". He wrote Haldemand of it from Sunderland on July 10th, "I affected willingness to give every information in my power". He claimed to the people he had left his papers at home.

### STARK ARRIVES AT ALBANY

Into this situation, as to Vermont vis-a-vis "York State", Gen. Stark was projected. His selection by Washington may have been wiser than it looked and worth running some risk of mistakes and contentions, because fundamentally sound. There were said to have been but eight who signed in June-July (1781) the face-saving documents in Vermont; Joseph and Jonas Fay, Samuel Safford, Samuel Robinson, Moses Robinson, Thomas Chittenden, Timothy Brownson and John Fassett. Haldemand had St. Leger go from the Richelieu up Champlain to Crown Point. How was Stark to know it was not a menace? Not for many years was Haldemand's letter to Sir Henry Clinton in New York known, bearing date of Sept. 30th, 1781.

"Your Excellency will not understand that any offensive measures against Vermont are to be undertaken by the detachment from Crown Point. On the contrary every appearance of hostility will be carefully avoided, while parties will be sent to distress other frontiers." (Vt. Hist. Soc. Colls. III. 180)

That John Stark's biographers have failed to cover this singular situation, when for a time he was the dupe of his Vermont friends, is due to the late disclosures (1853 and 1871) of the Haldemand papers.

Washington had written Stark on June 28th in Schuyler's care and not till August 9th did Stark, on arrival include in his reply;

That the Governor and leading men at Bennington "promised me every assistance in their power to repel the common enemy"; that Berkshire and Hampshire county militia had not arrived; that he had written Gen. Fellows to hasten them; that the garrison at Saratoga [where by Washington's direction he was to take up residence--not Albany] consisted of but 90 men, including officers, so that he "thought it prudent for me to return to Albany and wait"; that Schuyler promised every assistance and was writing his chief of "his fortunate escape, the night before last", which was just before Stark's arrival. Then rum had to be mentioned;

"There is not a drop of public rum in the department. I wish that a quantity may be ordered this way, as large as would amount to our proportion. Your Excellency must know that if I do my duty I must keep scouts continually in the woods and men on that service ought to have a little grog in addition to their fresh beef and water."



Gen. Stark continued to address his chief until Gen. Heath wrote him August 24th from Peekskill, "His excellency, the commander-in-chief having crossed the Hudson River, the command of all the troops, posts, &c. in this department have devolved on me". He called for Reports as to the troops and the enemy and told the good news that Stark was to have a tenth of the rum being sent from Springfield by way of Claverack, and not to let the Commissary take any more but let it come to West Point where 18 regiments of regular troops were "without a single drop".

### STARK'S SCATTERED COMMANDS

"One body at Otter Creek, 130 miles N.E. of this place, one at Fort Edward, 50 miles, one at Fort Schuyler, 120 miles, Alden's and Butler's regiments at two other stations."

Stark recommended a Ranger company under Capt. McKean, and called attention to his "bare allowance of a Brigadier" as preventing him living "up to my station". Washington replied to this letter of Aug. 15th, in a helpful way. Stark was to write him no more after his letter of the 22nd. At this time correspondence became heavy. No less than 85 pages are required for the printing of it in the "Memoir" (1860).

Gen. Clinton had not left when Stark arrived at Albany but was expecting to go shortly with the Continental troops (Clinton Papers VII. 209-10). September, October and November were to be, departmentally, one of the most active periods of Gen. Stark's career. There was good co-operation on the part of everybody, even of Gov. Clinton.

### THE AMERICAN-FRENCH ARMY ON ITS WAY SOUTH.

Crossing at King's Ferry on the 19th of August, Washington and Rochambeau began one of the great marches of American history in perfect secrecy. The rapid operation was almost astounding, for Trenton was reached on September first. Going through Philadelphia the expedition must, inevitably, have become known as the greatest enthusiasm prevailed. On the 5th ("200 miles in 15 days") the "Head of Elk" (Elkton, Md.) was reached. Count de Grasse reached Chesapeake Bay on August 31st, just after Sir Samuel Hood with his British fleet had looked in and, finding nobody, sailed away for New York. It was all very fortunate timing for America. The combined forces were now so far advanced that pursuit by land from New York, was impracticable.

### STARK LABORING UNDER DIFFICULTIES.

During September all sorts of troubles became epidemic. Lack of ammunition, "Ten rounds to a man at his post"; no forage for horses; no way to send an "express" but by a soldier on foot "with his provisions

on his back"; the Governor refusing to impress forage without a requisition from Congress; a foray up the Mohawk of 40 men of whom only 15 escaped; Albany worried over reports that the city was to be attacked; soldiers being jailed for tavern debts; no paper forthcoming on which to make the Reports continually being called for by Gen. Heath, who, heading Albany's pleas sent two companies of Col. Weisenfel's regiment (the Major commanding) after Stark told Heath Albany could easily raise 500 men for defence, at a time when not over 50 "could come against them". Stark passed on the rumors that at St. Johns a British force was ready to descend at any time. Another rumor came that the Mohawk was where trouble was to come from, a story Stark regarded as the more probable. When Stark went to his post at Saratoga he left Capt. E. Marshall in charge but had to write Heath that as to powder and bullets the "department has not enough for a single action". "However, if ammunition is supplied me I hope to give any that may come my way such a reception as will make them glad to return if they have an opportunity". It was John Stark at his best with a little band of 407 scattered men, going the rounds of their encampments with their frail barracks, full of the memories of the great battles fought on that ground only 4 years before.

There was a pleasant side, relations with Gen. Philip Schuyler. On Sept. 11th he wrote Stark, giving the latest news from the south, British fleet movements,

"With my compliments please advise Major Stark that I feel with pleasure his polite attentions, both as it endears him to me, and that such a line of conduct is ever attended with happy results in a young gentleman. I should have written him but the express waits."

Marshall reported making a surprise visit to Col. Willett who was found in possession of 9000 cartridges and enough loose powder to amount to "nearly three tons". At this Stark blew up when advising Heath and told of his garrison of merely "two majors, seven captains, eleven lieutenants and 365 rank and file," with only 10 rounds of cartridges per man. Schuyler wrote Clinton "It is given out that the enemy, offended at having been duped by the Vermontese intend to attack them". How could Schuyler or Stark know that Haldemand had no intention of moving St. Leger down from the north? For two reasons, he would have to fight Stark and the Vermont militia would almost certainly be involved. With his position requiring him to be on guard and make every possible preparation against an enemy, the Vermont leaders kept Stark's actual immunity from him.

Haldemand, no fool, had intuitions, even if his Commissioners had learned to trust fully in Allen and Fay, for he wrote Sir Henry Clinton

"There is something in their whole conduct which is so obscure and mysterious". He could not "help entertaining very unfavorable suspicions", being posted as he was by Loyalists. He determined to show "a strong detachment upon the frontier about the first of October when their Assembly is to meet." He also proposed to see that "strong parties be sent from Niagara to appear, at the same time, upon the Mohawk River and frontier of Pennsylvania."

Heath, perhaps because of a rumor that the British fleet had "received a severe drubbing" and that New Yorkers were packing up their effects, loosened up and granted Stark's plea for ammunition, "surprised to find your district so short." He sent 30,000 musket cartridges, 4 barrels of powder, 1500 flints, cartridge paper, thread, &c and advised Stark that Weisenfel's regiment was going forward.

After detecting about 30 persons suspected of bringing dispatches from Canada, Stark's men apprehended five who turned out to be of the Loveless party who claimed to be looking for a prisoner. Schuyler himself was successful in intercepting letters intended for the enemy, in a earlier one learning of the intention "to burn Albany."

#### THOMAS LOVELESS, HIS TRIAL AND EXECUTION

Stark appointed a court martial to try him and four men captured with him: The 12 man Board reported that Loveless was a Tory spy and should suffer death but the others less guilty, should be sent, prisoners, to Albany. Stark approved the verdict, that "Loveless be hanged by the neck until he be dead." The original warrant is in "Stark Papers", Concord.

Brandow's "Old Saratoga" (1900) said "Loveless was hung on the top of the gravel hill just south of the Horicon mill..... John Strover identified the skeleton when the bank for the Whitehall turnpike was excavated.....the skull of the Tory is preserved by Mrs. J. H. Lowber in the Schuyler mansion."

Heath didn't write Stark but deplored to Clinton the execution, as technically the party was armed. He was even "apprehensive it will make some difficulty. It may be best to say as little about it as possible at present." Washington asked for a copy of the proceedings, which was sent him, but no further notice was taken.

Oct. 11th Stark wrote urgently to Gen. Gansvoort at Albany that the enemy "are now in reality on this side of Lake George....For God's sake, hurry on with all the force you can collect....We must be prepared for the Worst." (Clinton Pap. ...VII)



## RELATIONS WITH THE SCHUYLERS

On Oct. 11th Schuyler told Marshall to advise Gen. Stark to take whatever beef was ready for the knife at the Saratoga farm and also to "have all the wheat threshed out and ground immediately..... Commissary receipt to be given." Schuyler wrote Stark on the 15th;

"My disorder has taken a favorable turn and I hope in a few days to join you. Mrs. Schuyler arrived home on the evening of the 15th" and had "detailed the attentions you and your worthy son paid to herself and her daughters. I feel it with pleasure and with gratitude and hope to return you personal thanks as soon as the severe fit of the gravel, which now confines me, will permit."

The General had a sergeant and a party of soldiers to protect General Schuyler's family and to assist their servants in securing the winter supplies. (Memoir, 1860)

Major Caleb Stark, just over 21, was learning at the seat of Dutch culture in Albany the amenities of colonial life. Catherine Schuyler, 46 year old daughter of Col. Johannes Van Rensselaer of Claverack, wife of General Philip Schuyler, was the acknowledged head of Albany society. Of medium height she is said to have been perfect in form and feature. The rearing of 14 children had added to her firm will and frugal and prudent disposition, yet she dispensed the hospitality of a famous mansion in a manner as to which the greatest in the land were happy to testify. In review the Washingtons and the intellectual leaders of the pre-Revolutionary period, even that of the "Old French War" with Lord Howe, the Baron Dieskau, the Generals Abercrombie and Amherst, and, in the recent past Burgoyne and Lady Ackland, the pictures passed, with stories of them, to keenly interested Caleb Stark. In the mansion as well as in the country seat at Saratoga he was to acquire some of the graces of personal conduct that were not conspicuous in his diffident father. It can hardly be doubted that the General was markedly gratified that his son should be received in such friendly fashion and be able to enjoy without embarrassment not only the cordial and simple intercourse at the farm but some of the functions in the stately mansion at Albany, where, on occasion, the punctilious formalities of a period unsurpassed since, reached a plane as high as anywhere in the new world.

In the household was Elizabeth Schuyler, a daughter destined to a career. Then a young girl, she is said to have taught Caleb the game of chess. When Alexander Hamilton came to Albany he soon realized that Elizabeth Schuyler was his life's choice and they were married Dec. 4th, 1780. Thirteen and a half years later when Aaron Burr's deliberate bullet stilled the life that was beginning to mean so much to America, Elizabeth began her widowhood that was not to cease until her 96 years were ended, years spent mostly in New York and Washington

in semi-retirement. During the final year of his own life, 1838, when he made his last visit to the capital, Major Caleb Stark, erect and soldierly despite his 78 years, paid his respects to Madam Hamilton. As she came to greet him in her modest salon she knew him instantly after a lapse of fifty years. Unfortunately the pall of silence fell on the reunion and we do not know what reminiscences the two brought out of the past.

### THE STAGE IS SET FOR STIRLING

Heath selected the second New Hampshire regiment to go to Stark's assistance because it had more field officers than the first, which would admit of more levies being incorporated into it, "weak in numbers but excellent troops". He also sent to Charlestown (No. 4) for 200 men, though Heath was fearful his own troops were not too many, for the enemy in New York appeared "prepared for some capital movement." When Stark decided to take one or two companies from Col. Logan's regiment (probably 50 men or less) Col. Willett protested. At this time Col. Samuel Safford of the Vermont Militia was "unable to understand" why Col. VanRensselaer marched with his Albany militia to near Bennington and "broke open houses" and "took prisoners." Perhaps Safford had not really been informed by Allen and Fay of their September meeting with the British Commissioners at Skeensborough when "a plan of government of Vermont as a British colony was discussed."

The menace was soon such that Heath ordered the first New Hampshire and the tenth Massachusetts to Albany, embarking at Fish-kill arriving in 18 hours, a very quick trip for an up stream voyage by sail. Then Heath sent Gen. Lord Stirling, who "set out about noon of the 16th". Heath's diary belies the toned-down directions he wrote Stark, for it has; "Ordered Major General Stirling to proceed to Albany to take command of the troops in that quarter." He wrote Stark on the 20th. "I have requested Lord Stirling to go as far as Albany to advise on the present occasion. We are at present exceedingly short of flour and have not the best prospect of a supply speedily. Please let me hear from you frequently." But Col. St. Leger came no nearer than Ticonderoga, the report from the North being false, due to Stark having been starved as to scouts.

The new commander, virtually superceding Stark, did not arrive until Oct. 26th. It was a leisurely trip, including a stop at Poughkeepsie, another at Rhinebeck and one at Livingston Manor, places where, no doubt, Heath expected him to tarry. At Greenbush Ferry, opposite Albany, he received Stark's welcoming letter;

"Saratoga October 21st, 1781.

My Lord - I was last night informed your Lordship was on the way to take command of the Northern Department

and am very happy that an officer of your influence and military experience has been appointed to this critical and important command. I have no doubt that should the enemy make a descent, that with the assistance of your good dispositions, the valour of the troops, and the militia that can be called into the field at the shortest notice, will enable you to render a satisfactory account of any party that can be sent from Canada. But at present I rather hope than expect that they will come this campaign."

(Letter not in Memoir, 1860)

Gazing across the flowing Hudson Stirling could have had no premonition that Fate would decree that on the opposite shore he should, one day, draw his last breath. It was to be from an attack of the gout in 1783 at 57 and Stark was to survive him nearly 40 years. The flattery pleased Stirling, who wrote Stark in two days; "Your friendly observations upon my abilities rather paint me as the person I wish to be than the one I sincerely think I am" &c. Even before taking the ferry Stirling proceeded (grandson Duer's "Life" 1847, N. J. Hist. Soc.) to order Col. Tupper, direct, to "put his troops under orders to march at a moment's notice." The next day he called out the militia under Generals Gansvoort and Van Rensselaer. He sent Stark 50 wagon loads of provisions, asking him to keep scouts out and to make a full Report of his forces. On the 25th Stark had "not more than 1000 men fit for action" as "300 Berkshire militia went off to-day notwithstanding my most earnest entreaties to the contrary." The reports as to the enemy advancing were again erroneous though they had at Ticonderoga some 2000 men, four gunboats and 30 batteaux. Schuyler and Stirling posted off to Stark at Saratoga only to learn from that veteran of lake warfare that an advance at that season was unlikely. Nevertheless Stirling busied himself laying out an "Order of Battle" with a Plan, (Duer's Life of Stirling, p226) from about opposite Moses Kill to as far south as Fish Creek, Stirling's place to be in the rear with the reserves, Stark's in front.

#### A QUICK WIND-UP

The end of the campaign came in one short week. On Oct. 26th Gen. Roger Enos wrote Stark from Castleton that Capt. Salisbury had reconnoitered from Mt. Independence, seeing, leisurely, the repairing of the old Fort at "Ti", nearly 200 cattle employed in drawing cannon from their boats, and much smoke from the French lines, where "it is supposed the chief part of their army is quartered." He had been obliged to discharge the greater part of the militia for want of provisions, but he had probably received St. Leger's assurances following the unintentional killing of Sergeant Tupper. Enos would be at Fort Ann with 400 men and await Stark's orders. He waited there and on Nov. 2nd wrote Stark his



situation as to beef and cartridges and that he had heard, that instant, firing of fire arms and cannon in the direction of Fort Edward, which was only 13 miles away by a good road. The noise was from a FEU DE JOIE, celebrating the receipt of news of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis in Virginia! But probably Enos was marking time, especially if in the secret of what was, betimes, going on. Haldemand's Commissioners wrote to him from "Ti" how they learned that the Vermont militia had found that there was "no reason for them to risk their lives and fortunes in the defence of New York." Their exact report was;

"Sending back the prisoners with the letter from Col. St. Leger has been attended with as much success as could be expected. The leading men were much pleased with it and as soon as the militia at Castleton, Pittsford and Skeensborough learned the contents of the letter they returned to their homes, saying they saw no reason to risk their lives and fortunes in the defence of New York.....I cannot but flatter myself that N. Y. and Vermont will soon be at war with each other. I am certain their former enmity and jealousy will be much augmented by the management of the present expedition, sending back the Vermont prisoners, &c. in consequence of which they have finally denied General Stark any assistance."

#### THE BRITISH GIVE UP TICONDEROGA FOR THE LAST TIME

On the morning of Nov. 3rd, 1781 the news of the surrender of General Lord Cornwallis came to Col. St. Leger at Ticonderoga. Precipitately everything that could be loaded was placed on the transports. Before night, having "a fair wind", the departure down Lake Champlain proceeded as fast as sails could hurry them.

#### A SINGULAR AND SINISTER OCCURRENCE

Late in October a slight collision occurred between the British and American scouts. A vermonter, Serg. Tupper, was shot and prisoners were taken to St. Leger at "Ti". He buried the sergeant honorably and sent his clothing with an open letter to Gen. Enos, expressing his regret. Gov. Chittenden at Charlestown was immediately advised, the Vermont Assembly having been in cession there since Oct. 11th.

"While the bearer of the letter was proclaiming the death of Serg. Tupper to an excited crowd, the letters were duly prepared by Nathaniel Chipman, under the direction of the Board of War, by omitting all matter designed to be kept secret, and were then read to the council and assembly.

This ruse was not a little aided by a spirited by-play in which Ira Allen and Maj. Reynolds of New Hampshire were parties." (Vt. Hist. Soc. Colls.II. Editor)

"Gen. Enos at Castleton with the Green Mountain Boys was fully in the secret of the cabal who were carrying forward the intrigue, and just maintained the semblance of activity", &c.

("History of Queensbury", Holden, Munsell, 1874)

Neither the original letter nor the excised matter taken out has ever been found. Inklings now came to Stark who realized he had been hoodwinked by his friends in Vermont all along. His ire rose and on Nov. 5th he wrote to Chittenden that he wished "the most authentic information respecting the sergeant of the Vermont militia who was slain and his party captured, by the militia.

"I expect your excellency will enable me to furnish a minute detail of it to Congress, by affording me a perusal of the original letter which the British commanding officer is said to have written to you upon the occasion. This will be returned to you by a safe hand and a copy transmitted to Congress.

The report, as brought to me, is that upon the party's arrival at Ticonderoga, the British Officers expressed great displeasure that the citizens of Vermont had been disturbed; that he sent for the corpse of the deceased sergeant, caused it to be interred with military honors and then dismissed the captured party with what liquor and provisions they chose to carry away and delivered them a letter of apology to your excellency.....

No exertion on my part shall be wanted to eradicate every suspicion injurious to the people of Vermont. Your compliance with my request will probably afford me one of the means; and I pray most earnestly your acquiescence, that I may detail the whole business in its true light."

Stark closed with congratulations on the Cornwallis surrender which, he said was celebrated (by him) "by a discharge of fourteen cannon and the next day by a like number of platoons, in honor of the United States of America."

Chittenden's reply evaded making the disclosure, saying he was sending to Washington the "particular account". The letter to Washington, also from Arlington, the 14th, was deliberately deceptive, employing fine sophistry in telling of the visit of Allen and Fay to "negotiate the proposed exchange of prisoners during which time they were interchangeably entertained with politics, which they treated in a affable

manner." Again, of Allen's visit in May, it was "the exchange of prisoners" and entertainment with political matters "which obliged him to humor in that easy manner that might save the interest of this state in its extreme critical situation."

### MAJOR ROSS DISPERSED AT JOHNSTOWN

The only clash of the season ended disastrously for the British, when Major Ross with his force of about 450, British, Tories and Indians, met Lt. Col. Marinus Willett with his militia and supporting troops near the ancient residence of Sir William Johnson, both little armies having forded the Mohawk shortly before. At a critical moment some of Willett's men abandoned a cannon which the enemy then took away with its ammunition, though Willett retained possession of the Hall overnight. Next morning Willett forded Canada creek and during a fight the notorious and elusive partisan, Walter Butler, was killed, demoralizing the forces of Major Ross. On Butler's body were found his papers, showing that the British, for all his wicked cruelties, plundering and murdering had only vouchsafed him a Captaincy, though he was always known as Major Butler. Through pathless woods Willett pursued Ross for days. Only 200 men reached Canada after the pursuit ended. Willett in a way accused Stark of "preventing a more complete victory" by taking "Major Logan's companies", though Stark had taken only one and that in the face of threatened danger.

### STIRLING RELAXES

He dismissed militia, reduced Saratoga to a garrison under Stark, after the latter reported finding no signs of life at Ticonderoga. Stirling sent Stark on request, "some German steel suitable for axes" and "two of the best cannon."

When the potency of Albany hospitality and rejoicing permitted, Gen. Stirling suggested to Heath the feasibility of conquering Canada, not merely a winter attack on St. Johns and Chambly but even one on Montreal. He hinted that the forces might "proceed to Quebec early in the spring." Nothing much would be required he thought but "Five or Six hundred strong three-barred sleds."

Heath encouraged Stark to expect clothing but the latter wrote; (Nov. 29th, 1781)

"I must observe that there is but one tailor in the New Hampshire line and he a drunken rascal who could be hardly compelled to make three coats in a winter. You observe that few horses should be kept with the troops and that the remainder should be sent to places where forage can be obtained. This argument I think very reasonable, but I can not find a man in this district who knows where that place is."



Stark wrote Heath he would retire to Albany when the block-houses were finished and the barracks repaired but as there would be "little business for a general officer in this district" he asked his commander to "signify as soon as convenient" his consent to "make a visit to New Hampshire" assuring him that he would be ready to take the field "as soon as my services are required". Without giving his permission Heath expressed his sorrow on hearing of Stark's "indisposition", hoped for his early recovery, suggested that Col. Reid relieve Col. Willett up the Mohawk. Stark did not leave Saratoga until about December 21st, and then reported a small mutiny which was "quelled very easily" by the officers, though some of the mutineers were to be tried by a court-martial. Heath wrote suggesting that Gen. Hazen be waited for as a general officer should be there but in the meantime Col. Reid "must exercise the command."

### INVOLVEMENTS IN THE DISPUTED TERRITORY

Very inadequate narratives have shown the extremely dangerous feelings at this time between the Vermonters and the New York State authorities. Stark wisely decided to avoid taking an advanced position either by force or declaration. By the best of judgment and by restraint, his honor recognized by both angry factions, the period of high tension passed, though the basic settlement was delayed for some years by Congress. The story and quotations from correspondence must be briefed.

At first when both sides faced each other near San Coick, Col. Peter Yates of the New York militia with "about 80 men, the Insorectors about 146" (his letter to Gen. Gansvoort of Dec. 12th, 1781) Stark wrote him to stand his ground but defensibly, until "Gansvoort and V Rensselaer" got their brigades to his assistance. "I am ready to march my whole Garrison when occasion may require of which you will please to give me the earliest intelligence". Hint of Stark's willingness to place his force in the midst where bloodshed could be prevented, started up Gov. Chittenden, who wrote Stark from Arlington (Dec. 15, 1781), he had consulted his Council, purposed calling the Legislature into session and "earnestly" requested that Stark write to the "officers of New York, that are daily making depredations to the west "to suspend farther operations "until the assembly meet", offering to make peaceable gestures, which he outlined. He closed with "I am, sir, with sentiments of esteem." Then Stark told Gansvoort he had decided he could not give him aid without an order from Gen. Heath, but Gansvoort could not make out whether Chittenden's request may not have been Stark's real reason. (Clinton Papers). The New York Governor fulminated, sent letters to Congress through the New York Delegates, freely expressing his opinion that there had been "unquestionable proof of traitorous correspondence" &c. He referred to a little occurrence; At Albany on Dec. 20th the civil authorities had taken an affidavit of one John Edgar, that Thomas Johnson of "the lower Cohas" (Newbury) while in Montreal had owned that he was acting

as a liason officer with the British for the semi-annexation of Vermont. This revelation, to Albany eyes, made the situation more sensitive than ever, accentuating the minor clash when Vermonters took Lt. Col. Van Rensselaer, from his home at San Coick, to Bennington, only to be (very discreetly) released by the authorities there. Stark (Dec. 14th) promptly counseled the Yorkstaters to avoid "violent measures" and, unless Col. Rensselaer could be let alone, to await action by Congress. "I should think hostilities very dangerous," he ended. On the same day Gen. Stark wrote President Weare, a thoroughly characteristic letter;

"Notwithstanding my letters to you seem to be treated with silent contempt, yet, when anything intervenes where I think my country or the State of New Hampshire in a particular manner deeply interested, I conceive it my duty, apart from common politeness, to inform you of it. Such I deem the late riotous conduct of the State of Vermont, in extending their pretended claim to the westward, and threatening to support it by a military force; and, indeed, those within the twenty mile line are actually in arms, in open defiance and violation of the rules of Congress; and are actually opposing themselves to the troops raised by the State of New York, to put their constitution and laws into execution. Two detachments, one acting under the authority of Vermont and the other under of-ficers owing allegiance to the state of New York, are assembled now at St. Coick, in opposition. For farther particulars I refer you to Captain Fogg who will have the honor of delivering this.

I have been favored with a perusal of the proceedings of the Legislature of Vermont state, on the subject of their being received into the Union of the United States, and find that they have not only rejected the resolutions of Congress, but in reality have disavowed their authority, and I farther perceive, that, in their great wisdom they have thought proper to appoint a committee to determine whether New Hampshire shall exercise jurisdiction to Connecticut river or not. This proceeding appears too weak and frivolous. For men of sense to suppose that New Hampshire would ever consent to an indignity so flagrant and an abuse so pointed as this seems to be, is what I own surprises me. However I hope, and indeed have no doubt that New Hampshire will be more politic than to take notice of this daring insolence. What I mean by notice, is to think of treating with them upon this or any other subject until Congress shall come to a final determination with respect to these people. I am, sir, with high respect,"

Before taking his winter furlough Stark cleaned up by laying before Gen. Washington the incident of the killed Vermont sergeant and what

followed. He asked Washington for a copy of Chittenden's letter and a copy of St. Leger's letter, though if Chittenden had not sent the original of the latter "I shall think they dare not produce the original". Stark then told of how Vermonters had recently gone over the "twenty mile line" with a military force and a field piece. "Unless something decisive is done in the course of this winter" he said "We may have everything to fear from them"...."This may be considered strange language from me, who have ever been considered a friend of Vermont and indeed I ever was their friend until their conduct convinced me that they were not friendly to the United States." "Their actions and their words appear to carry a very different meaning". I most sincerely wish that matters may turn out better than I expect." Washington's reply, if any, was not printed by Caleb Stark. Taking time for deliberation, Washington answered Gov. Chittenden's letter of Nov. 14th on January first, 1782. In moderation, and with persuasion in a personal tone, Washington presented his logical views. Not until March 16th did Chittenden reply, to the effect that "Vermont has withdrawn claims upon New Hampshire and New York".....and that Vermont "confined ourselves solely, or very nearly, to a tract of country described in the Resolve of Congress of 21st of August last "and that Commissioners had been appointed" to negotiate an alliance with the Confederated States." (both letters, Vt. Hist. Soc. Colls.II)

To Schuyler Washington wrote that his military character forbade his inter-meddling so far as to "dictate particular modes of accommodation." (ibid II.241) But the whole controversy boiled up in Congress during January and February and in June a letter was written Gen. Haldimand (the Editor of the Collections indicating that it was by Ethan Allen, ibid II. 276);

"There is a majority in Congress and a number of the principal officers of the Continental army continually planning against me. I shall do everything in my power to render this State a British Province."

De Puy ("Ethan Allen", 1853) does not mention this letter and gives little of the later period of the long controversy, which Haldemand never ceased to prosecute, even on March 25, 1783 writing Ira Allen a friendly letter. But in three weeks Washington proclaimed the Peace. It was on April 19th, 1783, eight years to a day from the Battle of Lexington.

#### LORD STIRLING LEAVES THE SCENE

He went to Rhinebeck, the residence of his daughter, Sarah, who had married William Duer. He made Col. Duer the Executor of his will; witnesses, two of the Livingstons, another of the great county families. On Nov. 26th he wrote Washington a long account of the campaign just ended. Stark's name was mentioned but once, but he found it necessary



to use the first person singular some thirty times.. Why Washington had not taken Stirling south is not known but Washington knew the limitations of the showy bumbler and may have smiled at the nick-name Gen. Lee gave him, "Alexander le Gros". Safe, good old Heath's measure Washington had taken some time back. After ordering a demonstration against the Hessian garrison on the Harlem, Heath made himself ridiculous by issuing a summons to "surrender within twenty minutes", to which no attention was paid. Stark never received such a castigation as Washington then administered to Heath; "Your summons as you did not attempt to fulfill your threats was not only idle but farcical and will not fail of turning the laugh exceedingly against us." The stout, bald, good-natured Major General must have winced a little, though he is said not to have resented being called the "Marquis of Granby".

### GEN. STARK GIVES UP HIS COMMAND

He waited for Hazen, who did not come, and so Col. Reid was designated to take the command. Stark on Dec. 22nd thanked Heath, "under infinite obligations for the indulgence you are pleased to grant me", phrasing, like many more in his correspondence, that suggests the compositions of the invaluable Caleb. George Reid, five years younger than Stark, was of the same Scotch-Irish stock. He dwelt in near-by Londonderry with his wife, Molly, of whom Gen. Stark once said (Parker's History) "If there's a woman in New Hampshire fit for Governor 'tis Molly Reid." Later, during the forty years of peace, the two families were very friendly.

Through wintry weather father and son, with an orderly or two, began their long journey home. John Stark was only 53 but he had undergone the hardships of a soldier during two long wars. The Saratoga-Albany incumbency had been little else than pain and trouble, with few opportunities of doing much for his country.

## 1782-1783, CLOSING OF THE WAR

But few items as to General Stark are to be found. The entire year 1782 passed with him at home, his illness continuing with little improvement. "He was afflicted with a rheumatic complaint brought on by long exposure and was not able to join his command." (Potter's Manchester).

For nearly four months Washington was in close touch with Congress, having the use of the fine mansion of Benjamin Chew in Philadelphia, entertaining and being entertained. On the Hudson the army remained encamped at New Windsor without event.

Abroad the stunning effect of Yorktown was succeeded by a slow realization of the futility of resuming active operations against the States in rebellion. So an unspectacular period of 14 months elapsed, the American army motionless. It was highly creditable to the statesmen-members that the status-quo was maintained by Congress without compromise.

At Derryfield an adjourned meeting of the town on Jan. 17th, 1782, decided to elect no Delegate to attend the convention at Concord; "the plan was generally rejected throughout the State" (Potter). No constitution was adopted until the following year. It was then continued in force until 1792. On Jan. 18th the General Assembly voted Gen. Stark "A sum equal to six months pay and subsistence, when the state of the Treasury will admit of it". The adjustment of the depreciation of 1780-1781 "of the officers and men of the New Hampshire line" was undertaken by a Committee. Major Stark's petition was on June 22nd referred to the Committee of Safety for their consideration.

## WASHINGTON'S TRIP TO THE NORTHWARD

He re-joined the army on April 2, 1782, commending Gen. Heath for his administration. After two months of inactivity Washington took sloop at Newburgh on the 24th of June, probably stopping at Esopus. The Albany authorities made a short address of welcome, to which the General responded and went to the Schuyler mansion for dinner and shelter. He had never before been north of Esopus (Kingston). With Lt. Col. George Reid in command at Albany he went to Saratoga, reviewing the

main part of the New Hampshire regiment, from thence to Schenectady for a conference with some of the Oneidas and Tuscarawas. Back to Albany and Schuyler's hospitality he was entertained that evening at a public dinner at the leading tavern, that of Hugh Denniston, ( N. W. Corner Green and Beaver Sts.) where Stark had been a guest many a time. With Washington were the Generals Knox and Steuben and Gov. Clinton, and welcoming and toasting him were the Mayor, Ten Broeck, Generals Schuyler and Gansvoort and Lt. Col. George Reid, the city fathers and the elite of the great families.

It was not, however, until the following year, 1783, that Washington made a longer trip to view Saratoga and its battle fields, Fort Edward, Lake George, Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Then there would have been some talk of Rogers and Stark, of Montcalm, Dieskau, Abercrombie and Amherst, and, without much to their glory, of St. Clair and his own friend, Schuyler, whose new country house would be inspected. There would be mixed feelings as to Gates and Arnold, of Burgoyne his brilliant entourage, and his surrender, to be matched in importance only by his own triumph over Cornwallis at Yorktown. The inspection tour was completed by a horseback trip up the Mohawk as far as Fort Stanwix (Rome) and Washington could anticipate Moore, "From early morn till set of sun, I've seen the mighty Mohawk run", as was pointed out to him the place of martyrdom of Father Jogues, 137 years before. At 51 the thoughtful and observant man could still have enthusiasms as the stories of his country's settlement and its struggles for freedom were unfolded before his eyes by eager narrators. The beautiful lakes, George and Champlain, and the mysterious Catskills would remain memories of his declining years.

#### WASHINGTON AND STARK, A LONG SILENCE

Probably the last time Stark addressed Washington was on Sept. 23rd, 1782 in a querulously pathetic letter about his poor health, his lack of cash, the empty State treasury. "I have been exercised with almost every perplexity, pain and trouble, that a shattered constitution could entail."

"During the course of the winter and the greater part of the spring and summer I was scarce able to ride five miles, but as the autumn begins to advance I find my health gradually returning and had thoughts of taking a ride to camp in case I could have found cash enough in the state to defray my expenses.....Money I have none and my private fortune scarce competent to the support of a numerous offspring which Heaven has been pleased to bestow.....However, should your Excellency think my presence at any place in the army necessary for the good of my country, I will endeavor upon the shortest notice to comply with your commands."



In raising recruits "the state has exceeded all expectations." The lack of cash caused the payment of taxes in produce, so that many beef cattle would be available for the army. Probably little realizing his epistle would be one of the last, if not the last, he should address to his chief of so many long and arduous years, he closed;

"Most sincerely wishing you success, that your path on the theatre of glory may still continue to shine with its usual splendor and that you may soon be able to restore to your country a safe, honorable and lasting tranquility, is the ardent wish of your most obedient, most devoted and very humble servant,  
JOHN STARK."

Trying to convey, probably through son Caleb, the most ardent sentiments of which his breast was capable and acknowledging the leadership he had never questioned and never failed to support, John Stark's attitude toward the Commander-in-Chief was amply attested.

### THE NEWBURGH LETTERS

The first of them, creating a great sensation in the main camp of the army, was dated March 10th, 1783. Gen. Stark did not arrive, with Major Caleb, until April 10th "and received the thanks of Gen. Washington for his punctuality" (Everett). They found themselves out of touch with the rebellious spirit prevalent.

"He exerted his best influence with that of his brother officers to allay the discontent which existed in the minds of the army and which was studiously fomented by the famous Newburgh letters." (Everett)

As he addressed the first meeting he had called, presided over by Gen. Gates, of the gathered officers, Washington, putting on his spectacles remarked he had "not only grown gray but almost blind in the service of his country". He was passionately aroused, exclaiming "My, God, what can this writer have in view by recommending such measures?" A Committee appointed placed recommendations before Congress which on March 22nd provided pay in cash for five years, or, optionally, half pay for life, for those serving till the end of the war. Washington favored the latter. On April 2nd the second Newburgh letter was circulated, keeping the matter in the agitation the Starks found on their arrival. In a week Washington's General Orders directed a suspension of all hostilities, the camps remaining intact. On July 5th Gen. Heath presided at a meeting which voted that no officers be compelled to leave until back pay should be mechanized in an acceptable form. Washington agreed to assist.

## DEATH OF COL. WILLIAM STARK

At what time John learned of the death of his elder brother, William, can be reckoned by assuming that, as usual, bad news travelled quickly. Historian Caleb Stark ("Dunbarton", 1860 and in the "Memoir" 1860) was badly informed, stating in both books that the death of his grandfather's brother occurred soon after 1776 and that he was killed by a fall from his horse. Actually it was a matter of some six years later. One account has it "while watching a cricket game on Long Island."

The only known date in writing is that in a family bible, "May 18, 1781," owned by Lt. Commander Harold M. Stark (not to be confused with Admiral Harold R. Stark, born in the same year) a descendant, and kept (1948) in safe deposit in Detroit, Mich. There is evidence that up to that time William Stark was alive. There is no known portrait of him, that in "The Story of New Hampshire" (Brown) being by way of illustration by artists Frank Holland and J. Warren Thying.

Probably while confined to his home in Derryfield, suffering from the discomforts of his malady, John Stark's bitter and unseemly remark became wide-spread; that his brother's taking off was "the best thing he ever did." Although complete alienations were not uncommon there must have been something peculiarly galling.

This was about the time that Molly Stark gave birth to her last child, Sophia, on June 21st, 1782, she at 44. Sophia lived 88 years, surviving all her brothers and sisters by more than a quarter century, widow of Samuel Dickey. From her, and the present generation, there are few descendants.

Gen. Stark during 1782 was watching the Vermont controversy but took no part in it publicly, except by a letter to Gen. Philip Schuyler. Schuyler's reply (which has not been found) occasioned by Washington's conciliatory letter to Schuyler, that his military position forbade his intermeddling, was, perhaps, the last of an interesting correspondence.

Later in the year John Langdon tried to induce the New Hampshire legislature to allow "Col." Stephen Holland's wife, Jane, (believed to have been a sister of William Stark's wife, Mary Stinson) to return to New Hampshire with her children, he being proscribed. After considering the September request the House, the Council concurring, voted Nov. 15 to permit it. An entry in Matthew Patten's Diary shows how he, Patten, Gen. John Stark and Col. John Goffe, visited Squire Claggett on Dec. 2, "to get him to draw a petition to the General Court to prevent Mrs. Holland from coming into this state". When the Legislature re-considered its action Sullivan asked Washington's permission to "use a flag" (of truce, to reach Mrs. Holland then within the enemy lines) so that she might be intercepted without going too far on a disappointing journey. Sullivan also wrote Gov. Trumbull of Connecticut to tell her, should she be passing through. Eventually Holland "received an estate in Ireland worth 10,000 pounds as a remuneration for his confiscated estates in Londonderry, New Hampshire" (Caleb Stark, 1831, foot-note, p210)

## "THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI"

John Stark jealously guarded his democratic principles. His early objections to the proposed Order were characteristic. He never changed his attitude. Indeed his long, and perhaps singular, silence, regarding Washington, evidenced by the total lack of correspondence between them, probably stemmed from the sponsorship of Washington and that of his favorite Generals. The Order became unpopular, Franklin questioning its influence, John Adams, Samuel Adams and Thomas Jefferson avowedly hostile. The disparity between the principles and actions of the noted exemplar of the Society and those promoting it, was enough for John Stark. In 1831 Caleb wrote, doubtless primed by his father, Major Caleb;

"When the army was about to be disbanded, some of its commanders still retained a fondness for the pomp and parade of courts and orders of aristocracy.....To imitate the great Roman, he (Gen. Stark) observed, we should return to the occupations we have left, without ostentation, holding ourselves in readiness to obey the calls of our country. This was the line of conduct he had marked out for himself and which, through life he strictly pursued."

In 1834 Edward Everett observed;

"Leading the life of a real Cincinnatus he declined associating himself with the Society, formed by the officers of the newly disbanded army under that name. He shared the apprehensions which prevailed so widely of the dangerous tendency of that institution and he had something severe and primitive in his taste which disinclined him from its organization."

Gen. Stark lived to see the resulting innocuousness of the banding of the chosen few and in the year after his death the New Hampshire Society became extinct through the decease of all its members, though it was revived in 1903, after 80 years.

## FRAUNCE'S TAVERN

Gen. Stark's presence has sometimes been taken for granted when Washington took leave of the Generals on Dec. 14, 1783, at noon. He had paid his farewell respects to the army on Nov. 2nd. On the 25th the British evacuated New York after years of occupation, and shortly Gen. Washington and Gov. Clinton and their staffs made a public entry on horseback. There is no authentic list of those present at Fraunce's tavern when he silently took each general by the hand. There were many generals absent. Among them was Stark. It is clear from his



letter of Nov. 6th, 1783, (State Papers XVII.453) to the Legislature;

"I would have waited on the Court this week but am unfortunately taken lame that I cannot ride. I would be exceedingly glad if I might have an order on the Treasurer (for that money the Court voted me almost two years ago) that would be effectual, as the Order I received of the President last winter has never yet been answered, nor do I think it ever will, in the Terms it is now couched in, the Treasurer denying that the state of the Treasury will admit of the payment, as often as the Order is presented."

The General then asked for forty pounds of the sum, to be paid "by the last year's Constable of the town of Derryfield." He didn't get it as a Committee appointed on the matter could not report. The Legislature had adjourned.



# John Stark

## THE LATER YEARS

The last 40 years of General Stark's life form an impressive total but were filled with quite minor and personal events. His physical condition did not permit any severe expenditure of energy, such as a military campaign would call for. He did not become a candidate for the command of expeditions for the subjugation of Indians in the newly opened Ohio and Indiana country. He did not wish to head one of the military-civil governments found necessary. The Generals, St. Clair and Wayne, and eventually General Dearborn, did important work though their private fortunes were not bettered. John Stark was wise in declining to become a football of politics. The recent biographies of St. Clair, Wayne and Dearborn are eloquent and clear delineations.

With a large estate, a very considerable and interesting family, of which he was the patriarch, John Stark was afforded ample employment of a more congenial type than chasing Indians and protecting settlers at hazardous points in a wilderness. He had had quite enough of that sort of life.

He continued to take account of the many experimental attempts to found a state government, though he left leadership to others. The national welfare, for which he had fought in the field, was uppermost in his mind. It had twice involved menaces to its existence. Late in the century the French Revolution and what grew out of it, caused his apprehension. When the issues resulting in the second war with Great Britain were developing Stark's old antipathy to everything British became manifest.

The 40 years will be dealt with chronologically, rather than topically, so many unrelated items requiring mention. In such an account the frequent use of dates is unavoidable.

The one exception as to taking part in government was the attendance at Derryfield town meetings, where John Stark could meet his fellow citizens and friends on a common level and discuss and act on local issues. They usually honored him by making him their Moderator, such being the case from 1783 till 1794 uniformly. Entries in the town books in 1794 and 1796 imply that a tax had been levied on

General Stark's money and an attempt was made to have the levy abrogated. About this time the General became less regular in his attendance and he was not chosen Moderator. It had, of course nothing to do with the universal custom of "vending" the town poor, that is, letting out the services of the few indigent and homeless persons who were "on the Town". Otherwise unemployable they were given board and performed small labors. Bridget Wood was struck off to Gen. Stark for \$10.00, paid to the town. May 17, 1796, the following year, she went by the same process to Asa Haselton for \$39.00 but whether the increased value was due to the training or encouragement of Molly Stark is debatable.

Hard times began about 1783 and continued several years, as has generally been the case following all great wars. By 1787 wealthy John Langdon finished his fine colonial mansion on Pleasant St. Portsmouth, (reproduced at the 1907 Jamestown Exposition) a notably well proportioned and handsome structure, 50 by 30 ft. with 18 ft. posts. We have no record of Gen. Stark visiting Portsmouth in these or later years and it is probable that his own plain farm house at Derryfield did not cause him to suffer by comparison. Washington was entertained briefly and pronounced Langdon's the "handsomest in Portsmouth." Chastellux in 1780-1, called it "elegant and well furnished and the apartments admirably well wainscoated." But Stark knew the flair of old Portsmouth for pomp and ceremony and could not but have sniffed at the stories of the liveried servants and of the "chariot", the Langdon's rode in. Later they both admired Madison and subscribed heartily to his party's principles.

#### MOLLY STARK'S FATHER AND FOSTER-MOTHER IN DUNBARTON.

In July 1784, Capt. Caleb Page died at 80, buried at his designation in a small lot, now almost unfindable, not far from Page's corners on the edge of the town of Bow. In October of the next year his second wife, a huge woman, was buried beside him. Mother Sarah's great square chair was lifted into carts for her comfort in riding, its final disposal unknown, though Caleb Page sat in it in 1860 when writing his history of the town. Capt. Page had married Mrs. Sarah Carlton on March 11, 1741-2. He brought her to a home needing the care of his six under-age children of whom Elizabeth, ("Molly") born 1737-8, was next to the youngest. From her fourth year little Elizabeth knew no other mother, her own, for whom she was named, having been Elizabeth Merrill, probably daughter of John Merrill and Lucy Webster of the Atkinson section of the old town of Haverhill, Mass.

There is no letter extant from John Stark to his son Caleb and only one from Caleb to his father. That was written from Washington, where Caleb was endeavoring to promote his father's interests. In it he was "dutiful son," hoped to be home soon, had received assistance from Mr. Livermore and Col. Long, members of the Congress, had laid the Petition before Congress "yesterday" (March 5, 1785), had



seen "Mr. Banker and his lady", adding "she is still blind and "inquired for you and the family, John in particular." The letter closed;

"I hope to be along in a few days and see the family and all well. I feel exceedingly for my grandmother but I can't think of going away. If your Power of Attorney was here I should not stay long."

He had probably been advised of grandmother Sarah's illness but felt he could not leave work on the petition, which was signed by him as "attorney for General Stark". It asked for a grant, or an annuity, and recited;

"While the nation was struggling (sic) for her rights and laboring under fiscal embarrassments he has carefully abstained from making any application contenting himself with a very limited support rather than importune you for assistance, but having lived to see the nation in a flourishing and prosperous condition he is not without hopes that his country will be disposed to include him in the list of her Donees."

On May 24 and September 9, 1784, Congress passed Resolves that affected the status of a petition General Stark had presented involving the settlement of debts due him. There are three pages of photostat, but they do not show a clear outcome.

In the "Laws of N. H. Vol. 5, 1784-1792" is to be found the authorization of a Lottery "for clearing the Falls of the Merrimack so as to float timber and masts down." To be accountable to the General Court for the \$1600, managers were appointed; Gen. John Stark, Timothy Walker, Robert McGregor, Capt. Reuben Kimball and Peter Green, to act, with pay. The year saw the election of John Sullivan as President of New Hampshire, John Langdon as Speaker of the House. William Gamble died, husband of Nancy, John Stark's oldest sister. In 1787 John Stark, Jr. married Polly Huse and came to live in the old Archibald Stark house and the General's daughter, Eleanor (1767-1843) married Isaac Babson.

#### JOHN STARK AND GEORGE WASHINGTON

In 1787 Washington could sympathise with Stark for he was afflicted by a rheumatic complaint also and, though not such a chronic sufferer as Stark, Washington's notes read that he could "with difficulty raise my hand to my head or turn myself in bed." It was a period of great depression for the Father of his country, for Mt. Vernon was in debt and money had to be provided to help his mother in a similar situation. At this time a Pole, Niemcewicz, wrote "We entered some negro huts, for their habitations cannot

be called houses. They are far more miserable than the poorest of the quarters of our peasants.....The General possesses 300 negroes, excepting women and children, of which a part belongs to Mrs. Washington." How different Gen. Stark's modest establishment in the rigorous climate of new Hampshire! All the members of Stark's family, both sexes, performed hard manual labor. Only by the most economical methods could the Starks wring a reluctant return from the thin sandy soil. Yet, disregarding position and honors, it is doubtful if John Stark would have exchanged places even with George Washington.

Frederick Kidder in his "History of the First New Hampshire Regiment" (1868, Munsell, Albany) gave free rein to an apparent antipathy toward Stark. In a short sketch of the regiment's first Colonel he refers to Stark:

"when at the close of the war he had drawn the pay of his chaplain and refused to pay it over, and after years of waiting it could only be recovered by an act of the legislature, it showed he was not guided by a spirit of justice and honor."

The only record of legislative action found does not bear out the construction that Kidder put on the case. Nov. 7, 1785 the Legislature voted to give "Noah Clarke of New Ipswich, Gentleman" the right to an appeal in court, without prejudice. (pp 97-8, Chapter 15, laws of the "First Constitutional Period," 1784-1792, Vol.V.). Clarke's name is not found in Revolutionary Rolls, Vols. 1 to 4 and the matter is not referred to by biographers or other writers. Stark's entire reputation belies a course of unjust withholding. Apparently Clarke did not pursue his legal course further, which, if a fact, would speak for itself.

It was probably during "the later years" that what is found in the history of Dunbarton (112-4) took place, according to grandson Caleb, the author;

"Thomas Hammond of Newburyport made pumps and also pipes of wood. He proposed to General Stark to put back some of the mill pond water and use it again by means of some pumping contrivance-[probably in the nature of what is called a "ram"] but Gen. Stark replied that even if possible he "had no desire to make a slave of the water".

## 1783-1786, MAJOR GENERAL JOHN STARK, BY BREVET

The close of the war left too many Major Generals for any foreseeable duties. But by Brevet appointments Congress could honor about a dozen faithful Brigadiers who had carried on until peace was secured and who had held the title since 1777. A spontaneous impulse being unlikely the partisans of which particular Brigadier General stimulated the generous instincts of Congress might be discovered by research. There appears nothing in the Stark quarter.

On June 9th, 1786, Nathaniel Gorham, President of Congress, certified to the fact that an Act of Congress made "John Starks, Esquire" rank "as Major General, by Brevet". The resolution had been passed three years (lacking three months) before. The interim, an example of long drawn out dilatoriness, if nothing more, during which some of the aged beneficiaries might have died, could only partly have been required to ascertain from the War Department the names of those entitled to the honors. Public records appear to show that the following officers were eligible;

Jedediah Huntington (Mass.) Charles Scott (Va.)  
 George Clinton, (N.Y.) Peter Muhlenberg, (Va.)  
 John P. DeHaas (Penn.) Anthony Wayne, (Penn.)  
 John Paterson, (Mass.) Lachlan McIntosh, (Georgia),  
 James Clinton, (N.Y.) Arthur St. Clair, (Penn.)  
 Edward Hand, (Penn) and John Stark, (N.H.)

McIntosh, St. Clair and James Clinton had been 1776 appointments, the others those of 1777.

Soon after the passage of the Act on Sept. 30th, 1782 Gen. Stark became aware of the belated recognition of his notable services to his country. The document, certified by Gen. Henry Knox "SecY at War", was received with pardonable pride, no doubt with a tinge of disappointment, perhaps with a grim smile. Titularly at least he was now of the highest rank in the army. The inclusion of so many men, most of them of lesser achievements and fame, must have been known to him; it would have meant little. The actual commission, inherited in due time by one of son Caleb's descendants, Arthur Winslow, Esq., was presented to the New Hampshire Historical Society and may be seen in Vol. 2 (p.175) of the "Stark Papers".

There is every reason to believe that in John Stark's personal view this was the crowning hour of his career. Frustrations had left their mark on a proud and sensitive mind but at last he was a Major General. For nearly forty years the title was balm to his wounded spirit.



## THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitution of the United States had been adopted by five states. Then came Massachusetts by the narrow vote of 187 to 168; ten votes more against would have defeated the proposition. By the device of adjournment Langdon was able to stave off a defeat in New Hampshire, but in the interim Maryland adopted in April and South Carolina in May. When the Convention was re-convened on June 18th at Concord (Langdon being elected Speaker and President of the State, the latter over Sullivan by 800 votes), New Hampshire was able to take action. The organic instrument was adopted but with twelve suggested amendments. They were prepared by a strong committee, and were designed to restrict the central government and preserve more power to the states. The vote was 57 to 47, even with the "amendments". By the action of New Hampshire the Constitution of the United States was considered as in effect, eight of the thirteen states ratifying. There is nothing to show the attitude of the Stark family in all the discussions of the principles underlying the Federation but state rights rather than centralized authority would, naturally have been their choice. There were many honest misgivings as to placing so much power in far-off hands. Virginia adopted the Constitution shortly and then (in July) New York. North Carolina insisted upon amendments similar to those of New Hampshire. Only Rhode Island refused to call a Convention to take action.

In his retirement Stark's relations with Langdon, now the most prominent man in the state, could have been only nominal. Late in 1788 Langdon became the first United States Senator. Towns away from the coast, centre of the population and political control, would have but an ineffective interest when Payne Wingate of Stratham became the colleague of Langdon in January, 1789. But two of the smaller towns contributed to the first House of Representatives. Samuel Livermore was an able man and Holderness (Plymouth) was his nominal residence. The Rev. Abiel Foster of Canterbury was regarded far and wide for his character and ability. But the Senate was the powerful body. John Langdon had the distinction of declaring George Washington the first President of the United States when as President of the Senate he revealed the election returns.

### WASHINGTON'S VISIT TO NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1789

From Massachusetts Washington extended his tour to include Portsmouth.

He made it a practice to sleep in Taverns so as to avoid invidious distinctions. As elsewhere prominent men in New Hampshire vied with each other by dinners and receptions. On that October 31st, 1789, Sullivan, Langdon, Wingate, Nicholas Gilman and others were

honoring Washington. As it was not a case of invitations, Gen. Stark must be presumed to have been unable physically to make the journey to Portsmouth. Washington may well have noted his absence and would have been almost sure to inquire the cause, for he well knew that Stark was the State's real military hero. The annals of the family at Derryfield are silent.

## THE JOURNEY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON AND JAMES MADISON

At Bennington on June 5, 1791, a letter was written (Sparks "Washington", IV, 374) telling how the two men had gone "through Lake George by boat" and "about 25 miles into Lake Champlain", which would have taken in Crown Point as well as Ticonderoga. They passed through Saratoga (Schuylerville) and "the scenes of General Stark's victory". As the great Jefferson and his friend, Madison, journeyed side by side on horseback over the roads so familiar to John Stark he must have been in their minds much of the time. Neither ever met the soldier who had done so much in those encounters that decided their country's fate.

## STARK FAMILY ANNALS

The General arranged a consolidation of his own lands with those of his son, Major Caleb, in Dunbarton. Caleb's brother, Archibald, went into business with his cousin, Stephen Stark (1764-1821) son of Col. William. They kept a small store in Goffstown, adjoining Dunbarton, where Archibald resided. When Archibald died it was one of the hard shocks of the General's life. As a lad of 17 he had been with his father at Albany and later went with General Sullivan on the great foray against the "Six nations". Archibald made his will giving to Stephen his share of the stock in trade. Gen. John, the father, was Executor. It may be suspected that the store had been set up with his money. The General made the usual meticulous account, in March 1792, to the Probate Court at Amherst, taking all the fees as Executor in characteristic fashion, for the 63 year old fighter was a good, as well as a close, man of business. At this time there was born in the General's home a grandson, Frederick G. Stark, who became a successful merchant and capitalist beginning as a foot pedlar. He kept a diary mentioned in the Granite Monthly (1886) where his silhouette is reproduced.

## THE CANALS AND BRIDGING THE MERRIMACK

To end the perilous crossings by boat, an ambitious project was begun by Robert McGregor, (hence the "McGregor bridge") energetic executive of the "Proprietors". Many people were incredulous, including old fashioned Gen. Stark. It looked like a long job of

doubtful permanence. The General said;

"Well, Robert, you may succeed but when the first passenger crosses over, I shall be ready to die."

But Parker's "Londonderry," records that in 65 days from the felling of trees in the forest the bridge was open for traffic. Gen. Stark himself crossed the river by it many times. Robert had been one of the General's aides in the Bennington campaign. He lived to become one of the leading successors of Samuel Blodgett, promotor of the canal system, "one of the oldest in the country", and which created the city of Manchester. The General "never took much stock" literally or figuratively, in those enterprises. In 1795 when the canal proposals were ready for public subscriptions, the General's name did not go on the list. The day of canals had come and the time to harness the Amoskeag's great fall of water, 65 feet in all. The Middlesex canal from two miles above Lowell to Boston was begun, to be completed in 1803. At Manchester the last lock was done by 1807 and canal boats and barges loaded with merchandise passed freely up and down the river for some years.

#### STARK'S SAW MILLS ON THE RIVER

During the "nineties" the General retired from the lumber business on the bank of the Merrimack. He had built a mill "soon after the revolution" (Farmers' Monthly Visitor, 1852) using the ledge of rocks for the western side of the small canal. Land title records, (32.88) show the purchase in 1787 by Stark of 90 acres, a part of which he sold in 1791, with a saw mill, "near Whitaker's saw mill", the 70 rods of land running "to above Amoskeag Falls". If the original deed is ever discovered the signature of Elizabeth Stark ("Molly") will be seen. It is almost or quite an unknown article.

#### SMALL POX

Fourteen years had elapsed since Molly Stark was turned down in 1778. In 1792 a fresh visitation of the disease came to Derryfield. Potter gives the story;

"In the summer and fall of this year the small-pox prevailed in town and caused great excitement. The project was started of inoculating the inhabitants with the disease and furnishing a house for the purpose. A town meeting was called for the purpose; but the project was voted down.

Gen. Stark had his family inoculated and some others in town went to his house and had the disease by inoculation. The excitement continued and another meeting



was called "to prevent the spreading of the small pox in this town" and to choose a committee "to enquire into the cause of the small pox coming into this town and to punish the offenders."

At the meeting, Jan. 10th, 1793, a committee was formed for the purpose but the vote was afterwards reconsidered and the article dismissed."

The people of the world had not long to wait for in 1798 Edward Jenner published his discovery.

## A SCHOOL AND THE CHURCH

Teaching in homes continued until a small, one-room school was built near the falls in 1795, about 500 feet south-east of the Archibald Stark homestead. Boy and man at Derryfield for 59 years, Stark became elderly before the first school house was built by the town, supplanting private instruction by public educational facilities.

Regular church services were equally backward indicating limited interest and support. In 1792 Stark bought a pew in the gallery of the church structure, the finishing of which was delayed and frequently discontinued. His son, John, had a pew near the door, large enough to include his twelve children. Soon afterward Gen. Stark was appointed a committee to see about preaching. Son John was awarded the job or re-shingling the meeting house; price \$37.00. Toward the end of 1796 the extent of religious activity may be inferred from the item in the town records; "Voted- to hire Mr. Wm. Pickels for one third of the year ensuing." The following year it was voted to secure Mr. Pickels for preaching "if he can be obtained." But as Widow Hall was recompensed only \$1.50 for boarding him, it may be safely inferred that he was not obtained very often. In 1798 only \$50 was voted for preaching for the year, certainly a low state of religion.

At this time a semi-public library was started (there were "subscribers") with a few books. As late as 1826 there were only 87 on the shelves, with one "misen".

John Stark allowed an accumulation of unrecorded deeds during the years, (1765, 1768, 1772 and 1782) before bringing them to Amherst, the county seat. There were 500 acres in Conway and Hugh Stirling's right (brother-in-law of the General) "a part of the grant from Governor Wentworth for services in the last war between France and Gt. Britain". There were Merrimack River lots, near the Stark holdings.

## THE OHIO GRANTS

Some 850 acres of wild lands in Tuscarawas County, Ohio, were granted to John Stark by the United States on May 20, 1796, for services in the Revolutionary War, in the form of a Military Bounty Land Warrant. The gift turned out to be a veritable Pandora's box of trouble. It never did the Starks any good and finally caused the death of Major Caleb.

### MAJOR CALEB MERCHANT AND MANUFACTURER

At first at Page's corners Dunbarton, later with his emporium and storehouses on the farm near by, Major Caleb engaged in large transactions. Coopers were employed to make containers for the Boston market, as much as 20,000 yards of linen and tow cloth were sold, mostly by barter. By 1796 international trade was conducted. Vessels were afterward owned one being captured by the British and another lost at sea, by which an investment of \$20,000 was sunk. The brig "Shipsburg", sailed from Boston in November 1796, with Caleb's son Charles Stark on board, grandson of the General, 21 years old. It was never heard from. By 1807 Caleb and his brother-in-law, John McKinstry, were much in the foreign trade, sending a representative as far as Calcutta to buy and sell. The General was not one to take a financial risk in these enterprises of his son. His interest in everything outside his own home farm and vicinity was confined to the developments of national politics, in which he took a keen enjoyment. An exception was his observance of though not participation in, cotton spinning across the river. In 1809 the 80 year old man knew all about his son, John, becoming one of the first directors of the "Amoskeag Cotton and Woolen Factory". Samuel P. Kidder, his son-in-law, was also in it and also Jotham Gillis, later to marry the General's grand-daughter, Mary. After cotton from the South was picked over it was spun in the little mill and then handed to be woven by hand looms in the home an operation paying 2 cents a yard for coarse, 7 cents for fine cloth, for the labor. The venture had a mixed career, the plant being idle from 1816 till 1822, no doubt confirming the scepticism of old people like Gen. Stark. Amoskeag village across the river had started to grow up. Then capitalists from Massachusetts, encouraged by the success of a place near Pawtucket Falls named Lowell, acted on the opinion of competent engineers that the east side of the river was more feasible for the system of locks and canals, for manufacturing on a large scale. The decision meant little to the ageing General, but for his heirs a goodly heritage was in store. Experienced mill men from "down country" took over the water power rights.

## FRANCE

The upheavals, beginning in social disorders and anti-monarchical agitation, were discussed, in the limited knowledge obtainable, in the smaller places of New Hampshire as well as the sea-ports where the sailing vessels brought the news. Gen. Stark was chiefly interested in avoiding European entanglements. Things went on at Derryfield quietly, the convulsions were far away, nothing at home was affected. But when the time came and a possible conflict with France loomed, Washington was brought out of his retirement and made commander-in-chief once more. Generals were selected to command in a perplexing situation, Hamilton appointed and Knox resigning. Gen. Stark's name was not prominent owing to his age and physical condition. Washington himself was growing older fast, not realizing that he had only a year to live. But the tension relaxed and there were no land hostilities.

Stark's affiliations in national politics were with Jefferson and his party, opposed to the Federalists with Hamilton their chief exponent. In 1801 Jefferson began his first term, Madison his Secretary of State. Langdon declined the post of Secretary of the Navy. Those passing through Derryfield were glad to discuss with the old General political gossip, and debate the views of the leaders of the young republic, in the throes of constitutional changes, to solidify the powers of the nation versus those of the states. The tedious journeys of men like Daniel Webster, broken by overnight stays at the near-by tavern, afforded Stark reliable information only occasionally, sometimes conflicting with the strictly partisan weekly newspapers of Concord, Portsmouth, Salem and Boston.

## GENERAL STARK'S LAND

In 1772 he deeded to John Ray (traditionally "brought up from a boy") a part of the home farm, the only family transfer for years to come. "Johnny Ray" had married "Mary Russell", presumably sister of James of Bow. In 1801 the General sold to John Stark the "northerly part of the farm I now live on", reserving 200 acres off the south side "which I have willed to my grandson, John Stark which now lives with me". In 1806 he deeded this lot to the young man not waiting for the will. The original Stark farm now comprises the finest residential portion of the city of Manchester. Even in 1904 it was estimated to be worth \$3,500,000. (Roland Rowell "General John Stark's Home farm"; Manchester Historic Assoc.) In 1765 the General was taxed only \$6.00 on the whole of it.



## GENERAL STARK'S EARLY WILLS

In 1805 one superceded one of 1801. A yellowed paper of one page is preserved purporting to be a copy of a will "which was burned by his wife". He was "Gentleman", "of sound mind and perfect memory tho in the 77th year". "He provided for the remission of the payment of certain notes" of \$1200 from Caleb to him and another of John W. Stark of \$100, his grandson, while to "John Stark, Junior" he gave notes due from others, &c. of value \$1200. There the paper ends. Whether he ever made another is not known.

## FAMILY AFFAIRS

Anna, the General's oldest sister, 2nd wife of William Gamble, was burned to death in her home on the night of Jan. 28th, 1805, her gold ring being retrieved from the ashes, to be now seen in the Manchester Historic Association. At 16 the General's grand-daughter, Betsey, married Samuel P. Kidder, (1768-1822.) She died Aug. 13, 1865 leaving a daguerrotype, one of the few of the entire family. The Kidders lived in "the old Campbell house" for 95 years. Martha, daughter of Isabel Stark and Hugh Stirling of the Conway-Fryeburgh section was a favorite niece of the General, brought up by him but who married "against the general's wishes" (tradition) Nathan Whitaker. Brother Samuel's daughter, Fannie, was also a favorite niece and when she was 43 was in the general's household when he had his last illness and died. She told Stephen Stark (1832-1901) "all about the funeral" and indicated that her uncle "dispensed an elegant hospitality" but nothing more of her story is left for posterity.

## THE FRIENDSHIP WITH REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY

Strongly individualistic like Stark this Unitarian minister of Salem, Mass. gives us valuable glimpses of the General. It seems that Bentley was "short and rotund", had some knowledge of 21 languages, wrote 2300 sermons, was an Oriental scholar and wrote weekly reviews to the Gazette and the Register, though never out of Massachusetts save his two short trips to see General Stark and once into Maine. His Diaries (three volumes, Essex Inst. 1905) show the first visit to Stark, May 26, 1805, with two companions, Richardson and Brown.

"I have always wished to obtain a portrait of my Hero, and being told that he would refuse the liberty of taking it at a former visit I asked his leave and told him what I had heard. He replied 'I would not give a penny for it but if it can please a friend he shall have it'".

In May, 1810, when the dominie's favorite niece, Hannah Crowninshield, was old enough to sketch, they drove up from Salem and while she used red crayon and drew, what later became an "aid memoire", the following (Bentley to President Madison, V41.76, Madison MSS. ) gives us the scene, a very unusual character view;

"She observed to me afterward 'Sir, he kept you upon the roar, but I never caught one smile from himself. I saw every other emotion; a tell tale'."

Dr. Bentley wrote that the original "is to be engrossed and painted in oil". It was, apparently in deadly seriousness that the General talked to the appreciative parson.

### THOMAS JEFFERSON'S GLOWING TRIBUTE

Jefferson was re-elected President, Gov. Clinton of New York becoming Vice President. Stark saw in Jefferson the American principles (as he had subscribed to them) were to prevail and that British influence, with tendencies toward a caste system was controlled and lessened. Bentley probably sent the newspapers.

"To General Stark;                      Monticello, August 19th, 1805.

Respected General; I have lately learned through the channel of the newspapers, with pleasure, that you are still in life and enjoy health and spirits. The victories of Bennington- the first link in the chain of successes which issued in the surrender at Saratoga- are still fresh in the memory of every American, and the name of him who achieved them dear to his heart. Permit me, therefore, as a stranger who knows you only by the services you have rendered, to express to you the sincere emotions of pleasure and attachment which he felt on learning that your days had been prolonged- his fervent prayer that they may still be continued in comfort, and the conviction that whenever they end, your memory will be cherished by those who come after you, as one who has not lived in vain for his country. I salute you venerable patriot and general.

With affection and reverence,

THOMAS JEFFERSON."

The General's reply, couched in the formal and courteous measures of the time, plainly evidenced the pleasure he had experienced in having such a letter from the head of the State. It was a period when the principles of government were seriously discussed by every intelligent man. Individual convictions were deep. All knew that the new nation had embarked on an uncharted course."

"Derryfield, October, 1805.

Respected Sir- Your friendly letter of August 19th. came to hand a few days since; but owing to the imbecility inseparably connected with the wane of life I have not been able to acknowledge it till now.

I have been in my 77th year since the 28th of August last and since the close of the Revolutionary war have devoted my time entirely to domestic employments, and in the vale of obscurity and retirement, have tasted that tranquility which the hurry and bustle of a busy world can seldom afford. I thank you for the compliment you are pleased to make me, nor will I conceal the satisfaction I feel in receiving from a man who possesses so large a share of my confidence.

I will confess to you, sir, that I once began to think that the labors of the Revolution were in vain and that I should live to see the system restored which I had assisted in destroying.

But my fears are at an end; and I am calmly preparing to meet the unerring fate of men, with, however the satisfactory reflection that I leave a numerous progeny, in a country highly favored by nature, and under a government whose principles and views I believe to be correct and just.

With the highest considerations of respect and esteem, I have the honor to be, sir, your most obed't serv't

JOHN STARK."

The use of the word "imbecility" was odd, even for the times, though its original significance was "having the mental faculties feeble"; a matter of strength, not of quality. The thoughts were undoubtedly the General's though the wording partly embodied the work of Caleb or of son-in-law Stickney.

#### SERIOUS ILLNESS, 1806

Fearing death the General on April 11th conveyed to grandson, John, the 200 acres referred to. On the 28th Bentley noted in his Diary that he learned that the General was feeble, his frequent rheumatic troubles having culminated in a severe attack of the gout, probably accentuated by a steady, though restrained consumption of rum, the General's favorite beverage, but there were the inevitable results of arduous out of door life, fatigues of the campaign, irregularity of meals, improper food and bad cooking. Shortly (July 29th) one of the General's sons, Benjamin Franklin Stark, died at 29, while keeping a small store, north of Derryfield; "Isle of Hooksett". Some time before the 16th of August the Bennington Committee invited their



hero's presence at the annual celebration of the battle. There being no reply in published correspondence, it is probable his low condition prevented an acknowledgment.

### JOHN STARK'S RELIGION

In accordance with the custom of the times Chaplains were provided during the periods of the French and Indian War and of the Revolution. Presumably as Capt. Stark or as Col. Stark he usually attended with his men, though the Rangers appear to have had no official chaplains. His own services in matters of Church building and procuring ministers and similar assignments indicate that the family was never inconspicuous in religious matters. About 1907, probably soon after the General's illness, Elder James Randall visited the 79 year old veteran at Derryfield. It is plain that when the General found an earnest and sincere soul he warmed to him. The Elder set down what he found (Man. His. Assoc. 1909, extract)

"August 7th I arrived at Derryfield, N. H. and dined with General Stark, the Revolutionary patriot, whose name as a hero will ever be dear to Americans. We had much conversation on the subject of religion.

The interview was very interesting to me. I availed myself of the privilege of opening my mind freely, and labored much to show the general my views of the way of salvation and of the necessity of regeneration. The general, being affected with the remarks exclaimed 'You are not what formalists and bigots call a Christian.' 'And' continued he 'if it were not for four things, which those called Christians hold, namely, anarchy, avarice, superstition and tradition I should be a Christian.' 'Why, sir' I replied 'I hate all those things and yet I am a Christian.' The General, in a flood of tears, exclaimed, 'God bless you, God bless you, God bless you' and said 'I am an old man of eighty years and shall stay here but a little while, but my wife is younger than I and will probably outlive me and I shall charge her and my son ever to receive you and treat you respectfully.' I thanked him and gave him the parting hand, but not without shedding some tears."

Stickney's paragraph of 1810 might indicate an indifferent attitude toward the subject but his stand was a reaction as to sending a missionary to the Indians because he felt he knew so much of their fundamental morality. Dr. Bentley in his Diaries fails to give a statement as to the General's beliefs, though the General always referred to Bentley as "My Chaplain."

"Within a few years a person asked Gen. Stark to subscribe money to send a missionary among the Indians to teach them religion. He told the gentleman that he would subscribe an equal sum to send for an Indian to teach us morality. The condition was not complied with." (Stickney, 1810)

#### STARK'S RESPONSES TO BENNINGTON INVITATIONS

For the celebration of 1809 a Committee at Bennington made a more determined effort to secure the attendance of Gen. Stark, expenses paid. The letter of July 22nd. told of the meeting of more than sixty who fought in the battle and now joined in asking Stark to come.

"No event could so animate the 'brave sons of liberty' as to see their venerable leader and preserver once more in Bennington, that the young men may once have the pleasure of seeing the man, who so gallantly fought to defend their sacred rights, their fathers and mothers, and protected them while lisping in infancy".

If his health should not permit the journey the committee asked for a letter. Stark's answer, "At my quarters, Derryfield, 31st July, 1809" was "To my Friends and Fellow Soldiers". It evidenced his belief that the times called for an extended expression of his patriotic and political convictions;

"I received yours of the 23rd instant containing your fervid expressions of friendship and your very polite invitation to meet with you to celebrate the 16th of August in Bennington. As you observe 'I can never forget that I commanded American troops' on that day at Bennington. They were men who had not learned the art of submission, nor had they been trained to the art of war. But our 'astonishing success' taught the enemies of liberty that undisciplined freemen are superior to veteran slaves. I fear that we shall have to teach the lesson anew to that perfidious nation. Nothing could afford me greater pleasure than to meet your 'Brave Sons of Liberty' on the fortunate spot. But, as you justly anticipate the infirmities of old age will not permit, for I am now four score and one years old, and the lamp of life is almost spent. I have had of late many such invitations, but was not ready, for there was no oil in the lamp.

You say you wish your young men to see me; but you who have seen me can tell them that I was never worth

much for a show, and certainly cannot be worth their seeing me now.

In case of my not being able to attend, you wish my sentiments. These you shall have as free as the air we breathe. As I was then, I am now, the friend of the equal rights of men, of representative democracy, of republicanism, and the Declaration of Independence, the great charter of our national rights and of course a friend to the indissoluble union, and constitution of the States. I am the enemy of all foreign influence, for all foreign influence is the influence of tyranny. This is the only chosen spot of Liberty, This is the only Republic on earth.

You well know gentlemen that at the time you celebrate there was a powerful British faction in the country (called Tories) a material part of the force we contended with. This faction was rankling in our councils, until it laid a foundation for the subversion of our liberties. But by having good centinels at our outposts, we were apprised of our danger; the sons of freedom beat the alarm, and as at Bennington, they came, they saw and they conquered.

They are my orders now, and will be my last orders, to all my volunteers, to look to their sentries; for there is a dangerous British party in the country lurking in their hiding places more dangerous than all our foreign enemies; and whenever they shall openly appear, let them render the same account of them as was given at Bennington, let them assume what name they will.

I shall remember gentlemen the respect you and 'the inhabitants of Bennington and its neighborhood' have shown me, until I go to the country from which no traveller returns. I must soon receive marching orders.

JOHN STARK"

"Live free or die; Death is not the worst of evils" was a volunteer sentiment that accompanied this letter (Caleb Stark, 1831). When a similar invitation came the following year the Committee wrote the General;

"The toast, sir, which you sent us in 1809 will continue to vibrate with unceasing pleasure in our ears, "Live free or die; Death is not the worst of evils."

A little late, the General replied on Sept. 20th, 1810, the last words from him to the people of Vermont, saying he was "worn beyond all hope of repairs" and that the "objects that I once delighted in are indifferent to me, but if anything could have given me pleasure it would have been with you on the 16th of August." He closed;



"Be assured of my friendship for yourselves and the other inhabitants of the Green mountains and accept my thanks for their respect."

#### NEW HAMPSHIRE'S NEW MOTTO

"Live Free or Die, Death is not the worst of evils" has now, by Legislative action become the State Motto, New Hampshire one of the oldest having been one of the last to adopt one, 135 years after John Stark sent it, a clarion call, to Bennington. It was a near thing a belated recognition of its superiority, after one house of the legislative body had adopted a different one following a newspaper poll which brought out no less than 3500 proposals which were culled down to 28 good ones and finally to three, not one of the whole number having been "Live Free or Die." Law in effect from May 1, 1945.

#### BENTLEY-MADISON-STARK CORRESPONDENCE

After describing Stark (Amer. Antiq. Soc. Aug. 12, 1809) as living with the independence of a mountain farmer "without any ambition of any award for past services" with the view of drawing Stark out in a commendation of Madison's administration, Stark wrote Bentley;

"Peace is undoubtedly our greatest good as long as peace can be honorable. But I fear that if we tip the cup of conciliation any higher we shall have to drink the dregs. . . I think Madison will not wait for the Arnolds or Pickerings of our country. Although he has not recommended a declaration of war to Congress I think he will not suspend it long . . . But it is the greatest consolation that I have that I shall leave the general government of my country in so good hands."

Madison's correspondence (Library of Congress) yielded several letters between him and Stark, now published through the courtesy of Irving and Hazeldean Brant, having been found in the preparation of their "Life of James Madison". Madison took notice of the Stark-to-Bentley letter and on Dec. 26th, 1809 he wrote the General (Stark papers N.H. Hist. Soc.)

"Sir- A very particular friend of yours, who has been much recommended to my esteem, has lately mentioned you to me in a manner in which I avail myself to offer this expression of the sense I have always entertained of your character, and of the part you bore as a hero and a patriot in establishing the independence of our country. I can not better render this tribute than by congratulating you on the happiness you can not fail to derive from the motives which made you a champion in so glorious a cause; from the gratitude shown by your fellow citizens for your distinguished services, and especially from the opportunity which a protracted life has given you of witnessing the triumphs of republican institutions, so dear to you, in the unrivalled prosperity flowing from them, during a trial of more than a fourth of a century.

May your life be continued as long as it can be a blessing, and may the example it will bequeath never be lost upon those who live after you.

JAMES MADISON

Gen. John Stark."

The mails were slow and Madison's letter to Stark (of December 26) was not received until January 20, 1810. Stark's reply left Derryfield the next day.

"Sir- I had yesterday the pleasure of receiving an address from the first magistrate of the only republic on earth. The letter compliments me highly upon my services as a soldier and praises my patriotism. It is true, I love the country of my birth, for it is not only the land which I would choose before all others, but it is the only spot where I would wear out the remnant of my days with any satisfaction.

Twice has my country been invaded by foreign enemies and twice I went out with her citizens to obtain a peace. When that object was attained I returned to my farm and my original occupation. I have ever valued peace so highly that I would not sacrifice it for anything but freedom; yet submission to insult I never thought the way to obtain or support either.

I was pleased with your dismissal of the man sent by England to insult us: because she will ascertain by experiment that we are the same nation we were in '76, grown stronger by age and having gained wisdom by experience.

If the enmity of the British is to be feared, their alliance is still more dangerous. I have fought by their side as well as against them and have found them to be treacherous and ungenerous as friends and dishonorable as enemies. I have also tried the French, first as enemies,

since as friends, and although all the strong prejudices of my youth were against them, still I have formed a more favorable opinion of them than of the English. Let us watch even them.

But of all the dangers from which I apprehend the most serious evil to my country, and our republican institutions, none requires a more watchful eye than our internal British faction.

If the communication of the result of my experience can be of any service in the approaching storm, or if any benefit can arise from any example of mine, my strongest wish will be gratified.

The few days or weeks of the remainder of my life will be in friendship with James Madison.

JOHN STARK."

In sending Stark's letter to the President, Dr. Bentley wrote the following note;

"He dictated it to his son-in-law B. F. Stickney..... Once when I was at the General's house, his son, Major Caleb Stark, was called upon to write a letter for the General's signature. The Major wrote a letter as he would express the thoughts for himself. Upon the reading the General burst out 'Not your words for my truth-Truth to the man and the matter. Give my own words and my truth together'. The General is a favorite son of nature. Not a vice has attached to his character and he has lived long and much in the world without corruption from it; independent in mind and condition.....Every sentence of the General is an apothegm."

#### POLITICAL VITUPERATION

To counter the influence of Stark's letters when published, the opposition party resorted, in the Troy GAZETTE of Dec. 11th, 1809, to this, reprinted in Howell's "Green Mountain Farmer";

"The old General (a meritorious officer in his day) has been for some considerable time past so much addicted to the use of spirituous liquor that his faculties have been impaired and he has more of pettiness than reason about him and in addition he is in so advanced a stage of life as to be in a state of second childhood. Sensible of the General's failings the Jacobins have selected him for their operations. Letters are prepared and sent to him calculated to put words and



sentiments into his mouth and which he faithfully recites in his answers, when, forsooth, they are ushered to the world with much parade as the sentiments of an old Revolutionary patriot."

Possible the hero of Bennington was used to some extent and was not averse to having the Madison correspondence published, (Stickney to Bentley, Jan. 29, 1810) knowing that a letter Stark wrote Bennington citizens had "a marked effect on their election", but when Bentley wrote Madison for permission, the President "mildly expressed dissent, not too positively". The charge of the GAZETTE of second childhood at 80 was decidedly premature and that of excessive drinking, merely malice. Bentley, verbose and flattering, wrote Madison Feb. 2nd, 1810;

"With the utmost care I conveyed the letter to General Stark and though my importunity might be troublesome, it obtained for me a great pleasure. On the occasion I find that the General has not so much of the Philosopher as of the Good Old Man. He felt with ecstasy that he had a share in the affections of the man he revered as a rich benefactor of his country, and like good old Simeon, he pronounced 'Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace'. To impart his pleasure is to enjoy it. To resist the wish of his heart was to deny him a free draught from his overflowing cup of pleasure.

I have inclosed the letters which passed, that the documents might speak for themselves. Let him do as seemeth to him good. He hopes to be useful to his country and a more sincere friend no country ever had.

I hope, sir, that you will have a kind opinion of my acquiescence. I never had more pleasure than from the pure flame, as an unknown friend, I had assisted to kindle. Your letter, Sir, has made a Good man happy."

(Courtesy, Mr. & Mrs. Brant.)

#### AGAIN, BENTLEY TO MADISON

Because we have so few pen pictures of John Stark, parts of Bentley's long letter from Salem, dated, July 2, 1810, describing his May visit to the general, are interesting, even in the minister's stilted phrases and obscurities. The closing gave one thing, never mentioned anywhere, by descendants or writers, that Stark had "the strong Scotch accent of his Ancestors.....as if he was immediately from their native country." It was probably marked, when over-earnest, as with Bentley.

"Having lately had an interview with Gen. Stark at his home in Derryfield, I thought it would not be displeasing to you to hear from him. I reached his house on 31 May, after having spent the morning with Col. Thornton and having visited the monument of his Father, who signed the Declaration of our Independence. He died at Merrimack in 1803, aged 89 years. Upon the stone opposite is written, 'The Honest Man'. I found General Stark at home and in his usual good humor after political events which please him. He repeated with the fondness of age his war stories. He was very free in his sarcasms upon the prevailing superstition, and hoped his chaplain, as he called me, was not addicted to it. He had read Paine and Palmer but his independent mind had gathered little from the history of religion, tho' much from his own good habits. His historical researches are few and often careless, but he spends the enthusiasm of a strong mind upon [obscure word] Patriotism. He feels the Roman definitions, without having heard of them. His conversation has not refinement but deep interest. He said,

'I flatter no man- I dare not flatter myself- and he who attempts to flatter me disputes with me- and I have as much pride in my opinions as any man - for they are the heart and soul of me'.

Besides the sketches of him from his son-in-law, Capt. Stickney, the Major, Caleb Stark, intends a history of General Stark after his decease should he survive his father. The major is a merchant in Boston and a man of accomplished manners and good understanding. The General, observing upon the Embargo and the resistance of the merchants, to whose habits he has no indulgence from inclination or his manner of life, observed

'The worst Embargo upon our country would be upon our plows and our spinning wheels- We should have no Embargo at home- We should despise to give any nation any advantage over us from anything it could possess. A free people will never think themselves dependent upon any other people for anything. They will exchange but not purchase. They will be the better for it, or not have it at all!'

#### STARK'S INTEREST IN POLITICAL AFFAIRS

His nature was not one to mellow with age. The great movements of the period were stirring to a man of Stark's mentality,

intense and more pointed than broad. His long experience with Washington and his observation of the man's later career, inclined him to the principles of Jefferson. In him, from the early years of the Republic, Stark saw the expression of his own ideals. The French Revolution and the amazing stories of Napoleon must have animated him and when the second war with Great Britain came with invasion and the exasperating burning of the Capitol, he had a personal interest in the participation of Cap't Stickney, who, at the battle of New Orleans was complimented by General Jackson for his bravery.

### FAMILY AND HOME

It was in these that his activities centered and found compensations but his visitors were many, for he was a famous man, intelligent and of wide experience who took keen pleasure in greeting important travellers and discussing the events and trends of the world at large.

Stickney wanted an appointment as Indian agent, so father-in-law Stark wrote to the President twice (in October, 1810, and again in the following Spring) and Stickney was placed at Fort Wayne, Indiana, serving acceptably, eventually settling at Toledo, becoming one of its founders, dying there in 1852, his lands valuable.

Bentley's last letter, directed to "Manchester" not Derryfield, Dec. 31, 1810, shows his large, round, ministerial, sermon-like hand. He indicates sending "My Good General" many packets of interest, some by "your worthy son at Boston". The population of the village was but 615, but from then on, with its new name, it grew.

Brother Samuel had died in 1809 and the General was left alone, his remaining brother, Archibald living at Hopkinton, though Isabel and Hugh Stirling may have been still alive off in the Conway-Fryeburg sparsely settled country near the mountains. From a diary (Sarah Connell Ayer, Pembroke, May 6, 1811) we learn that the General sometimes went to Dunbarton; "Papa went to Dunbarton with Mr. Stickney to see General Stark". Caleb was sending his eldest son, John William, to sea, at 24, as his passport stated. He died a prosperous merchant in Boston in 1835, two years before his father. Soon after the first cotton enterprise began, John G. Moor, husband of his daughter, Amelia, in 1812 became superintendent. In 1813 at Ryegate, Vermont, the General's daughter, Elizabeth wife of John G. Cameron died at 42 mother of nine children. Down at Portsmouth the General's old supporter and friend, John Langdon, lost his wife and soon after his mental powers began to fail. In money matters the General was not easily taken in. From Dunbarton, June 23, 1810 he wrote Caleb's brother-in-law, John McKinstry, at Boston to make good a counterfeit bill, "received of you", the item to be kept entirely separate from others. His P.S. was "Your sister and family are well. I saw them this afternoon."



Embargoes and blockades preceding the war of 1812 put an end to the import-export business of Caleb Stark and the firm of Stark and McKinstry and so Caleb turned his attention to manufacturing. He acquired a 13 acre tract at what is now Suncock and there did business for about 20 years. The "chops" of the successor mills, "China Mills" and "Pembroke Mills" became famous in the Orient.

### DEATH OF MOLLY STARK

The hardest blow the old soldier ever had to face was the loss of his help-meet, Elizabeth Page (Molly) Stark on June 29th, 1814. The July 19th issue of the Patriot of Concord recorded the event;

"She retained her strength of mind and bodily health with scarce a day's sickness from her youth until attacked with a typhus fever on the 24th of June which terminated fatally on the 29th."

There are two surviving incidents at her funeral. The preacher not only essayed to extol the virtues of the deceased but those of General Stark himself. The latter, unable to hear himself praised at such a time and place, rapped on the floor with his cane, spoke up sharply and ended the solecism; "Tut, tut, enough o'that, an it please you". As his wife's body was being borne out of the house, he being unable to follow, said; "Good-bye, Molly, we'll never sup again in this world." As Herrick heard from a descendant it was, "Good bye, Molly, we sup no more together on earth". Then 86 years of age and for years a sufferer from bad health John Stark never recovered from the loss of his wife of 56 years. She had been a balance wheel to his more impetuous temperament and probably saved him from many a hasty mistake. Her story is one of the "short and simple annals". Of the sturdy pioneer woman who is now so famous there is not a letter extant to her or from her. She could write for her name was signed to deeds, without "marks". Copley discerned and transmitted something of her noble countenance, a faculty of great painters. Bentley, having seen her, twice at least, paid this clerical tribute;

"July 23, 1814. News has reached us of the death of Elizabeth, wife of General John Stark of Manchester, N.H. aet. 77, many years younger than the General. She had all the prudence of a good wife and all the affection of a good mother. Her character was mild and suited to make a complete whole with the independence and bold virtues of her Cincinnatus."

The difference in their ages was but nine. As she had never been ill she probably appeared well and healthy, younger than her years. In 1877 her wedding dress (of which at least one tiny piece has been preserved) travelled to Bennington with descendants, but has long since disappeared. An old resident told Mr. John Spargo of the Museum that Molly must have been a very small woman as they finally had to select a fifteen year old girl to put it on. As the party also said that Molly had "pale blue eyes" the correctness of the story may be doubted. The General's eyes were that kind. Unmarried girls of around 20 years often have a youthful slenderness and, in those days, required small bodices.<sup>3</sup> Molly was probably of medium height. Copley's painting would not suggest the diminutive, indeed had she varied from the usual, it would have been a matter of tradition. A few hollow gold beads are left, attributed to her (Manch. Hist. Assoc.) and a towel, of pure linen from domestic flax, is there one with an elaborate pattern with a fringe, said to have been woven by Molly Stark. A small iron pot with three legs and a long handle, "Molly Stark's gravy kettle", is owned by a descendant, Mrs. H. G. Little.

Anecdotes because of their "lateness" must always remain questionable, such as that in the second History of Chester, N.H. Gen. Stark to Molly, "Spin away, spin away, You'll have to have a spinning wheel in your coffin". "You'll have to have a jug of rum in yours" was the retort. Something like this may have been said. In the New England vernacular, "It sounds reasonable". Another recent tale, in more than one version, doubtless much garbled and lending itself to an excess of story-telling gusto, deals with Molly going out to some local party against the General's wishes. She afterward found her best dress tucked into a butter churn. After a similar escapade, or perhaps the same one, Molly, locked out, got back in the night through a window. At about 97 Mrs. Robie's interview (Manchester Mirror) gave her recollection, "the family used to gather in the old south room and there all did their spinning". There used to be a shoemaker who came to the house at stated intervals, she said, and made their shoes in the kitchen.

Probably soon after his serious illness in 1806 a family burial ground was planned, on the farm, near the Merrimack, where there was a placid and peaceful outlook to the West, where the Uncanoonucs, two large wooded hills, were in view. After her burial it was 1820 before others were interred; great-great-grandchildren. Eventually nearly every close descendant of John and Molly Stark found honored interment there. Possibly no bones were disturbed but the supposed exigencies of a public memorial including a Park, served to remove every grave stone except the shaft of the General, Molly's going too. (see "Stark Park.")

## GENERAL STARK'S PENSION

To support himself during his rapidly declining years the General authorized Caleb to apply for a pension and he became the familiar sight, button-holing complaisant-appearing Congressmen. After securing something, Livermore of New Hampshire on Apr. 18, 1818, moved to increase the \$40 a month to \$60, the same as that of Arthur St. Clair, another needy one. Butler and Harrison, also Congressmen, made appropriate remarks. The N. H. Patriot (Dec. 3, 1818) indicated something sinister;

"When this terminated he had to encounter the hatred of men who have made some figure in our state who were entrusted with office. Attempts were made to defraud the hero of his pittance, of the penny he had earned while saving his country."

The Patriot's Editor was no man to "let sleeping dogs lie" when they could be roused to bark and bite at his will, but his remarks were, probably, only too well understood. Effective as of Aug. 16th, 1817, (the anniversary of the battle of Bennington) the law of December, 1818 did scant justice, after running the fire of adverse remarks arising out of the bitter controversies of the Putnam-Dearborn imbroglio. Carrying arrears of \$758.96 and a semi-annual payment of \$360, the certificate (S7926- a "low number" to-day) was mailed Jan. 18, 1819 to "Major Caleb Stark, Pembroke, N.H." The letter from the War Department was signed by a young man named John C. Calhoun.

After Molly's death the General, confined to his room much of the time, desired increased light and to see more of the out of doors. He had one of the front windows doubled in size, that is, a window was added alongside the one nearest the corner of the house. It was there when Mary Gillis, born 1824, great-granddaughter, made her rectilinear drawing of the homestead, surviving in Herrick's water color. (Manch. Hist. Assoc.) He introduced animals and the sitting General.

## SENILITY

Very little is found as to the General's failing mind. The first evidence is indubitable, the appointment of Caleb Stark as Guardian of his person and his real and personal estate, Jan. 5, 1819, it being done by John Harris, Judge of Probate, Hillsborough County, (Vol. 24p365, Nashua) at Hopkinton "Upon inquisition of the Selectmen of the town of Manchester." It was decreed on the ground that "John Stark, an inhabitant of said town is a person non compos mentis." There is nothing to show that the appointment



was other than prudential, with the approval of the family, to safe-guard everything and to enable Caleb to collect the pension money. The state of the old gentleman's mind was well known locally. The Essex Register contained (May 29, 1819) an article inspired (or written) by "a neighbor" (Guess who!) and the badly drawn picture and the twaddle, nevertheless give a view of a very feeble old man who occasionally roused up to take part, with some of the admirable old strength, in the conversation. Then would follow one of the most pathetic of sights, the weakness and dotage of one who had accomplished great deeds of valor, leading and inspiring other men to like efforts. It is a pleasant inference that he was docile and that he took kindly, for the most part, to the ministrations of his grand-daughters, who were his attendants.

"We have had news of General Stark lately. One of our worthy neighbors took tea with him and found the lucid intervals in which his mind has self possession. His powers cannot long support the weight of thought. The same strength, the same apothegm, the same original energy is about him. He awakes often and shows that nothing is in him that has not appeared the same enobled character in the whole of his long life. The scene was peculiarly interesting from the two females of his family who are always with him. They foresaw everything and anticipated everything and he acted as freely by their powers as if they had been his own. It was hinted how much he was seen to enjoy from their sympathies and affection. The sweet accent replied 'all our cares cannot repay him for the soul he gave us, when he blessed our childhood and took a generous pleasure in our pleasures.'"

( Essex Register, Salem.)

### THE LAST YEAR

In that race of decadence, for the coming three and a half years, the strength of a vigorous and tense mind was destined to succumb first, leaving the functions of a body of uncommon hardihood to suffer a belated collapse. In the last year or two he stayed out of doors, sitting in the yard, feeding, petting and teaching, the dog, the horse, the poultry, especially one fine rooster who would (Herrick) crow when urged, sitting on the General's cane. "It was a very long one", "nearly as tall as himself" some one said who remembered him standing at the window

gazing. Mrs. Robie nearly 13 when it occurred, told of standing "by his bedside when its spirit took its flight on the 8th day of May, 1822." The two grand-daughters were identified, Miss Betsey Blodgett and Miss Mary Babson. Betsey, of whom no birth or death record is available was probably about 30. The other handmaiden was the General's daughter Eleanor's second child, Mary, born 1790, and who died in 1872 unmarried, buried near the General and Molly.

#### MRS. ROBIE'S RECOLLECTIONS

"The house was in the old style of architecture with a front door in the middle of the first story with a wide hallway extending the entire depth of the building. The General occupied the north part of the house and was accustomed to receive visitors in the sitting room which was the first apartment on the right after entering. In the south-east corner of this room there was a buffet, the upper door of which was of glass and the lower one of wood. Upon the upper shelves were displayed old time drinking glasses and rare decorated china, while below was kept a stock of liquors which grandfather dispensed to his visitors with princely hospitality. There was a shelf which could be drawn out to set the glasses and decanters on.....Near to the barn on the same side of the road was a tall, slender silver poplar tree which the General thought a great deal of. When I was a child I recollect how my grandfather especially in mid-summer days would go out and look at the tree and admire its graceful proportions and he was always particular to call the attention of visitors to its beauty. ....The General was quite impulsive in his nature in his closing days and was easily irritated. Upon one occasion when I did some childish thing which displeased him, he caught up a large pan full of cold water and threw it over me, drenching my clothing through to my skin. On the front door of my old home there was a heavy ancient brass knocker which was stolen during the fire. ....I have in my possession a post which was used in the bannisters of the old house."

Descendants told Herrick that the General would allow neither paint nor paper, at least on the inside of the house. John's father, Archibald, had been a joiner and the boy used to note and admire the fine large, clear panels and other joiner work of his father and probably determined to have for his own the best obtainable.

A stray item turns up in the Dinsmore family of Laconia in whose cemetery lot is buried Ellen D. Stark (1815-1895) granddaughter of the General. As a girl she recalled that the General was accustomed to go to a little cup-board back of the chimney in his room and drink a little rum from a tin cup.

### THE LAST ILLNESS

In the yellowed files of the New Hampshire Patriot at Concord is found the only contemporary account, a full column, black leaded;

"The immortal Stark is no more.

The last of April he suffered a paralytic stroke, some 18 days before his death, with choking and inability to swallow while eating. After that he ate no more and during the remaining time he was speechless, although to his watchful friends and relations who stood around him he retained his senses to the last. Until the last attack he had been able to walk about the house and, in pleasant weather, out of doors."

(Edition, May 13, 1822)

The aged man was starving to death before the eyes of his helpless loved ones. Modern science could have done little except to alleviate and postpone. One side was paralyzed but he could make known his wishes "by signs and the expression of his eyes" and Herrick also learned;

"Just before his last attack he had expressed to his son, Caleb, his wish and readiness to depart whenever it was God's will. His mind had been exercised for a few years on the realities of the last great charge and the Bible had been the constant companion of his sick room. While unable to speak or move one half of his body, he would give a motion to the sound leg and look up in the face of his nurse with a playful expression, signifying that a little of the old General was animate yet."

### FUNERAL OF GEN. JOHN STARK

It may be assumed that the General was buried in his old Continental uniform as it was a military funeral and the uniform has never been heard of. At the General's request the ceremonies were "simple and unostentatious". Yet dignified honors were paid. Herrick's account, derived from living descendants, included;



"In front of the house, beyond the road, a line of infantry, leaning on reversed arms, under the fragrant budding of the orchard, waited the time of their escort service. The day was quite oppressive in its heat and many of the soldiers suffered in their warm and close uniforms. At the close of the religious service by the Rev. Mr. Dana of Londonderry and the Rev. Ephraim Bradford of New Boston, the procession was formed. The military moved in front and at the sides of the body as escort. Mr. Ray, a much respected neighbor, led the horse Hessian, decked in war trappings, and the long procession of mourners moved from the lawn and at the sad funeral pace, proceeded to the family burying ground in the field, about a quarter of a mile distant. The young people of the town unbeknown to their elders obtained a small cannon and stationed it some distance from the grave and fired minute guns as the procession approached. The body was deposited in its last resting place and the infantry, filing right and left of the spot, fired three volleys as their last mournful tribute of respect to the memory of the beloved patriot and soldier."

#### STARK PARK

In 1829 the family caused a modest shaft of Concord granite to be placed at the grave, marked simply "M.G. John Stark" (not "Major General John Stark" as Potter stated and all historians and writers, including grandson Caleb, followed). The first photograph shows a typical family burial plot surrounded by a fence of wooden posts with cappings, squared rails between. Molly's stone, an ordinary slab, was inscribed "In Memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Stark, who died June 29th, 1814 in the 77th year of her age." (not "1794" as on the present large central memorial.) After the fence and its gate had fallen into decay a long period of neglect ensued. The author remembers the ground as of May, 1889, when, aged 21, he lay on the grass there and began a sonnet, later finished but still unpublished, describing the peaceful scene, the tranquil river, the Uncanoonucs beyond in the sunlight of ebbing day, and two large poplars, probably successors of the one the General admired on his home place. The next photograph shows no fence, (Willey's Nutfield, 1895. p. 151). In 1876 Elizabeth B. and Augustus H. Stark, surviving children of John Stark 3rd, deeded to Manchester two acres containing the burial plot, stipulating that \$300 be spent annually in upkeep. In 1886 General George Stark of Nashua sought to energize city and state in a project for an equestrian statue, of which a competent sculptor, probably Rogers, made a model, a cut of which George Stark published in a pamphlet, describing the

plan and giving a list of all living descendants, the family starting the subscriptions with \$1000. General George (1823-1892) died failing in the enterprise for honoring his ancestor but his idea did not die. (see Chapter "Portraits and Statues")

In January, 1893, the city appropriated about \$4000 to beautify the grounds and build an iron fence around the large lot and later in the year (June 16 and 17) "Stark Park" was dedicated. (City Report, 1893). Violent official hands were laid on the family grave stones (except Stark's own shaft) and they, numbering 24, were all destroyed, or else, as may be surmised, were laid flat and covered up in the job of grading, filling in uneven spots. The work may have been secretly done as no immediate protests seem to have resulted. Molly Stark's stone may still be found by the usual expert soundings and a little experimental digging, but the D. A. R. has yet to act. As an indication of official blundering, as well as disregard for the feelings of General Stark and his immediate family, the large memorial or monument in the center of the plot with the stately fence, perpetuates incorrect dates, such as those of Archibald Stark ("1699-1750") and Eleanor Nichols his wife ("1680-1740"). After a lapse of 50 years investigation has proven fruitless as to "who done it", and now their identity will be forever shielded.

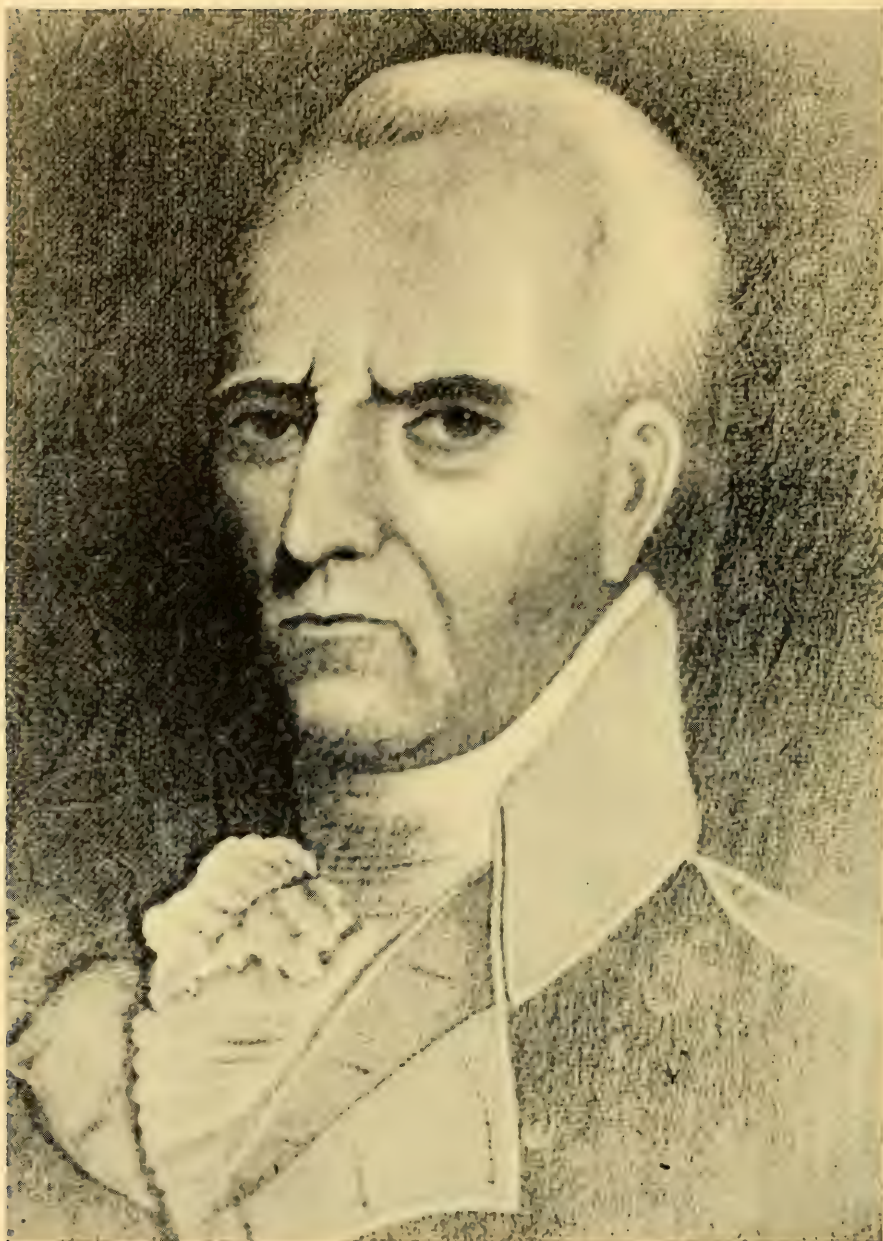
Except for the despoiling of the old family grave yard the result, "STARK PARK", is wholly admirable. John Stark has as handsome and fitting a memorial as any of the country's great soldiers and patriots, the Generals of the Revolutionary War.

#### PERSONAL ARTICLES ATTRIBUTED TO GEN. STARK AND MOLLY

Those on exhibition in the fire-proof building of the Manchester Historic Association need not be described; Archibald Stark's little leather box from overseas, the maple kitchen table Gen. Stark was "laid out" on, two pairs breeches and a cutaway, coat, three Stark books, gold beads, sleeve buttons, fans, thimbles, back combs, hair bracelets, bowls, tongs, shovels, pots, poringers and, last but not least, a small flat basket, gift of Fred M. Caswell, Stark enthusiast. It was used for the General's comb and brush, or alternately, for his pipe and tobacco; accounts differ, but not as to ownership. In the perishable wooden Archibald Stark homestead (Chapter House of the "Molly Stark Chapter" D.A.R.) in Manchester, are many articles, mostly later than the generation of John and Molly. At Bennington, in the substantial Museum are valuable mementoes already mentioned and a pair of fine pistols attributed to the General as having been carried in the battle. Locks of Stark's hair are in the Manchester collection and in the N.H. Hist. Society and in possession of the author. Many other articles are in possession of descendants most of them unmarked.







Daguerrotype of a "painting by A. Ritchie," circa 1831

Courtesy of John McNeil Stark, Esq., Concord, N. H.

## LIKENESSES OF GENERAL STARK AND MOLLY

The pursuit of authentic portraits, a strange and complicated story, has ended with the conviction that there is no absolutely dependable likeness of John Stark. The daguerrotype reproduction of the Ritchie painting interpreted in harmony with the Morse "Stark", a difficult thing because the periods of life are so far apart would approximate what he probably looked like. By derivation and resemblance the representations of John Stark fall into four classes. The Trumbull-Tenney series cannot be considered authentic.

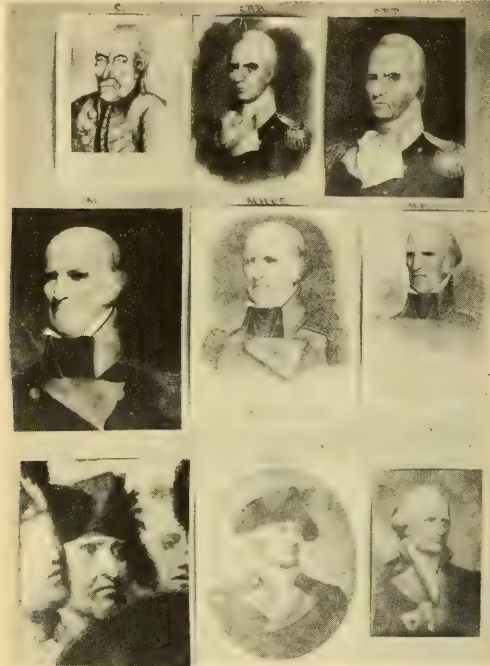
- No. 1 1810 Crowninshield red chalk sketch from life.(disappeared)
- 1891 (same)Gilmore's reproduction,"Soldiers at Bennington"
- 1892 Tenney's re-drawing,"Bennington Battle Monument".
- 1895 " oil painting, State Library, Concord
- No. 2 1822 Post mortem drawing.Never reproduced.(unknown)
- No. 3 1831 "A Painting by A. Ritchie". (Disappeared)
- 1831 Brown's engraving of, "Reminiscences" Roby-Stark Book.
- 1840 Daguerrotype of the Ritchie painting.(Dunbarton)
- 1842 Pelton's engraving of Ritchie (Barstow's Hist.N.H.)
- 1853 (same) in "Farm, Monthly Visitor" and Drake in H-G Reg. VII.
- 1856 Pelton's engraving in Potter's Hist. Manchester.
- 1877 Forrest's eng. based on Brown-Pelton (Ben. Celebration Vol.)
- No. 4 1816 The Stark portrait by S. F. B. Morse. (Privately owned)
- 1860 Holland's eng. of same. ("Memoir & Off. Corres. "Caleb Stark.
- 1885 Major Caleb Stark, wood-cut in Hurd's Hist. Merrimack Co. N.H.
- No.5 1776 (and 1781) reputed sketches by Trumbull.
- 1834 Trumbull, "Surrender of Burgoyne", (Yale Univ. Gall. Fine Arts)
- 1873 Tenney's painting, "after Trumbull"(State House,Concord)

1876 (same) City Hall, Manchester and Manch. Historic Assoc.

1877 Silhouette in Tyler's brochure, Worcester, Mass.

# SERIES NO. 1

The original drawing "on very coarse paper, now yellow with age and done with red chalk or crayon" (Gilmore, 1891) no doubt on AIDE MEMOIRE, is all that survived for reproduction.



It is now lost, being last used by Gilmore. A "loan" it was undoubtedly returned to the lenders, Miss Mary Crowninshield and Richard M. Bartleman, to whom Gilmore's Committee (himself and Ex. Gov. B.F. Prescott) made grateful acknowledgements. Dr. Bentley" of the sitting May 31, 1810 at Derryfield) wrote to the General "any corrections will be acceptable as she had only one sitting" but "the likeness proved to be a good one" and "she is taking a copy for President Madison and then I intend to get it engraved and painted in oil colors." Undoubtedly the hideously unflattering sketch was put in better shape for both the President and General Stark

but the artist was such an amateur ( and never outgrew it) she could hardly have been successful with a Continental uniform, such as the Ritchie, even if she bettered the shape of the nose and corrected the gimlet eyes. Neither of those fair copies has survived so we may be misjudging Dr. Bentley's favorite niece. In acknowledging his picture, Madison (to Bentley July 8, 1810), wrote perfunctorily of "the talent of your pupil" and said, of Stark, "He had a mind made of Nature's best stuff in a mould seldom used by her." What Stark thought of the picture may be imagined. Assuming that the sketch was the best obtainable model the Legislature of New Hampshire in 1891 authorized a portrait. The Committee contracted with Ulysses Dow Tenney (1826-1908) "the artist of Concord", specifying the size



(27X34 Inches), "from the original likeness of the General made by Miss Hannah Crowninshield of Salem, Mass. May 31, 1810, he being then 82 years of age". The picture was recently in the Librarian's office (State Library) but has been moved to another space. The Essex Institute used the original crayon in reproducing it in 1905 in the Bentley Diaries, as did Gilmore in 1891, in his "Roll of New Hampshire soldiers at the Battle of Bennington" but in 1892 the commemorative volume of the Dedication of the Bennington Battle Monument bore a re-drawing of the sketch, by Tenney, who made the features more kindly but was not so happy with the eyes and retained the loose "fleshy" appearance of an old man.

## NO. 2, THE POST-MORTEM DRAWING

All ever known of it is the foot-note. (Memoir, 1860),

"The likeness taken by Miss Crowninshield was the one from which, with alterations, was engraved the portrait at the head of this volume.....In the portrait the artist who prepared Miss Crowninshield's painting for the lithographer, gave too much length to the neck and face. The forehead is also too narrow. He was about five feet nine inches in height. The portrait of Major Stark by S. F. B. Morse resembles the General more than that at the head of this volume. A person came to obtain a likeness of General Stark immediately after his decease. Major S. was there and the artist in completing his work frequently looked from the face of the dead to the living resemblance there present."

It is quite possible that the post-mortem drawing of the General, wearing his old Continental Uniform (it being a military funeral, his body would have been more appropriately clothed in it) was the one from which Ritchie made his painting, circa 1831. Some critics affect to discern a bit of cadaverousness about it. If so the General did not much resemble the stout old man Miss C. drew 12 years before.

The unknown "person" may have seen in Major Stark at 62 more of what the General was when he was wearing the uniform. Young Caleb (1805-1864) knew his grandfather but little, living as a boy in Dunbarton, seeing him infrequently, as he indicates. He is probably not reliable as to what the General looked like, not enough so to give directions how to alter for the 1860 book the work of "the artist who prepared Miss Crowninshield's painting for the lithographer." He meant, of course, the engraver, and he might have been mistaken in 1860 that the Crowninshield (improved by her from the AID MEMOIRE, if that resulted in a painting) was what Ritchie had to do with. If it was what the General

received it never got back to the General's family, to be known in later generations, as assuredly it would have been. One expert declares that resemblances are such that Ritchie had the Crowninshield before him. Indeed there is a tie-in indicated by Caleb's foot-note.

### SERIES NO. 3

The Roger's "Journals" re-printed in Concord in 1831, with a sketch of General Stark by grandson Caleb, contained in most, but not all, copies now extant, a frontispiece of Gen. Stark. It is an engraving done by "M.E.D. Brown, del.", (delineavit) a well known artist, "from a painting by A. Ritchie", the impressions being by the leading Boston house, Pendleton's. The catalogue of the Whitmore sale (London May 8th, 1865) had two items, 501 and 502 (Sabin XVII, 1888) and remarked that "the Portrait of Stark is said to differ in the two editions." One was by T. H. Roby, the other by Luther Roby. Most of the large libraries of the United States have the portrait but a few have no frontispiece. In all copies seen the last page (unnumbered) has this;

"The engraving at the head of this volume is from an original likeness of the General, taken by Miss Crowninshield, niece of Dr. Bentley; The veteran was then 82 years of age."

It is clear that the basis of the engraving was the painting by Ritchie (and the daguerrotype, about to be described shows that Brown faithfully copied it) which painting was derived from something done by Miss Crowninshield, no doubt her improvement of the AID MEMOIRE. In some way dilettante Andrew Ritchie, Jr. (1782-1862) Harvard 1802, M.A. 1805, did the work, though probably not for pay. At age 54 he exhibited "Scenes in Italy", (Boston Athanaeum, of which he was a life subscriber) but there are no other attested efforts. His son, Harrison (by 2nd. wife, Sophia Harrison Otis) lost in the great fire of Boston, 1872, "a valuable library inherited from his father and a number of beautiful and valuable pictures" (N.E.H-G Reg. XXVII, 1873). It is probable that Harrison treasured the "John Stark", as one of the few works of artistic merit of his late father, and that is was destroyed when his residence was swallowed up in the holocaust. Brown's engraving of the Ritchie was not used in Barstow's History of New Hampshire (1842) but a new and better craftsman, Oliver Pelton, was secured. He made a solid background (Brown did a vignette) and this Potter had for his "Farmer's Monthly Visitor," 1853 and again in his History of Manchester, 1856. It seems impossible to determine whether Pelton had the Ritchie painting which was doubtless in existence, or that he "worked over" the engraving of his predecessor, Brown.

## AN IMPORTANT DAGEURROTYPE

In 1944 the writer discovered on the library table (Caleb Stark's Dunbarton mansion) a very large-sized dageurrotype which eventually proved to be a direct photograph of the Ritchie painting. It was probably made during the heyday of that process, perhaps between 1840 and 1850 (for we have proof that the art came as far as Concord in 1847) whereby a glass plate, wet with a nitrate of silver solution was exposed through a lens to an object in daylight. It remained in the Stark home for about 100 years but was probably made in Boston, where the painting was. On magnification the texture of the canvas came out. There was only enough pigment used particularly on the face, to cover up effectually, bearing out the belief that the job was not intended as a finished portraiture but for something for the engraver. This rather "thin" dageurrotype is reproduced for this work. Several engravers, many coming after Pelton, took liberties, Forrest especially making a more human and believable face, getting away from the Mohawk Indian expression. Had the face been florid (entirely out of keeping with Stark's known pallor) it would have "taken dark". It is probable Ritchie had some help with the eyes for, seen through a magnifying glass they are well done. The engraver, to make greater contrast, did some stipple work on the lapels, (light yellow taking white) which at first led to the supposition that the whole was stipple, as opposed to line engraving.

## NO. 4, THE STARK PORTRAIT BY SAMUEL F.B. MORSE

Young Morse, after studying portraiture in England under Benjamin West, and unmindful that he should be one day better known as the inventor of the electric telegraph, made a journey across New Hampshire, seeing Lake Massabesic, which he mentions in his Notes, thus passing close to or through Derryfield where Stark lived and probably through Pembroke where son, Major Caleb, manufactured cotton goods. Morse reached Concord Aug. 16, 1816 and wrote "I have painted five portraits at \$15 each, two more engaged and many more talked of". In two weeks he took in \$100. For one picture he charged only \$10 "as he got four sitters for me". He mentions no names or localities but this short period embraced his principal New Hampshire sittings. At Concord he fell in love with a young lady, Lucretia Pickering Walker. In 1817 he was again in Concord. On October 5th, 1818 he married Miss Walker and they went to Charleston, S.C. where, in 1825, she died.

In 1860, Grandson Caleb vacillated, not caring for the 1831 Ritchie and not satisfied with the Morse, hanging in his boyhood home at Dunbarton. The book was printed and a note was inserted opposite the frontispiece likeness. "Notice. A reference has been



made in note (page 322) to a portrait intended for this volume. Since this work was printed a new engraving has been prepared for the frontispiece." One has only to look in a mirror at it to see it is the Morse re-drawn, a cheap job by one T. P. Holland. The story of the Morse painting has only begun. Various visitors including writers of articles in newspapers and magazines, were shown the Dunbarton mansion.

"The chief treasure on the walls is a portrait of General Stark, done in his old age by Prof. S. F. B. Morse of electric telegraph celebrity which Stark's venerable granddaughter, who remembers his looks perfectly, pronounces the best ever taken and says the most of the engravings are almost caricatures." (A. B. H. from Warner, N.H. in New York Evening Post, Aug. 13, 1877)

"A portrait of General John Stark by Prof. Samuel Finley Breese Morse. It represents the General in his old age. Another picture in the prime of life is in the Representatives hall at Concord, a gift to the state from Miss Charlotte Stark."

(Boston Journal, June 15, 1877, from a Hopkinton correspondent.)

In the Granite Monthly Fred Myron Colby produced a long article. (Vol. 84-1884) Charlotte Stark, Major Caleb's only surviving child, was mistress of the mansion, but the picture became that of her father, not her grandfather, the General;

"Major Stark looks down upon us beside his wife, dead yet living a person rather above medium height of a slight but muscular frame, with a short waist-coat, a high collar and the close narrow shoulders of the gentlemen's costume of 1830."

Colby's description is definitely that of the Morse work but as he made errors in other respects it might be concluded that Charlotte (1799-1889) may not have been the one showing him around, were it not for the fact that a few years later (1885) she paid for a portrait of her father, Major Caleb, (Hurd's History of Merrimack Co. Dunbarton chapter) a cheap wood-cut (steel-engraved patrons were charged accordingly) with the face turned in reverse but which is plainly the Morse altered to make the subject look younger. The name, in facsimilie, "Caleb Stark" is underneath.

The Morse continued to be of Major Stark in 1901 when the Boston Journal's Sunday page (Sept. 29th.) had descriptions and illustrations. The same is true in 1903 ("The Romance of Old New England Roof Trees "Mary C. Crawford, L. C. Page & Co. In 1904 (Nov. 20) the Boston Globe's article,

Magazine section, whole page, reversed the trend and the portrait was of General John Stark, in "The Strange Romance of the Stark and McNeil families", Charles F. Morris Stark (1848-1934) being the owner of the Dunbarton mansion with his wife, Annie McNeil Stark, (1858-1936).

Soon after the turn of the century portraits by Morse were becoming valuable. An explanation of the strange alternation (General John vis-a-vis Major Caleb) was offered in 1897 (letter in Frick Memorial Library, New York) to the effect that the family understood that the General sat for his portrait but was taken ill and Major Caleb sat in his place. This rather late statement, nothing like it having been current in Charlotte's time, or at least expressed then, would make the resulting painting a composit one. How much of one and how much of the other can never be known, but Caleb resembled his father in a remarkable degree. Morse, not at the time staying very long in one place, undoubtedly began with the General, checked with Major Caleb, finishing the head with great fidelity as that of a venerable man. Morse put the uniform on afterward, in all probability. He was, at that period, used to seeing the officers of the United States Army. The uniform is of the "war of 1812" period, not one of the Revolutionary Continental type, which had passed from the scene. The single silver star was and still is of a Brigadier General, the insignia of the one as well as of the other. It is entirely improbable that Gen. Stark or Major Caleb ever had on a uniform of the kind in the Morse portrait. In 1816 Caleb was only 56, the General being 88 years old. As an example of Morse's work the Stark must be considered one of the finest. In the Catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, printed for the assembly of Morse paintings in 1932, the Stark being loaned by the family for the exhibit, the description is;

"Florid complexion, white hair and heavy eyebrows, blue coat with brass buttons, buff collar and revers, gold epaulettes, high black stock and white wing collar, red curtain back of figure, brown wall at left." (f 15. p. 43)

Bearing on the facial characteristics of Major Caleb Stark the following tradition, never before printed, has survived;

When he died in Ohio in 1838 in the heat of midsummer his body was shipped back home hermetically sealed in a metal case. Harriet and Charlotte, the daughters, when asked if they wanted the casket opened replied, that if a little piece could be cut out so as to show his nose (it being well known that he had a long one) they would be satisfied. It was done and the remains were duly buried by the children in the Stark private ground near by. A fine monument was erected.

Like most traditions it did not tell the whole story. The daughters wanted to see their father's nose for an additional reason. Singular data, Major Stark's description on a passport, when he prepared to go to Europe in 1810, shows that he was "50 years old, 5ft. 9 in. in height, light complexion, blue eyes, dark hair" and was "long favored with a scar on the right side of his nose." Morse would not have shown the scar in any event but it is noticeable that the face was turned so that the painter would not look at the right side of the nose.

In a manner "after Morse" there are at least two other oil paintings. One is in Phillipse Manor Hall, Yonkers, and is by "Ira W. Martin, F. A. R. L. 697" but bears an erroneous label (Born 1732, died 1818") and is supposed to have been procured by Charles Henry Hart for the collection of American portraits for Alexander Smith Cochrane. It is not a superior work. Another oil of family antecedents, at one time possessed by Charles J. Gillis (1822-1898), is privately owned by Mrs. Edward C. Titus, M.D., of New York.

#### NO. 5, THE TRUMBULL-TENNEY SERIES

The "Surrender of General Burgoyne", John Trumbull, (1756-1843), in the Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University, has 27 individuals, some of the faces being minute. That marked as that of Gen. Stark appears over the rump of a horse at the extreme left edge of the canvas, which itself is not large. An enlarged photograph, made by the courtesy of the Gallery of Fine Arts for this work, shows that Tenney, who resided in New Haven from 1864 for some years, copied closely the Trumbull face (and the hat above it) in making for Miss Charlotte Stark the life-size oil painting for the State of New Hampshire. Tenney could not have been aware at the time that many of Trumbull's minor sketches were spurious. They are so judged by art experts. The Benjamin Silliman collection, sold by Henkels in Philadelphia in 1896 had no Stark in it. The "Frossard Collection" sold March, 1896, by American Art Galleries, N. Y. had two sketches of John Stark as of 1776 and 1781, one of which is a poor copy. The relegation of Stark to an obscure position may have been due to the facts that Trumbull had no good drawing of his face or recollection of him and also that the controversy; Putnam, a Connecticut man, versus Dearborn, a Stark man, raged furiously during Trumbull's active life and he was a partisan.

#### NO. 6, THE SILHOUETTE

In 1877-1878 the Rev. Albert Tyler, who had been at the Bennington Centennial, printed in his Worcester, Mass. job printing office a brochure. The frontispiece was "John Stark", a



silhouette. While resembling the kind of a man Stark probably was, there is no clue as to where Mr. Tyler obtained it. He faked the picture of Jane McCrea (opp. page 9) and acknowledged it. Yet Justin Winsor used the silhouette in 1889 in his "Narrative and Critical History" (VI. 301) as did John Fiske in 1896 in his "American Revolution" (I.392, Illus. Ed.). The silhouette has no discoverable authenticity.

### GROUP PICTURE

The group of nine pictures comprises three of each of the principal "series". Top (left to right) the Crowinshield, Brown's 1831, of the Ritchie and Pelton after Brown. Middle, (l to r) the Morse, the 1885 wood cut of "Caleb Stark" and the 1860 Holland job. Lower (l to r) the Trumbull (1834), the State House, Tenney "after Trumbull," and the Manchester by Tenney. The daguerrotype (full page picture) of the Ritchie painting, has never before been published.

### SCULPTURES OF GENERAL JOHN STARK

In small work Rogers made two of Stark, one equestrian, probably for Gen. George Stark's 1888 booklet, the other of Stark on foot with raised sword in hand. Photographs of both are now in Essex Institute. In 1890 New Hampshire contracted with the N.E. Granite Works of Hartford for a bronze statue and granite base, to be placed in front of the State House, south side, the north side having a statue of Daniel Webster. Their sculptor, Carl Conrads, used the prevailing Tenney idea for the face of Stark but for the figure a young man, John Francis Brines (1860-1905) was modeled, first in the nude, as is customary, then in a Continental soldier's uniform. Brines, a granite cutter of talent later a sculptor himself, was of the same type as Stark, height 5 ft. 9 inches, and was erect of carriage. A singular connection with the future "Life of Gen. Stark" by this author came when he knew Mr. Brines, while doing the sculptures of the great Capitol at Albany, beginning before 1900'. His manly and inspiring figure will represent the hero, John Stark.

When New Hampshire was permitted two statues of her native sons for the Capitol at Washington Stark and Webster were chosen. Conrads modelled and had cut in Italy in Carrara marble a figure, rather stocky and matter-of-fact, to represent Stark. The acceptance oratory was of the best when New Hampshire's senior Senator, Dr. Jacob H. Gallinger on Dec. 20, 1894 made his impressive Address to the Senate, in part saying;

"In many respects SUI GENERIS among the brave patriotic men of his day and generation. Plain in appearance, awkward

in manner, untrained in the arts of social life, uneducated and brusque, he, nevertheless achieved undying fame and the luster of his name will never grow dim so long as men love honesty, admire bravery and recognize the grandeur of patriotic devotion to duty and to country..... Stark's features were bold and prominent, his nose well formed, the eyes light blue, keen and piercing, deeply sunk under projecting brows. His lips were generally compressed. His whole appearance indicated courage, activity and confidence in himself." (U.S. Govt. 1895)

In the House the Hon. Henry M. Baker commented on Stark's self-confidence, his capacity to command, his power to execute, his self-possession in times of difficulty and danger and his courage at all times. Vermont's representative, Powers, declared,

"Vermont rightfully claims audience on any occasion when honor is proposed to the memory of Gen. John Stark..... He displayed the dash of a Sheridan, the strategy of a Lee and the firm mental poise of a Grant."

In 1911 a small bust of Stark, in marble, was placed in a niche over a door-way in the entrance hall of Memorial Centennial Hall of the D. A. R. in Washington.

#### MOLLY STARK'S PORTRAIT

The late Herbert Lee Pratt of New York and Glen Cove, during the nineteen-twenties (exact dates not obtainable) added to his notable collection of paintings by the purchase from Ehrich Galleries, New York, two examples of John Singleton Copley. These are now owned by Mrs. Howard Maxwell, Jr., Mr. Pratt's daughter. Through their courtesy the author was permitted to personally photograph (4X5 glass plates) these paintings and reproduce one or both for this work. The pictures are small, about 9 X 12 inches, were painted on hard wood boards, probably chestnut, are in carved hardwood frames gilded, made to stand on mantles or shelves, though it is probable that originally they had frames designed for hanging on a wall.

While the pictures (Molly's and her sister's, to be described later) were in the possession of Ehrich's that of Molly bore an inscription;

"Portrait of our great-grandmother, Elizabeth Page Stark, wife of General John Stark. - William Stark, June 19, 1860."

This legend was "on the back of this picture" according to wording at the bottom of a fine reproduction marked "courtesy of Ehrich Galleries, New York", the reproduction being on heavy card with indented border. The standing of the house was such that the existence of the identifying statement can be taken as of the utmost dependability. The disappearance of what was on the back probably dated from the time when the frames were changed. It is regrettable that the evidence has been lost, particularly as there are contradictions in the family records in Manchester in a previous generation of descendants.

The mystery of where the pictures were for more than a quarter century after the generation of William Stark and his brother, Gen. George of Nashua, passed off the stage can never be solved. The pictures with old plain gilded frames were doubtless identified (that is one of them) by the legend on the back. Ehrichs in acquiring them would try to learn from some branch of the Stark family about the one probably not marked. Hence after learning from the Dunbarton branch (that is, Charles Frederick Morris Stark and his wife, Annie McNeil) that Elizabeth (Molly) had a sister, Mary, wife of Deacon James Russell, Ehrichs connected the two, apparently without additional reasons. This identification, as to Molly's sister, is tenuous, as far as our present knowledge is concerned. It is possible that the companion picture of Molly may have had in art circles some signification besides being attributed to Copley, some family connection, especially important if the frames were alike or they had been obtained by the same dealer from the same private owner. Naturally, because they would like to have photographs of the paintings, the Dunbarton family was supplied in this wise;

In 1926 Mr. H. L. Ehrich wrote to Mrs. Charles F. M. Stark at Dunbarton and enclosed "with the compliments of Ehrich Galleries" two prints about 6 & 8 inches in size. No. 164 was of Molly Stark, No. 163 of "Mary Page Russell, sister of Mrs. Stark."

Had so important a picture as that of Molly Stark, ancestor of the Dunbarton Starks from her son, Caleb, down ever hung in the house with the others, so well known and so frequently written about, it could not have escaped notice and have been remembered by living descendants. Hence there is every reason to believe that the portrait of Molly, probably with the other, came down in another branch of the family.

Copley painted very few small portraits. Perhaps the Stark women could not afford the large pictures, life size in enormous and costly frames, such as have been treasured by the patricians of Boston families and the elite of the east.



## COMPLICATIONS AND CONTRADICTIONS

William Stark, born 1825, was son of Frederick G. Stark. (1792-1861). A graduate of Williams he did not practice as a lawyer, having a competence from his father's estate. His big moment came in 1851 when at 26 he read a long poem of his composition (re-printed in Potter's Manchester in 1856) at the Centennial celebration in Manchester in the presence of a distinguished company, which would not have tolerated a crack-pot or a freak. In 1860 at 35, William was doubtless in good mental and physical health but he died in the McLean Asylum for the Insane at Somerville, Mass. having been confined there "two or three years" and had been "a poet of some reputation and often appeared as a lecturer" (Boston Herald, death notice, Oct. 30, 1875). It is likely that Frederick G. Stark gave the picture to William about a year before his death in 1861, his wife having died the year before. Gen. George Stark of Nashua (1823-1892) sheltered his uncle John Stark ("little John") born 1790 and he died in 1872 in George's house, though John's widow, Sally Pollard, lived ten years longer in Manchester. Did George obtain the portrait of his great grand-mother from his brother, William, soon after acquirement, and so caused knowledge of it to cease in the other children of "little John"? Now for the contradiction. Three sons of "little John" had died, (1848, 1849 and 1855) leaving Elizabeth, ("Lizzie of the curls") who died, unmarried in 1896, and Augustus H. (1834-1902) both loyal Starks, who gave the burial plot to the city and heirlooms to the Historic Association. Some 36 years after cousin William placed the identifying legend on the "Molly" portrait in 1860, Augustus H. Stark wrote to some one in Bennington (Lizzie having died the previous month;)

"There is no picture of Molly Stark that our family ever knew of. I have heard my father say that she was of medium height, dark blue eyes, brown hair and her face was one which most everyone would remember, there being in it great decision."

(published in the "Benningtonian" June 18, 1896)

The Copley picture shows all this except that the eyes are brown. It seems unlikely, though quite possible, that Augustus had seen the picture in his uncle's house across the river in Bedford before his relative's death in 1861 and had not known whose it was, or else, knowing, had forgotten by 1896, 35 years later. Balancing all the circumstances it seems proper to give greater weight to the positive, the inscription, than to the negative, the matter of memory.

Singularly Mrs. J. L. Osborne, (1858-1944) when visiting Mr. John Spargo at Bennington, said she had always understood that

no likeness of her great-great-grandmother ever existed. In a year or so someone sent her one of the half-tone pictures the Baltimore & Ohio railroad got out for their "Molly Stark dining car", doubtless obtained through Ehrich's about 1925-6. When the writer gave Mrs. Osborne, from the negative made by him, a framed colored photograph of Molly, Mrs. Osborne expressed much satisfaction and no dissent. These are all the obtainable facts.

### COPLEY AND MOLLY STARK

When the great portrait painter left his country in 1774, Molly was 36 years old but had borne eight of her eleven children and had definitely entered the matronly stage of life. As a faithful delineation of character few of Copley's portraits come nearer than this small picture. She was a woman from the country and was almost unknown at the time. As she sat before his easel where many grand dames had faced him in their finest toilettes, on which he was pleased to spend as much time as on their faces, there came to be preserved just the slightest trace of antagonism. The sitter was intensely patriotic, the artist a sympathetic Tory. Only superficially the picture of a homely woman, Molly Stark repays study. The remarkably fine eyes, a deep brown, are consonant with the other features, in strength with sweetness. Under the lining of the light grey cap the brown hair shows at the parting a hint of grey. The covering of the head and the drapery of the bust are in marked contrast to most of the Copley women, especially those in his earlier manner. The complexion is healthy, not brilliant. The use of a particular shade of mauve pink, as a set-off color for middle drapery, was characteristic of Copley (Blackburn had used the same sparingly) and the portrait as a whole displays a mastery which no one else in the colony was capable of at the time.

### PORTRAIT OF "MRS. JAMES RUSSELL"

Over a head-dress of hair nearly black there is a pale green throw, perhaps a loose turban, with strings of pearls. The complexion is brilliant, the nostrils refined, the lips suggestive of "Mona Lisa", but the large and beautiful eyes are the distinguishing feature. The bust is draped with some restraint. It is a patrician beauty and no country girl budding into womanhood. There is a haunting resemblance to another of Copley's paintings, a full size portrait of Mrs. James Winthrop, as that prominent member of Boston society may have looked in her younger days. In the books of reproductions of Copley's works there is a "Mrs. James Russell" (born Katherine Graves) of the well known Charlestown family.

There is, however, no sort of resemblance, even allowing for years, to "Mrs. James Russell", supposedly the wife of farmer and deacon, James Russell of Bow, N. H. The artist was accustomed to embellish his women sitters with ornaments, such as strings of pearls in their coiffures and to clothe them in colors to suit his taste, and he is said to have encouraged, rather than the contrary, sitters in bringing a relative or a friend to enliven his subjects and sustain their animation. In this way Elizabeth and Mary may have gone to the studio together and the painter, struck by the beauty of the younger woman (dates of birth differ) have done the two, reared in the remote hamlet of Dunbarton at a time it was nearly a wilderness. Mary had six children and died in 1800, her husband having died in 1797.

### TRANSMISSION OF CHARACTERISTICS

Did John Stark and Elizabeth Page have offspring carrying salient features or resemblances in any marked degree? Molly apparently did not. Her indomitable husband did. Of their first born, Caleb, there is the Morse portrait. Of the last, Sophia (1782-1870), wife of Samuel Dickey, there is a good dageurrotype. Grandchildren (children of John, Jr. and Mary Huse) left dageurrotypes. That of Amelia (sometimes Emily) Stark (1783-1871) wife of John Goffe Moore, no relative of the author, and this applies to all the Moores in this book, is a remarkable resemblance to the General. The other, Betsey (1788-1865) wife of Samuel P. Kidder, shows the John Stark eyes and mouth, though not the shape of the head. Mary Jane Dickey (1814-1903) wife of Albert Tenney, greatly resembled her grandfather. The paintings of Caleb's daughters, Elizabeth Stark Newell (1792-1876) and Charlotte Stark (1799-1889) and of Harriet Stark (1790-1872) do not appear to have transmitted to us as much of John Stark, as of Molly or of their mother, Sarah McKinstry.



The Stark Graveyard a Century Ago



## SOURCE MATERIAL

- Provincial and State Papers of New Hampshire.  
 Probate Records of the Province and State of New Hampshire  
 Church Records - New Hampshire Historical Society, archives.  
 Laws of New Hampshire (1679-1835)  
 Journals of the House of Representatives, N. H. (1762-1925)  
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Woodbury, Gordon,	John Stark, life,	1923

## INDEX

THOSE BEARING NAME OF STARK  
 GEN. JOHN, MAJOR CALEB, AND HIS SON CALEB ARE NOT INDEXED

Aaron, 20,23  
 Abby, 359  
 Albert, G. 335  
 Alexander, 17  
 Amelia, 505,528  
 Anna (Nancy), 27,30,36,48,49,119,486,495  
 Archibald, 18,20-40,45,47,50,58,89,90,100,101,103,117-120,122,189,190,255,261,418,433,434,449,486,490,492,506,511,514  
 Augustus, H. 359,360,513,526  
 Benj. Franklin, 497  
 Betty (Betsey), 321,495,528  
 Charles, 213,493,521,525  
 Charlotte, 359,520-522,528  
 Daniel, 20  
 Deborah, 330  
 Eleanor (Hellen), 23-31,35,36,48-50,60,118,120,122,134,486,511,514  
 Elizabeth, 23,74,117,134,327,329,330,359,360,432,485,491,506,507,513,524,525,526,528  
 Ellen, 512  
 Emily, 528  
 Francis, 23  
 Fred'k, G. 490,526  
 George, 16,513,514,523,525,527  
 Harriet, 521,528  
 Harold, 20,49,481  
 Huldah, 330  
 Isabel, 30,49,54,118,119,495,506  
 Jacob, 19  
 James, 17,20,23  
 Jean, 118,261  
 John (Jr. & John W. &c), 7,15,17-19,20,22,23,30,39,121,133,335,486,492-495,497,506,526  
 Lloyd, 7,17  
 Louise, 20  
 Martha, 23,261  
 Mary, 23,45,134,335,493  
 "Molly", 120,122,131,133,222,241,255,257,303,310,327-330,335,358,416,432,481,485,491,507-509,513,514,524,525,527  
 Peggy, 261  
 Richard, 18,20  
 Samuel, 20,30,35,48,50,113,114,118,506  
 Sarah, 23,134  
 Silas, 20  
 Sophia, 359,481,528  
 Stephen, 490,495  
 Susannah, 20  
 Thomas, 19,23  
 William, 17,18,20,22,30,34,39,41,43,45,47,49,54,71,79,86,100,101,113,114,117,118,119,126,219,220,421,431,462,480,481,490,524-526

## (NAMES OTHER THAN STARK)

Abbott, 49,63,158,188,213,218,330,450  
 Abercrombie, 48,63,67,74,76,78,84,87,89,95,97,99,102,104,167,468,479  
 Ackerman, 447  
 Ackland, 380,386,389,468  
 Adams, 28,29,102,132,133,149,151,164,175,188,194,204,205,373,406,407,408,482  
 Alden, 226,427,430,465  
 Alexander, 251,332,334,477  
 Allen, 132,133,264,266,299,304,315,329,343,347,348,359,389,419,426,429,462,463,466,469,472,476  
 Algiers, Bey of, 124  
 Amherst, 84,101,108,111,113,115,116,123,227,234,265,468,479  
 Anderson, 22,47,118  
 Andre, 213,438,449,450  
 Angell, 434,436,437,438,443,444  
 Antill, 230  
 Archelaus, 297,350,351  
 Arnold, 132,194,212,213,230,232,233,238,240,251,252,266,299,384,385,380,404,409,411,412,445,449,479,501  
 Ashbo, 195  
 Ashley, 240,263,270,303,343,349,354,369,370  
 Ashton, 58  
 Atkinson, 38,375  
 Austin, 390  
 Ayer, 45,506  
 Babbitt, 343  
 Babeston, 101  
 Babson, 486,521  
 Badger, 263,268,270  
 Baker, 68,70,175,191,192,448,524  
 Balcares, 259,340,380  
 Baldwin, 139,176,182,187,188,221,227  
 Ballard, 428  
 Bancroft, 163,167,173,179,192,193,199,249,252,445  
 Banker, 486  
 Barber, 256  
 Barclay, 430  
 Baring, 453  
 Barner (Bernier), 320  
 Barnes, 158,298,306  
 Barnett, 38  
 Barstow, 328,515,518  
 Bartleman, 516  
 Bartlett, 137,205,211,212,255,263,275,280,281,282,284,289,359,366,374,375,388,445,446  
 Barton, 435  
 Bass, 283,445  
 Bassett, 183  
 Batchelder, 273  
 Battis, 319  
 Baum, 280,288,289,291,294,295-298,301-303,305-308,311-313,315,317-319,324,325,332,335,340,341,345,349,350,355,356,363,404  
 Baxter, 235,308  
 Bayley, 270,305,366,385,403,414,421,422,448  
 Beane, 447  
 Beckwith, 101  
 Bedel, 219,240,241,400,402,403,405,409,410,412,414,417,420-422,429  
 Bee, 446  
 Beekman, 427  
 Belcher, 36  
 Belknap, 119,305  
 Bell, 129,177,191,434  
 Bellows, 240,262,263,270-272,354  
 Benedict, 306,344,351,352  
 Bentley, 152,197,200,495-498,501,503,507,516,517,518  
 Berniere, de, 159,163,165,198,203  
 Berner (Barner), 319,320  
 Biddle, 209  
 Bigelow, 167,434  
 Bird, 229  
 Blair, 33,431  
 Blackburn, 527  
 Blackstone, 160  
 Blake, 260  
 Blanchard, 46,52,54,59,215,240,245  
 Blodgett, 77,82,125,210,491,511  
 Blood, 127,188,190  
 Bond, 226,229,235,241  
 Borre, de, 251  
 Bowen, 45,57  
 Bourlemagne, 265  
 Bouton, 269  
 Bowman, 260  
 Boyce, 40  
 Boynton, 190  
 Brace, 232  
 Braddock, 54,55  
 Bradford, 270,513  
 Bradley, 33,451  
 Bradstreet, 94,96,98  
 Brandow, 384,467  
 Brant, 420,429,463,501,504  
 Brehme, 103,104  
 Brewer, 68-70,75,78,80,81,89,112,149,153,179,192-194,198,212,213,364  
 Brewster, 262,389  
 Breymen, 291,293,296,302,305,307,318-320,322,323,325,345,346,352,380  
 Brickett, 149,153,192,193  
 Bridge, 149,153,155,179,193  
 Brines, 523  
 Brock, 349  
 Bromfield, 193,194  
 Brooks, 153,179  
 Brown, (Browne), 110,123,153,177,259,298,343,371,372,481,495,515,518,523



- Brownson, 464  
 Bruce, 16  
 Brunswick, Duke of, 298  
 Brush, 261,302,307,308,309,338,341  
 Bryant, 359  
 Buckley, 73,78,89  
 Buell, 115  
 Bull, 349  
 Bullard, 173,384,428  
 Burbank, 63,100  
 Burgoyne, 92,170,210,229,231,237,258,259,262,263,266-268,269,274,276-278,283-285,289-291,293-295,297,298,301,319,325,326,332,335,340,348,349,357,358,362-366,370-372,374,376,377,379-386,388,391,468  
 Burnett, 441  
 Burnham, 226  
 Burns, 38  
 Burrill, 364  
 Burnside, 73  
 Burr, 468  
 Burton, 64,65,188  
 Buritt, 193  
 Butler, 44,306,310,315,323,329,343,348,428,429,465,473,509  
 Butterfield, 356  
 Butterworth, 315  
  
 Cadwalader, 244,246  
 Cahoon, 435  
 Caldwell, 181,184  
 Calendar, 155,183,196  
 Calhoun, 509  
 Cameron, 354,506  
 Campbell, 89,127,359,495  
 Capellen, 149  
 Carleton, 188,228,239,257,258,270,355,371,485  
 Carrington, 133,178  
 Carroll, 392  
 Cargill, 32  
 Carmichael, 22  
 Carter, 57  
 Cartright, 411  
 Casey, 265,271,354,355  
 Caswell, 335,514  
 Chamberlain, 37,271  
 Chandler, 129,181  
 Chapman, 173  
 Charles (Sweden), 332,334  
 Charles I, II & the Bold, 7,16,18,19  
 Chase, 263,270,271,274,329,386,392,422,426  
 Chastellux, de, 452, 453, 485  
 Cheney, 195, 447  
 Chester, 165,173,179,195  
 Chew, 478  
 Child, 273  
 Christie, 86  
 Christo, (Christian), 37,47  
 Chittenden, 354,379,417,426,427,428,463,464,471,472,474,476  
 Cilley, 205,240,257,261,372,380,445,451  
 Cincinnatus, 507  
 Chipman, 304,471  
 Cist, 198  
 Clagett, 253,481  
 Claiborne, 289  
 Clark (Clarke), 293,304,305,315,316,342,343,356,369,390,487  
 Clements, 270  
 Clerk, Clark, 32,97,98,269,270,277  
 Clinton, 170,251,276,393,400,420,427,428,429,430,442,450,456,460,462,463,464,465,466,467,474,479,482,488,496  
 Clogstone, 188  
 Clough, 205  
 Cochran (Cochrane), 22,28,522  
 Cody, 386  
 Coffin, 161,200  
 Cogan, 235,256,257,260,266,271,272  
 Cogswell, 188  
 Colby, 315,356,520  
 Cole, 188  
 Coleman, 190  
 Collins, 153,188  
 Colquhoun, 17,18  
 Columbiere, 61  
 Conant, 355  
 Conrads, 523  
 Conway, 393-405,406,407,408,409,410,412,414,415,416  
 Copley, 508,524,525,527  
 Copp, 219  
  
 Cornell, 434,441  
 Cornwallis, 247,460,471,472,479  
 Coudrey, de, 393  
 Craig, 194  
 Crawford, 520  
 Cresey, 181  
 Cromwell, 347  
 Crosby, 194,289,332,369  
 Crowninshield, 496,515,516,517,518,523  
 Cummings, 195,431  
 Cunningham, 17,355,358  
 Currie, 229  
 Currier, 379  
 Custis, 163  
 Cutler, 80,133  
 Cutts, 137  
 Cuyler, 403  
  
 Dagworthy, 59  
 Dalton, 188  
 Dalyell, 123  
 Dalzell, 101  
 Dana, 165,195,513  
 Danforth, 344  
 Dartmouth, Earl of, 298,319  
 Davis, 188,193  
 Dawson, 148,149,161,196,200,305,325  
 Dayton, 442, 448  
 Deane, 209,390,413,417,419  
 Dearborn, 143,148,149,156,157,159,169,178,182,188,196-199,200,201,203,212,213,270,356,412,431,448,484,509,522  
 Denniston, 479  
 Derby, 157,191  
 Dexter, 203  
 Dewey, 311,313,339,341,344  
 Dickey, 330,359,481,528  
 Dickinson, 209  
 Dieskau, 56,468,479  
 Digby, 235,308  
 Dimick, 288,298,299,301,304,360  
 Dinsmore, 512  
 Dinwiddie, 51  
 Doolittle, 179,194,213  
 Douglas, 343  
 Dow, 87,148,157,185,190,217,220,425  
 Drake, 328,379,387,515  
 Dryden, 19  
 Duane, 209,289,391,392,400,401,404,405,410,411,423  
 Dudley, 33,217,263  
 Duer, 285,289,391,392,470,476  
 de Puy, 304,329,343,463,476  
 Dunford, 296,312,315,340  
 Dwight, 389  
 Dwire (Dwyer), 39,40,261  
 Dyer, 195,392,407  
  
 Eastman, 41,43,46,71,131,269,356  
 Easton, 132  
 Edgar, 474  
 Edie (Edy), 229  
 Ehrich, 524,525  
 Elkins, 205  
 Eliot (Elliott), 47,271  
 Ellery, 413  
 Ellis, 199,203,270  
 Emerson, 133,270  
 Emery, 58,218,262  
 Enos, 470,471,472  
 Espey, 132  
 Estang, de, 432  
 Eustis, 149,198,441  
 Evans, 240,263,270,272,379,387,447  
 Everts, 359  
 Everett, 41,43,44,126,187,218,230,246,263,304,328,346,348,377,480,482  
 Ewing, 243  
 Eyre, 76, 77-79  
  
 Fairbanks, 359  
 Farmer, 119,142,290,357  
 Farnsworth, 139,431  
 Farragut, 311  
 Farwell, 186  
 Fassett, 464  
 Fay, 261,298,299,316,317,357,374,463,464,466,469,472  
 Febiger, 179,194  
 Feke, 134  
 Fellows, 356, 381,383,409,417,464  
 Fermoy, de, 244,251,258,261,272

- Field, 309,313,317,322,324,341,348  
 Fillmore, 339  
 Fish, 165  
 Fiske, 82,102,246,248,305,523  
 Fisher, 148  
 Fitch, 94,270,276  
 Fitts, 386  
 Fletcher, 114  
 Fogg, 285,457,475  
 Folsom, 56,125,126,137,138,141,142,174,181,183,205-211,  
 223,271,273,275-281,282,283,392,400,446  
 Fonda, 427  
 Fontenay, 62  
 Foot, 101  
 Force, 401  
 Ford, 270,343,347,348,438  
 Forrest, 519  
 Foster, 44,280,284,285,351,489  
 Fowler, 58  
 Fox, 195  
 Franklin, 255,390,408,422,482  
 Fraser, 259,285,295,296,297,314,340,380  
 Fraunce, 482  
 French, 7,131,143,153,155,158,161,163-166,168,170,173,  
 176-178,184,196,212  
 Frick, 521  
 Frossy, 87  
 Frost, 280,281,282,284,289  
 Frothingham, 149,152,178,181,192-194,200,203  
 Frye, 52,149,153,155,179,190,191,193,245,246,262  
 Fuller, 226,355  
 Funnival, 383  
 Gadsden, 251  
 Gage, 76,78,80,104,124,128,129,134,147,150,166,167,174,  
 176,205,212,217,240,263,270  
 Gaines, 263  
 Gallinger, 523  
 Gamble, 49,119,330,360,486,495  
 Gansvoort, 365,391,392,427,470,474,479  
 Gardner, 70,179  
 Gates, 110,183,187,213,225,226,233-235,237-242,251,267,  
 273,283,284,289,290,298,301,307,311,318,322,333,335,  
 342,343,345,348,349,351,354,356,360,363-368,370-381,  
 383-390,392,400-404,406-415,417,420-423,427,428,  
 430,433-437,440,450,479,480  
 George, III, 124,160,319,348  
 Germaine, 294,319,340,441  
 Gerrish, 137,158,179,194,196  
 Gerry, 400  
 Gilchrist, 22  
 Giles, 240,263  
 Gillespie, 344  
 Gilman, 52,54,79,86,89,122,123,147,148,158,172,184,186,  
 205,217,240,263,270,379,489  
 Gilmore, 158,190,191,269,515,516,517  
 Gillis, 121,493,509,522  
 Gleig, 351  
 Gletch, 351,352  
 Glover, 188,244,251,266,267,388,389,393,444,448,450  
 Goffe, 39,47,52,54,76,108,119,187,253,374,481  
 Goodenough, 83  
 Gordon, 139,197,206,342,345  
 Gorham, 488  
 Goss, 270  
 Gove, 127  
 Granby, 477  
 Grant, 524  
 Grasse, de, 460,465  
 Graves, 36,146,170,527  
 Gray, 181,188  
 Greaton, 226,229,240,241,402,403,404,411  
 Green (Greene), 131,216,221,222,236,239,243,244,251,  
 433,434,443,444,445,446,448,449,450,460,486  
 Greenleaf, 351  
 Gregg, 270,288,291,296,301,303,331,335  
 Gregory, 411  
 Gridley, 151,152,174,183,311  
 Grout, 273  
 Haas, de, 229,251,393,420,488  
 Hagaman, 318  
 Hagan, 447  
 Hale, 172,186,213,240,259,261,263,270,435  
 Hall, 49,101,108,119,198,295,298,304,306,307,311,312,  
 313,314,315,317,321,322,328,330,340,341,344,359,441,  
 492  
 Hamilton, 452,468,469,494  
 Hammond, 188,191,236,487  
 Hancock, 132,233,234,273,357,392,393,394  
 Halleck, 331  
 Haldemand, 463,464,466,471,476  
 Hand, 393,430,439,450,488  
 Handiman, 101,104  
 Harcourt, 232  
 Harnett, 392  
 Harrahan, 384  
 Harriman, 352,462  
 Harris, 509  
 Harrison, 360,440,509,518  
 Hart, 522  
 Hartley, 235  
 Haselton, 485  
 Haviland, 83,84,87,89,115  
 Hanke (Hanks), 108  
 Hawley, 343  
 Hay, 403,425  
 Hayes, 359  
 Haywood, 271,392  
 Hazen, 193,227,231,232,238,252,408-410,412,414,421,448,  
 449,459,460,474,477  
 Head, 270,356  
 Headley, 126,187,228,246,348,444  
 Hease, 372  
 Hebecourt, 88  
 Hendee, 271  
 Henderson, 389  
 Hendrick, 56,328,332  
 Henkels, 522  
 Henley, 434  
 Henry VII, 16  
 Henry, 209,211  
 Herkimer, 391,392  
 Herod, 350  
 Herrick, 39,49,121,132,434  
 Hesse, Duke of, 298  
 Heus, 372  
 Hewes, 358  
 Hibbard, 271,274  
 Hill (Hills), 188,262  
 Hinman, 133  
 Hobart, 138,190,202,208,213,215-217,219,263,268,270,  
 271,274,303,304,305,312,314,315,324,332,340,353,355,  
 356  
 Hobbs, 67,68,73  
 Hogg, 29,39  
 Holbrook, 226  
 Holbourne, 80,81  
 Holden, 384,472  
 Holland, 175,220,221,431,481,515,520,523  
 Holmes, 114  
 Hood, 465  
 Hooper, 356  
 Hopkins, 86,354  
 Houghton, 167,171,305  
 Hovey, 357  
 Howe, 83,85,87,89,92,95,96,99,115,116,147,166-170,184,  
 186,202,212,221,222,242,251,362,389,432,450,452,458,  
 468  
 Hubbard, 217,218  
 Hubbard, (Hobart), 332  
 Hull, 345  
 Humphrey, 451  
 Hunt, 7,211,273  
 Hunter, 19  
 Huntington, 393,434,439,444,450,453,488  
 Huntton, 262  
 Hurd, 515,520  
 Huse, 486,528  
 Hutchins, 181,182,213,254,269  
 Hutchinson, 188  
 Irvine, 227,229,448,449  
 Irving, 187,348  
 Irwin, 227  
 Jackman, 37,506  
 Jackson, 434,437,438,439,440,441,444,450,451  
 Jacob (Jacobs), 90,232  
 James I, 19  
 James III, 16  
 James IV, 15,16,17  
 Jameson, 118  
 Jay, 209,428,430  
 Jefferson, 148,362,443,482,490,494,496,506  
 Jenner, 492  
 Jennings, 352  
 Jones, 311,337,338,392,400,446  
 Johnson, 54,57,59,63,64,72,79,90,97,112,115,123,124,337,  
 353,372,429,449,450,462,473,474

Johnston, 114,194,195,271,324  
Jogues, 479

Kalb, de, 413  
Kalm, 44  
Karr, 122  
Keep, 386  
Kelly, 354  
Kemp, 157,188  
Kendrick, 330  
Kennedy, 68-70, 109  
Kesar, 27  
Kidder, 130,132,172,187,225,260,487,493,495,528  
Kieth, 244  
Kimball, 270,305,342,356,379,486  
Kincaid, 355  
Kingston, 381  
Kinsman, 182,188,213  
Klock, 430  
Knowlton, 149,153,155,164,165,170,179,195  
Knyphausen, 442,443  
Knox, 213,244,251,433,444,450,452,456,479,488,494  
Koons, 386  
Kosciusczko, 414,447

Lafayette, 191,209,393-405,406,407,408,409,410,411,412,  
413,414,423,424,432,447,448,450,452  
Lane, 315,355  
Langdon, 125,210,211,256,262,263,265,267,270,374,388,  
389,390,481,485,486,489,494,506  
Langy, 85,88,95  
La Place, 133  
Larzaleer, 438  
Laurens, 392,407,409,418,433  
Law, 22,392  
Lawrence, 311  
Learned, 380,383,393  
Leavitt, 379  
Lee, 135,140,209,233,241,242,243,251,392,408,413,477,  
524  
Lefferts, 338  
Lere, de, 61-63  
Leonidas, 130  
Leslie, 85  
Leutze, 245  
Lewis, 355,371,417,423,424,443  
Libbey, 288,379  
Ligonier, 102  
Lincoln, 207,251,266,276-278,280,281,284-290,298,306,  
325,328,335,343,353,356,363-375,377,379,380,391,404,  
411  
Lindsay, 47  
Little, 52,53,58,110,179,193,219,350,351,508  
Livermore, 47,460,485,489,509  
Livingston, 209,400,425,476  
Loescher, 51,53,76,78,79,88,192  
Logan, 469,473  
London, 22  
Long, 102,240,267,429,485  
Longa, 357  
Loring, 111,226  
Lossing, 163,280,328  
Lothrop, 151  
Loudon, 64,67,75,76,78,86,89  
Lovejoy, 188  
Loveless, 467  
Lovell, 283,392  
Lovewell, 39,51,54,127,217,263  
Low, 343  
Lowber, 467  
Lucas, 425  
Lund, 188  
Lundin, 444  
Lyman, 55,56,94,95  
Lyon, 101,195,274

McAffee, 356  
Macaulay, (McAuley), 19,57  
Mackenzie, (McKenzie), 16,19,226,227  
McCall, 47  
McClanathan, 31  
McClary, 131,132,138,142,155,156,168,172,176,181,182,  
187,201,202,205,263,315,355  
McColley, 118,119,229,387,404  
McConnell, 270,356  
McCormick, 114  
McCoy, 39  
McCrea, 523  
McCrillis, 188  
McCullough, 7,286,296,303,322,349,364,419,436,438

McClinto (McClintock), 37,119  
McDonaid, 89  
McDougal, 251,406,408,415,456  
McDuffie, 137,205,206,379  
McIntosh, 134,251,488  
McGregor, 25,354,486,490  
McGinnis, 56  
McKean, 413,465  
McKinstry, 493,506,507,528  
McLarney, 86  
McLaughlin, 58,182,188-190,213  
McLean, 371,389,439  
McMullen, 86,114  
McMurphy, 29  
McNeil (McNeal), 37,38,40,47,122,521,525  
McPhartridge, 60  
McQuade, 38  
McWhorter, 244  
Mack, 181,270,355  
Madison, 443,485,490,494,496,501,502,503,504,516  
Mansfield, 182,183,196,213  
Manuel, 188  
Marble, 121  
Marshall, 197,305,466,468  
Marshand, 392  
Martin, 127,149,329,522  
Mason, 39,118  
Matson, 7  
Matthews, 350,440,443,445,446  
Mawerick, 160  
Mawhood, 247  
Maxwell, 110,115,251,442,443,444,524  
Mayo, 102  
Mellen, 310,315,319,322,323,343  
Meloon, 46  
Melvin, 188  
Memory, 195  
Mercer, 58,78,244,247  
Merrill, 485  
Meserve, 79,80  
Metcalf, 355  
Mifflin, 167,171,209,225,226,251,305,437  
Millan, 123  
Miller, 203  
Mills, 39  
Mixer, 355  
Mitchell, 31,33,188  
Montcalm, 67,81,83,92,95,98,110,479  
Montgomery, 182,212,219,226  
Montresor, 152,159,163,168,181,202,203  
Morey, 263,270  
Morgan, 380  
Moore, 6,54,58,89,90,129,132,161,162,179,181,182,  
189,192,194,205,213,263,270,290,352,356,357,379,479,  
528  
Morrill, 45  
Morris, 248,249,400,409  
Morrison, 31  
Morse, 7,515,517,519,520,521,523,528  
Morton, 160  
Moseley, 266  
Moulton, 160,205,217,219,254,263,389  
Moultrie, 251  
Moylan, 216  
Muhlenberg, 251,393,488  
Muirhead, 15,16,17  
Munro, 79,82,101  
Munsell, 240,384,430,472,487  
Murdock, 166,171,177,178,196

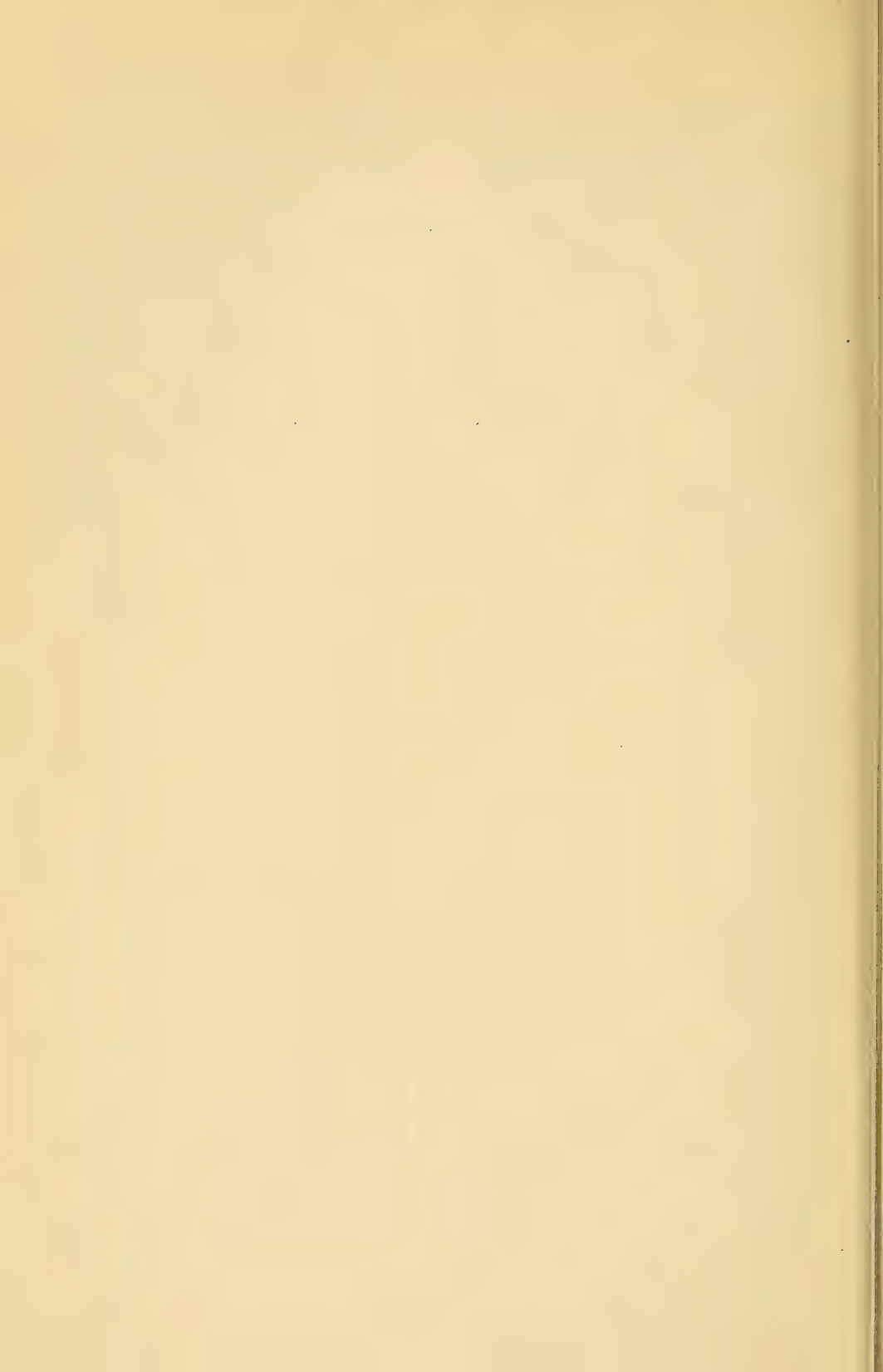
Napoleon, 325,506  
Nash, 251  
Neal, 79  
Nesmith, 186,188,191  
Nevins, 51,72,124,190  
Newell, 528  
Nichols, 22,25,27-29,263,268,270,276,291,301,302,305,  
308,310,311,313,328,332,333,334,340,353,355,374,445  
Niemcewicz, 486  
Nims, 183  
Nixon, 139,179,192,213,221,225,226,251,266,267,379,448  
Noel, 101  
Norris, 205  
Nourse, 193

Odiorne, 263  
Oldham, 226  
Olney, 444  
Oothout, 122  
Orr, 52,53



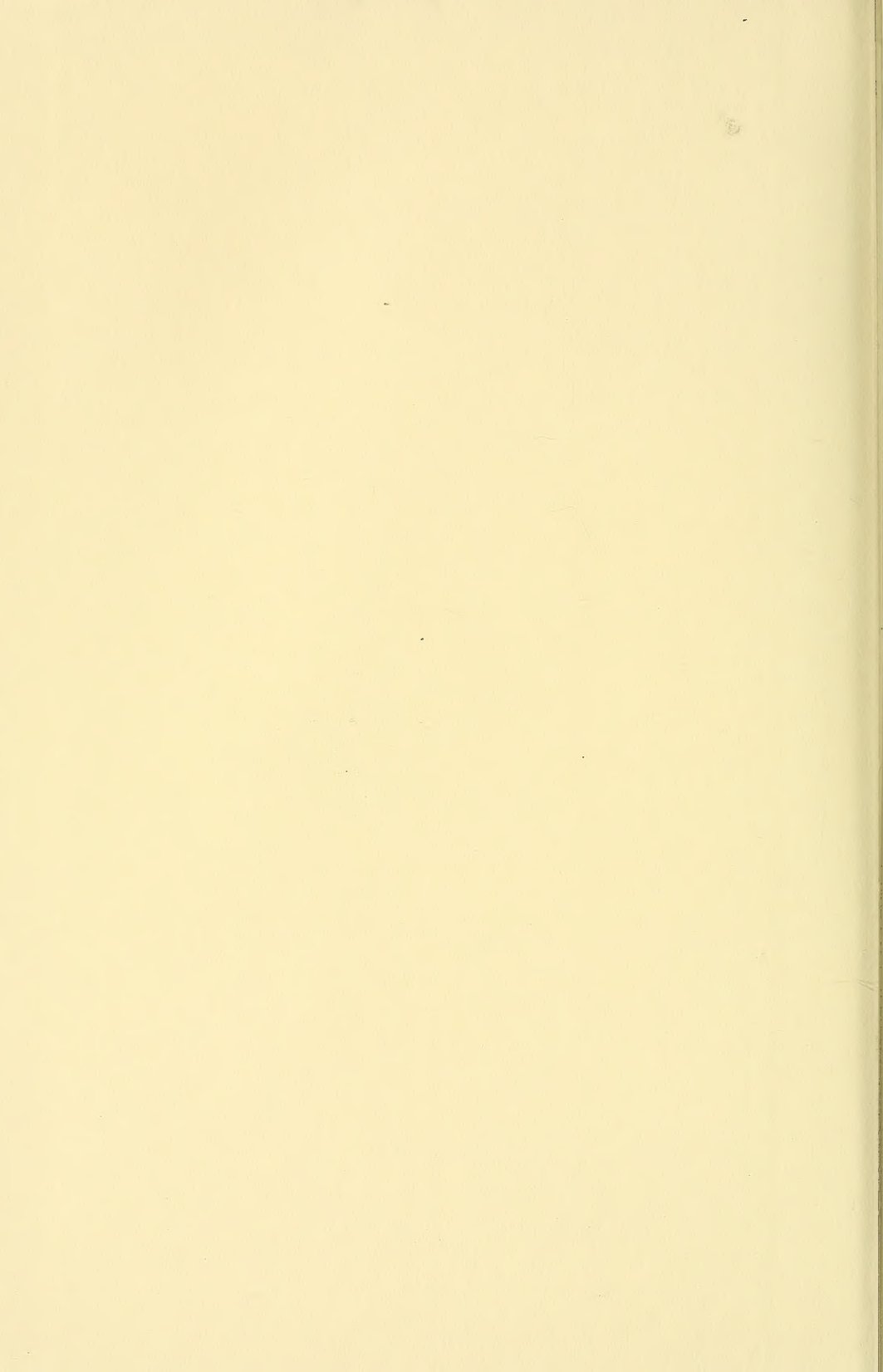
- Osborn, 49,298,330,336,360,436,446,526,527  
 Otis, 149  
 Ottway, 64
- Pacher, 40  
 Page, 39,46,47,51,63,68,69,74,100,152,159,163,164,166,  
 167,181,189,203,330,351,379,520  
 Paine, 505  
 Palmer, 505  
 Pausch, 381  
 Pargellis, 66  
 Parker, 58,82,188,199,270,315,329,343,355,439,477,491  
 Parkinson, 181,184  
 Parkman, 51,52,54,56,59,67,72,74,76,81,83,91,93,95-99,  
 101,109,110,115  
 Parnell, 89  
 Parsons, 251,441,442,444,450,456  
 Paterson (Patterson), 179,226,229,238,240,241,251,272,  
 370,379,393,444,448,450,488  
 Patten, 32,34,37-39,47-49,55,58,86,101,112,119,122,126,  
 128,129,132,188,213,214,227,232,238,241,242,256,270,  
 433,481  
 Pattison, 441  
 Patrick, 415  
 Peabody, 253,262,263,271,272,354,366,374,375,440,445  
 Peckham, 221  
 Peer, 47  
 Pfister, 294,315,350  
 Pell, 7  
 Pelton, 515,518,523  
 Pendleton, 518  
 Penhallow, 445  
 Penn, 407  
 Perkins, 193  
 Perry, 54,343,355  
 Peters, 46-294,353,400  
 Peterson, 270  
 Pettingill, 356  
 Pettit, 423,424  
 Phelps, 193,271,362  
 Phillips, 70,85,88,389  
 Pickels, 492  
 Pickering, 446,455,501  
 Pigot, 169,170  
 Pike, 190  
 Pitcairn, 170  
 Pitt, 78,99,102-104  
 Poor, 138,142,185-188,190,210,213,215,221,225,226,229,  
 236,238,240,241,250-253,256,258,261,266,272,379,380,  
 393,436,438,447,448,449,450,451  
 Porter, 240,241,266,383,389  
 Post, 271,356  
 Potter, 21,34,36,37,43,47,49,50,54,59,67,72,76,77,82,97,  
 119,122,130,131,142,148,161,162,163,168,172,219,245,  
 264,315,328,353,447,478,491,513,515,518  
 Pottinger, 89  
 Powell, 259,371,372  
 Powers, 46,524  
 Pownal, 103  
 Pratt, 7,524  
 Prescott, 145,146,148-150,155,158,162,163,164,166,167,  
 170-173,179,182,183,190-195,196,198,201,203,204,516  
 Price, 407  
 Proctor, 31,441  
 Pulaski, 393,430  
 Putnam, 69,84,87,100,101,131,139,140,143,146,148,150,  
 151,153-155,157,158,162,164,171-174,178,191,193-197  
 199,205,209,213,221,233,235,251,267,272,362,373,390,  
 509,522
- Quigg, 58  
 Quinby, 58
- Ralle, 245  
 Ramsay, 18,39,197  
 Randall, 498  
 Rankin, 22,39,58  
 Rann, 322,358  
 Ranstead, 355  
 Rawlings, 379  
 Ray, 494,513  
 Read, 437,442  
 Reed, 132,145,147,148,150,151,153,157-159,161,163,164,  
 170,172,176,179-181,183-188,191,192,197,200,205,206,  
 208,210,211-213,215,225-227,229,236,237,240,241,260  
 Reid, 31,182,184,189,213,222,232,240,251,256,257,474,  
 477,479  
 Regent, 31  
 Reidesel, 294,298,308,382,383,388  
 Rensselaer, 352,353,369
- Revere, 125,128,222  
 Reynolds, 270,289,355,472  
 Richard, 20,157,181,182,188,213  
 Richardson, 270,495  
 Rigaud, 76,78,79  
 Rist, 195  
 Ritchie (Richie), 7,36,348,515-519,523  
 Ritterbusch, 357  
 Roach, 337  
 Roberts, 72,109,124,212  
 Robertson, 367,368,444  
 Roby, (Robie), 37,330,336,508,511,515,518  
 Robbins, 193,271  
 Roberdeau, 392  
 Robinson, 153,155,261,338,344,350,445,462,464  
 Rochambeau, 452,460,465  
 Rodman, 321  
 Roerback, 86  
 Rogers, 39,47,51-53,55-57,59,104,109,110,112-116,118,  
 123,124,167,214,215,299,421,479,513,518,523  
 Ross, 89,473  
 Rossiter, 348  
 Rowe, 205  
 Rowell, 49,50,359,494  
 Royall, 134,135,202,221  
 Russell, 134,229,441,494,525,527,528  
 Rutledge, 209
- Sabbatis, 47  
 St. Clair (Sinclair), 226,227,234,235,238,244,247,251,256,  
 258,261,265-267,272,364,372,373,377,380,450,452,479,  
 484,488,509  
 St. Leger, 276,365,382,464,466,469,470,471,476  
 Safford, 304,307,308,322,323,341,353,417,464,469  
 Sanborn, 252,379  
 Sargent, 127,132,184,244,449  
 Savel, 134  
 Sawyer, 137,191  
 Scammel, 143,221,450  
 Scammons, 179,182  
 Schermerhorn, 337  
 Schuyler, 89,99,133,140,209,226,227,232-235,251,257,258,  
 261,265-267,272,273,276,277,278,279,280,283,285,286,  
 276,288,289,290,301,337,363,364,373,381,388,391,404,  
 409,411,413,417,422,440,442,445,463,465,466,467,468,  
 476,478,479,481  
 Scrope, 83  
 Scott, 176,182-184,187,188,393,488  
 Seaver, 267  
 Shaw, 102  
 Shannon, 188  
 Sheldon, 451  
 Shepard, 66,79,86,89,90,100,386,434  
 Sherburne, 389,434,438  
 Sheridan, 524  
 Sherman, 209,425,436  
 Shillenger, 357  
 Shippen, 441  
 Shirley, 54,55,58,59,63,64,67  
 Shreve, 451  
 Shute, 18,69,70  
 Sias, 270,358,359,379  
 Silliman, 522  
 Simonds (Symonds), 306,317  
 Simons, 343  
 Simmel, 16  
 Skene, 297,298,318,319,320,322,323,331,349  
 Skimmings, 349  
 Sleeper, 48  
 Slade, 421  
 Small, 108  
 Smallwood, 251,456  
 Smedley, 343  
 Smibert, 134  
 Smith, 44,58,195,212,228,238,270,347,348,357,363,380,  
 389,401,410,412,417,422,429,434,450  
 Soloman, 114  
 Spangenburg, 320  
 Spargo, 7,298,336,337,339,343,344,526  
 Sparhawk, 134  
 Sparks, 74,177,277,280,283,284,328,363,445,452,459  
 Spaulding, 188,298,360  
 Spencer, 236,251  
 Spikeman, 66,71,74,75  
 Sprague, 160  
 Stanley, 270  
 Stanton, 352,353  
 Stearns, 137  
 Stebbins, 403  
 Steele, 31

- Stephen, 244,251,405  
 Steuben, 441,450,479  
 Stevens, 41,47,110,245,246,341,345,365,403  
 Stickney, 21,40,44,125,126,129-131,152,154,162,171,172,  
 183,243,253,263,268,270,272,277,290,300,302,304,305,  
 310,312,314,315,322,323,332,333,335,340,342,353,355,  
 359,384,497,498,499,503,504,505,506  
 Stinson, 39,41,43,45,49,100,108,220,354,387,462,481  
 Stirling, 29,45,49,54,79,118,119,209,226,239,242,251,405,  
 439,441,443,449,450,469,470,473,476,477,492,506  
 Stoddard, 355  
 Stone, 270,355,463  
 Stratton, 348  
 Streeter, 280,285  
 Strover, 467  
 Stryker, 243,246  
 Stuart, 52,453  
 Styles, 149,182-184,404  
 Sullivan, 102,125,126,136,142,143,174,183,187,190,206,  
 209-211,213-215,219-225,227-236,239,240,243,245,247-  
 251,253,256-258,260,406,416,418,419,432,433,443,437,  
 439,454,455,456,457,459,460,486,489,490  
 Sumner, 138,139,179  
 Sunderland, 464  
 Sutherland, 382  
 Swart, 16  
 Swett, 148,167,179,183,192,199,203,346  
 Sybrandt, 104  
 Symes, 57  
 Symonds (Simonds), 306,317,333,347  
  
 Talford, 39,41  
 Tarbox, 139,157,158,191  
 Tash, 219  
 Taylor, 270,305  
 Temple, 86  
 Tenbroeck, 380,417,419,420,429,430,479  
 Tenney, 329,515,516,517,522,523,528  
 Thacher, 338,439,441,443,444,447,448,450  
 Thaxter, 33  
 Thomas, 132,174,181,226-228,451  
 Thompson (Thomson), 137,205,212,226,229,251,263,269,  
 306,383  
 Thornton, 23,49,52,137,176,208,210,212,216,252,255,268,  
 270,353,505  
 Thorp, 359  
 Thurston, 330  
 Thying, 481  
 Tichenor, 340,341  
 Tilgman, 452  
 Tilton, 205  
 Tisdale, 355  
 Titigaw, 43,46  
 Titus, 522  
 Torrance, 36  
 Tower, 406  
 Towle, 48  
 Towne, 182,184,188  
 Townshend, 103,104  
 Tran, 22  
 Traversie, 421,422  
 Trepezec, 95  
 Trevelyan, 252,363  
 Troup, 409,412,414  
 Trumbull, 149,225,259,266,267,289,364,385,390,425,481,  
 515,522,523  
 Tryon, 411,441  
 Tudor, 149,153,437  
 Tupper, 470,471  
 Turnbull, 105  
 Turner, 33  
 Tute, 112  
 Tuttle, 158,190,359,379  
 Twiss, 258  
 Tyler, 27,350,354,516,522  
  
 Van Burgan, 425  
 Van Doren, 221  
 Van Rensselaer, 349,370,427,468-470,474,475  
 Van Schaick, 104  
 Van Schoonhoven, 429  
 Varick, 420  
 Varnum, 251,393  
 Vassall, 133  
 Vauban, 152  
 Vaudreuil, 74,111,114  
  
 Vaughan, 356  
 Vergennes, 390  
 Vincent, 422  
 Virgin, 43  
 Vischer, 86  
 Vose, 434  
  
 Wade, 193  
 Walbridge, 324,341  
 Waite, 112,114  
 Walcott, 413  
 Walford, 160  
 Walker, 24,28,29,32,69,70,123,215,269,271,389,486,519  
 Wallace, 47,48,342,358,367  
 Walton, 392  
 Warbeck, 17  
 Ward, 132,138-141,146,148,150,151,153-155,173,175,176,  
 178,206,207,261,289  
 Warner, 132,133,193,259,271,274,276,278,284-288,298,  
 300,302-306,308,310,318,322-325,332,334,338,340,341,  
 344,345,352,353,355,365,385,412  
 Warren, 132,137,139,143,145,149,155,158,171,179,192,  
 198,200,201  
 Washington, 6,7,51,58,59,119,126,134,135,140,149,163,  
 174,,176-178,183,187,191,193,196,209-214,216,221,222,  
 227-229,232-235,239-252,256,265,267,272,276,289,363,  
 393,405,407,408,414,416,418,427,428-430,433,434,435,  
 437-441,443-457,459-462,464-465,467,472,475-482,,  
 485-487,489,490,494,506  
 Wayne, 227,232,238,251,258,300,393,405,439,448,449,  
 452,459,484,488  
 Weare (Weir), 17,18,30,215,250,258,263,265,277,280,284,  
 366,374,375,376,378,421,426,444,450,457-460,462,475  
 Webb, 66,82,83,226,436-438,444  
 Webber, 271,356  
 Webster, 46,71,102,199,268,270,300,305,485,494,523  
 Weeden, 251,393  
 Weisenfel, 466,467  
 Wentworth, 28,29,46,47,52,55,57,205,263,415,435,445,492  
 West, 519  
 Wheat, 190  
 Wheeler, 179,194  
 Wheelock, 422,426  
 Wheelright, 41,47  
 Whidden, 31  
 Whipple, 137,205,252,255,263,268,274,283,379,383,386-  
 389  
 Whitcomb, 179,181,193,194  
 White, 89  
 Whitlock, 406  
 Whitmore, 178,518  
 Whittaker, 495  
 Wibird, 36  
 Wigglesworth, 434  
 Wildes, 232,238  
 Wilder, 193  
 Wilkinson, 161,163,185,196-200,222,232,238,240,242,245,  
 247,379  
 Willett, 391,392,461,466,469,473,474  
 Willey, 31,329,330,346,513  
 Williams, 86,181,272-274,285,287,344,358,367,368  
 Willis, 448  
 Willard, 167,414  
 Wilson, 28,217,257,270,305,355  
 Windt, 227  
 Wingate, 240,489  
 Winne, 419,425  
 Winslow, 79,393,488  
 Winsor, 523  
 Winthrop, 527  
 Witherill, 115  
 Wood, 485  
 Woodbridge, 179,192  
 Woodbury, 182,188,213,372  
 Woodford, 251,393  
 Woods, 153,155,355  
 Woodward, 383  
 Wolfe, 99,102,104,110,111,114  
 Worster (Wooster), 191,228  
 Wright, 270  
 Wyman, 131,142,148,154-156,172,175,181-184,192,207,  
 238,240  
  
 Yates, 474  
 Young, 270  
 Youngman, 190











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